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Cornell University Studies in
Assyriology and Sumerology
(CUSAS)

Volume 32

MANUSCRIPTS IN THE SCHØYEN COLLECTION

CUNEIFORM TEXTS VIII

Mesopotamian Incantations and Related Texts in the Schøyen Collection

by

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CDL Press
Bethesda, Maryland
2016

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Statement of Provenance

(OWNERSHIP HISTORY)

The holdings of pictographic tablets, cuneiform tablets, and seals in The Schøyen Collection were collected mainly in the late 1980s, with additional items in the 1990s. They derive from a great variety of former collections and sources. It would not have been possible to collect so many items of such major textual importance, if it had not been based on the endeavor of some of the greatest collectors in earlier times. Collections that once held tablets and seals now in The Schøyen Collection are:

1. Institute of Antiquity and Christianity, Claremont Graduate School, Claremont, California (1970–94)
2. Erlenmeyer Collection and Foundation, Basel (*ca.* 1935–88)
3. Cumberland Clark Collection, Bournemouth, UK (1920s–1941)
4. Lord Amherst of Hackney, UK (1894–1909)
5. Crouse Collection, Hong Kong and New England (1920s–80s)
6. Dring Collection, Surrey, UK (1911–90)
7. Rihani Collection, Irbid (*ca.* 1935) and Amman, Jordan (before 1965–88) and London (1988–)
8. Lindgren Collection, San Francisco, California (1965–85)
9. Rosenthal Collection, San Francisco, California (1953–88)
10. Kevorkian Collection, New York (*ca.* 1930–59) and Fund (1960–77)
11. Kohanim Collection, Tehran, Paris, and London (1959–85)
12. Simmonds Collection, UK (1944–87)
13. Schaeffer Collection, Collège de France, Zürich (1950s)
14. Henderson Collection, Boston, Massachusetts (1930s–50s)
15. Pottesman Collection, London (1904–78)
16. Geuthner Collection, France (1960s–80s)
17. Harding Smith Collection, UK (1893–1922)
18. Rev. Dr. W.F.Williams, Mosul (*ca.* 1850–60)
19. Frida Hahn Collection, Berlin (1925–73)

These collections are the source of almost all the tablets and seals. Other items were acquired through Christie's and Sotheby's, where in a few cases the names of their former owners were not revealed.

The sources of the oldest collections, such as Amherst, Harding Smith, and Cumberland Clark, were antiquities dealers who acquired tablets and seals in the Near East in the 1890s–1930s. During this period many tens of thousands of tablets came on the market, in the summers of 1893–94 alone some 30,000 tablets. While most of these were bought by museums, others were acquired by private collectors. In this way some of the older of these collections were the source of some of the later collections. For instance, a large number of the tablets in the Crouse Collection came from the Cumberland Clark, Kohanim, Amherst, and Simmonds collections. The Claremont tablets came from the Schaeffer Collection, and the Dring tablets came from the Harding Smith Collection.

In most cases the original findspots of tablets that came on the market in the 1890s–1930s are unknown, like great parts of the holdings of most major museums in Europe and the United States. The general original archaeological context of the tablets and seals is the libraries and archives of numerous temples, palaces, schools, houses and administrative centres in Sumer, Elam, Babylonia, Assyria, and various city states in present-day Syria, Turkey, Iraq and Iran. Many details of this context will not be known until all texts in both private and public collections have been published and compared with each other.

Martin Schøyen

Series Editor's Preface

Interest in incantation texts has increased significantly in recent years as the availability of edited texts has grown and studies have proliferated. The addition of substantial new material from the Schøyen Collection published below, the fourth volume by Andrew George in the CUSAS series, now adds a body of new sources enhancing significantly our knowledge of this fascinating, albeit difficult, literary genre. George's publication includes not only selected critical editions of these texts but also generously makes available careful copies and photos of the remaining unedited texts from the collection, thereby providing a rich resource for further study and critical editions by other scholars and students. The primary goal of both the CUSAS and Schøyen series is the enhancement of research opportunities in Assyriology by offering critical editions, commentaries or facsimiles and photographs of texts from the Internet and private collections, as well as from long-known but neglected public collections so that scholars have access to these texts, particularly after a protracted and tragic disruption of work and discovery in Iraq from which we are just beginning to emerge.

It is worth noting that this volume, along with many others appearing frequently in the CUSAS series, has been made possible due to the extraordinary cooperation of and collaboration with an international group of colleagues bolstered by the generous support of Jonathan Rosen and anonymous donors, all of whom are owed our profound thanks and without whom most of these texts would have been lost to scholarship. While we will never recover fully from the extensive losses brought on by the two Iraq wars, the Syrian uprising, and the wholesale destruction of archaeological and religious sites by Da'esh, the CUSAS series functions at least as an ongoing resource for Assyriological studies, preserving, recording, and publishing many dispersed or otherwise ignored sources for Mesopotamian history and culture. Those individuals who and organizations that do not support the research and publication of these resources inevitably benefit from their results whether or not they admit to it. There is no doubt in this editor's mind that the CUSAS series, now over thirty volumes, will stand as perhaps the major scholarly achievement in Assyriology during a particularly difficult moment in the history of the modern Middle East.

David I. Owen
Curator of Tablet Collections
Jonathan and Jeannette Rosen
Ancient Near Eastern Studies Seminar
Cornell University, Ithaca, New York
January 2016

Preface and Acknowledgments

The study that resulted in this book was mostly completed in London during a Senior Research Fellowship generously awarded by the British Academy and the Leverhulme Trust for the academic year 2012–13. It is my pleasure to thank the two institutions for giving me the opportunity to conquer a large number of tablets in a short space of time. Study of tablets in Norway was mostly funded by research monies placed at my disposal by the Faculty of Languages and Cultures at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London. Trips to Norway have benefited from the ready hospitality of Martin and Bodil Schøyen and the Schøyen Collection's former librarian, Elizabeth Gano Sørenssen: to them, as always, my sincere gratitude.

It was originally envisaged that the Schøyen Collection's Mesopotamian incantations and magic texts would be prepared for publication by Dr I. L. Finkel of the British Museum. With very good grace he ceded his prior rights and gave his blessing to this volume. He also read through a draft and provided comments on several texts. Professor Steve Tinney of the University of Pennsylvania allowed me to use his file of early Sumerian incantations in transliteration. Professor Mark Geller (University College London and Freie Universität Berlin) gave me access to his database of incantation incipits and rubrics. Both were hugely useful tools which greatly eased the research necessary for this publication and I am very much indebted to their compilers. Professor Daniel Schwemer of the University of Würzburg read drafts of texts Nos. 21a and 61, and made valuable interventions. As usual, many of the texts published here have been read in the London Cuneiforum. Those who contributed ideas and readings will forgive an acknowledgment of the debt owed them *en masse*.

My previous volumes in this series (*CUSAS* 10, 17 and 18) have presented full critical editions of all the cuneiform tablets and inscriptions published in them. The difficulty of the early Mesopotamian incantations is well known. To treat all those published here in cuneiform copy to an informed critical edition would occupy many years. Because of the time constraints on the research project, this volume takes a different approach. All the tablets published here are documented in a catalogue and in the cuneiform plates, as before, but only a selection of the texts inscribed on them are chosen for more intensive study. It is hoped that prompt publication of the results of a one-year project will excuse the selective editorial content and have the benefit of allowing early access to other Assyriologists, especially those with greater expertise in texts relating to the activities of the Babylonian exorcist and healer. The volume thus joins J. van Dijk's three corpora of early incantations (1971, 1976, 1985) in providing scholarship with a body of cuneiform texts upon which much remains to be done.

In July 2015 Dr Nadezda Rudik most kindly sent me a copy of her Jena dissertation, "Die Entwicklung der keilschriftlichen sumerischen Beschwörungsliteratur von den Anfängen bis zur Ur III-Zeit," which presents new editions of all the third-millennium incantations extant in 2011. At such a late stage it was not possible

to take account of this important new study, but it is much to be hoped that in the print edition of her book Dr Rudik will bring her specialist knowledge to bear on the difficult texts on the Schøyen Collection's Early Dynastic and Ur III incantation tablets (Nos. 1–4).

Work on the Schøyen Collection's incantation tablets brought to light an Old Babylonian literary text in Akkadian, mistakenly catalogued as an incantation. The correct identification was made three years after the publication of *Babylonian Literary Texts* (*MSCT* IV = *CUSAS* 10). The tablet is included here as text No. 77 on Pls. CL–CLI.

My companion volume on the Schøyen Collection's omen tablets appeared two years ago as *Babylonian Divinatory Texts* (*MSCT* VII = *CUSAS* 18). Unfortunately the last eight plates were omitted from the files sent to press by the publisher. To make good the error, the missing plates are printed as an addendum at the end of this volume.

Once again, I record my thanks to Dr David I. Owen, editor of Cornell University Studies in Assyriology and Sumerology, for giving another volume of the Schøyen Collection's cuneiform tablets a home in his extraordinary publication series.

A.R.G.
Buckhurst Hill
January 2016

Abbreviations

AbB Altbabylonische Briefe

III = R. Frankena, *Briefe aus der Leidener Sammlung*. Leiden, 1968

VIII = L. Cagni, *Briefe aus dem Iraq Museum*. Leiden, 1980

ABRT J. A. Craig, *Assyrian and Babylonian Religious Texts*. Assyriologische Bibliothek 13. 2 vols. Leipzig, 1895–97

AMT R. C. Thompson, *Assyrian Medical Texts*. London, 1923

AO Antiquités orientales, tablet signature, Musée du Louvre

BAM F. Köcher, *Die babylonisch-assyrische Medizin in Texten und Untersuchungen*. 6 vols. Berlin, 1963–80

BM Tablet signature, British Museum, London

CAD *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*. Chicago, Ill., 1956–2010

CBS Catalogue of the Babylonian Section; tablet signature, University Museum, Philadelphia, Pa.

CCT Cuneiform Texts from Cappadocian Tablets in the British Museum

V = S. Smith and D. J. Wiseman, *CCT* 5. London, 1956

CDLI Cuneiform Digital Library Initiative, http://cdli.ucla.edu/

CT Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets, &c, in the British Museum

4 = T. G. Pinches, *CT* 4. London, 1898

17 = R. C. Thompson, *CT* 17. London, 1903

23 = R. C. Thompson, *CT* 23. London, 1906

24 = L. W. King, *CT* 24. London, 1908

38 = C. J. Gadd, *CT* 38. London, 1925

42 = H. H. Figulla, *CT* 42. London, 1959

44 = T. G. Pinches, *Miscellaneous Texts*. London, 1963

48 = J. J. Finkelstein, *Old-Babylonian Legal Documents*. London, 1968

58 = B. Alster and M. J. Geller, *Sumerian Literary Texts*. London, 1990

CTN Cuneiform Texts from Nimrud

IV = D. J. Wiseman and J. A. Black, *Literary Texts from the Temple of Nabû*. London, 1996

CUSAS Cornell University Studies in Assyriology and Sumerology

18 = George 2013

23 = V. Bartash, *Miscellaneous Early Dynastic and Sargonic Texts in the Cornell University Collections*. Bethesda, Md., 2013

25 = Livingstone 2013

26 = A. Westenholz, *A Third-Millennium Miscellany of Cuneiform Texts*. Bethesda, Md., 2014

DN Divine name

ED Early Dynastic

ePSD	The Pennsylvania Sumerian Dictionary, http://psd.museum.upenn.edu/epsd/
ETCSL	Electronic Text Corpus of Sumerian Literature, http://etcsl.orinst.ox.ac.uk
*GAG*³	W. von Soden, *Grundriss der akkadischen Grammatik*. 3rd edn. Analecta Orientalia 33. Rome, 1995
H	Field number, excavations at Tell Haddad
IAS	Inscriptions from Abu Salabikh
IB	Field number, excavations at Ishan Bahriyat
IM	Tablet signature, Iraq Museum, Baghdad
ISET	M. Çığ, H. Kızılyay and S. N. Kramer, *Sumer Edebî Tablet ve Parçaları = Sumerian Literary Tablets and Fragments*. 2 vols. Istanbul, 1969 and 1976
K	Kuyunjik; tablet signature, British Museum, London
KAL	Keilschrifttexte aus Assur literarischen Inhalts
	II = Schwemer 2007
	IV = Maul and Strauß 2011
KAR	E. Ebeling, *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur religiösen Inhalts*. 2 vols. WVDOG 28, 34. Leipzig, 1915–23
kt	Field number, excavations at Kültepe
KUB	Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi
	37 = F. Köcher, *Literarische Texte in akkadischer Sprache*. Berlin, 1953
LAK	A. Deimel, *Liste der archaischen Keilschriftzeichen von Fara*. WVDOG 40. Leipzig, 1922
Langdon, *BL*	S. Langdon, *Babylonian Liturgies*. Paris, 1913
LB	Late Babylonian
LB	(+ number) Tablet signature, de Liagre Böhl Collection, Leiden
LKA	E. Ebeling, *Literarische Keilschrifttexte aus Assur*. Berlin, 1953
MAH	Tablet signature, Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Geneva
MDP	Mémoires de la Délégation en Perse, etc.
	XIV = V. Scheil, *Textes élamites-sémitiques, cinquième série*. Paris, 1913
MS	Manuscript Schøyen; object signature, Schøyen Collection, Oslo and London
MSCT	Manuscripts in the Schøyen Collection
	II = Alster 2002
	IV = George 2009
	VII = George 2013
MSL	Materials for the Sumerian Lexicon
	XIV = M. Civil *et al.*, *Ea A = nâqu, Aa A = nâqu, with their Forerunners and Related Texts*. Rome, 1979
MVN	Materiali per il vocabolario neosumerico
	V = E. Sollberger (ed.), *The Pinches Manuscript*. Rome, 1978
N	Nippur; tablet signature, University Museum, Philadelphia, Pa.
NATN	D. I. Owen, *Neo-Sumerian Archival Texts Primarily from Nippur*. Winona Lake, Ind., 1982
ND	Field number, excavations at Nimrud
NT	Nippur tablet; field number, excavations at Nippur
OB	Old Babylonian
OECT	Oxford Editions of Cuneiform Texts
	V = Gurney and Kramer 1976
	XI = Gurney 1989
PBS	Publications of the Babylonian Section, the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania
	I/2 = H. F. Lutz, *Selected Sumerian and Babylonian Texts*. Philadephia, Pa., 1919

VII = A. Ungnad, *Babylonian Letters of the Ḫammurapi Period*. Philadelphia, Pa., 1915

PN — Personal name

PSD — Å. W. Sjöberg (ed.), *The Sumerian Dictionary of the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania*. Philadelphia, Pa., 1984–

R — H. C. Rawlinson *et al.*, *The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*

IV² = T. G. Pinches, *A Selection from the Miscellaneous Inscriptions of Assyria*. 2nd edn. London, 1891

V = T. G. Pinches, *A Selection from the Miscellaneous Inscriptions of Assyria and Babylonia*. 2nd impression. London, 1909

RN — Royal name

RSM — Object signature, Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh

S — Field number, excavations at Sippar

SB — Standard Babylonian

SLT — E. Chiera, *Sumerian Lexical Texts*. Oriental Institute Publications 11. Chicago, Ill., 1929

SRT — E. Chiera, *Sumerian Religious Texts*. Upland, Pa., 1924

STC — L. W. King, *The Seven Tablets of Creation*. 2 vols. London, 1902

STT — O. R. Gurney, J. J. Finkelstein and P. Hulin, *The Sultantepe Tablets*. 2 vols. London, 1957, 1964

STVC — E. Chiera, *Sumerian Texts of Varied Contents*. Oriental Institute Publications 16. Chicago, Ill., 1934

TCL — Textes cunéiformes du Louvre

I = F. Thureau-Dangin, *Lettres et contrats de l'époque de la première dynastie babylonienne*. Paris, 1910

XV–XVI = H. de Genouillac, *Textes religieux sumériens du Louvre*. 2 vols. Paris, 1930

TIM — Texts in the Iraq Museum

IX = van Dijk 1976

TM — Thompson Mallowan; field number, excavations at Nineveh

TMH — Texte und Materialen der Hilprecht-Collection

VI = van Dijk and Geller 2003

UET — Ur Excavations, Texts

VI = *Literary and Religious Texts, Parts* 1–2 by C. J. Gadd and S. N. Kramer, London, 1963, 1966; *Part* 3 by A. Shaffer, London, 2006

UM — Tablet signature, University Museum, Philadelphia, Pa.

Uruk — *Spätbabylonische Texte aus Uruk*

II = E. von Weiher, *Spätbabylonische Texte aus Uruk, Teil II*. Berlin, 1983

III = von Weiher 1988

VA Ass. — Vorderasiatische Abteilung, Assur; object signature, Vorderasiatisches Museum, Berlin

VAS — Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler der Königlichen [Staatlichen] Museen zu Berlin

X = H. Zimmern, *Sumerische Kultlieder aus altbabylonischer Zeit, zweite Reihe*. Leipzig, 1913

XVII = van Dijk 1971

XXIV = J. J. A. van Dijk, *Literarische Texte aus Babylon*. Berlin, 1987

VAT — Vorderasiatische Abteilung Tontafeln, tablet signature, Vorderasiatisches Museum, Berlin

WVDOG — Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft

98 = Jakob-Rost *et al.* 2000

YBC — Tablet signature, Yale Babylonian Collection, New Haven, Conn.

YOS — Yale Oriental Series, Babylonian Texts

X = A. Goetze, *Old Babylonian Omen Texts*. New Haven, Conn., 1947

XI = van Dijk *et al.* 1985

ZA — *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und vorderasiatische Archäologie*

Introduction

The ancient Mesopotamian texts that are conventionally called incantations are a heterogeneous set of compositions, but they have in common the purpose of manipulating reality for good through the spoken word. A mundane water vessel needed for a ritual: an incantation will give it magic purity and the power to communicate that purity. A patient beset by pain or illness: an incantation will drive out the demon causing the problem. A household plagued by accidents: an incantation will counter the evil eye responsible. Women in difficult labor, babies with colic, travellers stung or bitten on the road: an incantation will bring relief. And would-be lovers: an incantation will make them attractive to the gaze of the ones they desire.

In many cases, the manipulation of reality for good is done by conjuring up the archetypes and precedents of mythical time, by revealing what Mircea Eliade in *Myth and Reality* called the "primordial and paradigmatic curative act" (1964: 30). Mythical time is an undetermined era in the remote past when the created world was new and pristine and the gods walked the earth, or as the Babylonian poem of Atram-ḫasīs puts it, "when the gods were man." The ancient Mesopotamian understanding of history held that the world degenerated from the antediluvian age to the postdiluvian era, despite the knowledge of the antediluvian world brought back from his adventures by the hero Gilgameš. This speaks for a view that the universe was subject to a progressive degradation through its long history: from the beginning, through mythical time after the sundering of heaven and earth, then the antediluvian age in which human institutions were established, the Flood and the era of legendary heroes, to the present. The ancient combat myths shared in the idea, for they presuppose that the world has a tendency to chaos and order has to be regularly restored. The ancient Mesopotamians thus acknowledged the problem of entropy, though on their own terms.

The phrase "In those days," one may even say *in illo tempore*, is itself an expression with Mesopotamian antecedents: several mythological compositions begin ud-ri-a ud-sù̀d-rá-ri-a "in those days, in those far-off days" and thereby invoke mythical time.[1] In those days, a giant tamarisk joined heaven and earth, and with its innate purity made the whole universe holy. In those days, if a demon attacked an individual, Asalluḫe the divine exorcist would chance upon the victim, take the advice of his father Enki, and return to banish the demon and cure the victim with a holy spell and a practical remedy that reinstated the former purity. In those days, when a snake lay in the path of a man, the master of snakes himself, the god Ninazu, would trap the snake and neutralize the threat. In those days, if a baby was stuck in the birth canal, Asalluḫe would open a path for him, and the Mother Goddess stand by to take delivery. In every case, mythical time is deemed to hold the solution to the crisis and acts as a paradigm for the correct response in current time. The incantation, by evoking the archetypes and precedents of myth-

[1] Recent discussions of this motif include Dietrich 1995, Lambert 2013: 498–500, Lisman 2013: 64–67, Rubio 2013: 10–11.

ical time, bridges with words the gap between the pristine universe of long ago and the degenerate world of the present, and allows some of the former's purity to work magic in the latter. It is effective in so doing because the incantation is itself a holy product of mythical time that has made the same transition: many incantations explicitly claim to have been first mouthed by gods and goddesses.

Sixty-one tablets of incantations are published in the present volume: three are Early Dynastic, one Ur III or Isin period, fifty-six Old Babylonian and one Neo-Assyrian. Only two tablets are previously published. Also included are ten amulets, of which one is Middle Assyrian and the rest later. Half of the Old Babylonian incantation tablets are collective tablets, inscribed with one or more incantations, and yielding a total of at least 239 incantations, whole or as fragments. Twenty-one smaller Old Babylonian tablets contain a further twenty-four incantations and spells. The language of the incantations is mainly Sumerian and Akkadian, with a small presence also of the foreign languages identified as Elamite and Hurrian.

Forty-one incantations and spells are either already known or have close relatives in the extant corpus (*ca* 15%). The great bulk of the incantations and related texts published in this volume is thus an addition to knowledge. In due course, much new information will be won from it. The remainder of this introduction will call attention to some of the more important matters that have already emerged.

On the Antiquity of the Asalluḫe-Enki Formula

A standard narrative form in Sumerian incantations is the Asalluḫe-Enki formula, often called the Marduk-Ea formula because in bilingual incantations the two deities Asalluḫe and Enki are translated in the Akkadian line into Marduk and Ea. The formula occurs as part of an introductory historiola,[1] which describes how long ago in mythical time, a problem arose, Asalluḫe came across it and, not knowing how to respond, went home to his father Enki and asked his advice. Enki first exclaimed that Asalluḫe knew all that he knew, but then told Asalluhe what to do, in words that gave divine legitimation to the magic ritual procedure that accompanied the incantation.

The evidence for this formula was collected by Falkenstein (1931: 44–76) at a time when few Sumerian incantations from the second millennium were extant, and Old Sumerian spells from Fara were not understood at all. Since that time the identification and publication of Old Babylonian incantations, particularly by van Dijk (1971, 1976, 1985), has much enlarged the extant corpus, and the pioneering studies of Ur III incantations by van Dijk and Geller (2003), and of the third-millennium incantations from Fara and Ebla by Krebernik (1984), have pushed back the history of Mesopotamian incantations by many centuries.[2]

Early Dynastic precursors of the Asalluḫe-Enki formula occur in four incantations from Fara and Ebla. They have been discussed by Krebernik (1984: 211–25), who calls them the "lú-gi$_4$-Formular," because the communication between junior god and senior is not direct but conducted through a messenger. The senior god in the Fara texts is not Enki but Enlil. The junior is unnamed, but presumed to be Ningirimma, because in one of the four incantations she is involved in the subsequent ritual procedure. The interaction of Enlil and, supposedly, Ningirimma in Old Sumerian incantations made the mythology of third-millennium magic seem very different from succeeding periods.

A further example of Krebernik's "lú-gi$_4$" formula occurs in one of the Early Dynastic tablets published here, collective tablet No. 1. The incantation is to counter stomach disorder:

[1] This term seems to have been introduced to Assyriology by Sandars 2001.

[2] A new study of the Early Dynastic and Ur III-period incantations is being prepared for publication by Nadezda Rudik.

a-ni ^{d}en-líl-še$_x$(GÁN) lú mu-da-ra-šè-gi$_4$ a-mu-ra a-ba-dug$_4$-ga ba-ra-MUNSUB a-ne a-na nu-zu gá a-na pàd

No. 1g viii 1–6, edited below as II.E.1

To his (*or* her) father Enlil he (*or* she) sent a messenger: "Please say to my father, I cannot repel(?) it." (Enlil replied:) "What does he (*or* she) not know? What can I teach him (*or* her)?"

Much more importantly, the same tablet also contains an Early Dynastic version of the formula that employs not Enlil and an unnamed deity, but Asarre (written ^{d}asar, an abbreviated form of Asalluḫe) and Enki. The incantation is to counter snake-bite:

^{d}asar . . . a-ni ^{d}en-ki-šè lú mu-da-ra-šè-gi$_4$ a-ne a-na nu-zu gá a-na pàd

No. 1f vi 8–12, edited below as II.D.2

Asarre, . . . To his father Enki he sent a messenger. (Enki answered him:) "What does he not know? What can I teach him?"

The order of signs in the verbal prefix chain of mu-da-ra-šè-gi$_4$ is established by the Ur III incantation *TMH* VI 1: 8: ^{d}asal-lu-ḫe a-ni ^{d}en-ki-šè lú ba-da-ra-ši-gi$_4$ "Asalluḫe sent a messenger to his father Enki."

Hitherto the first attestations of Asalluḫe and Enki in the roles of junior and senior god have been in *TMH* VI 1 and other Ur III incantations, from the end of the third millennium. Tablet No. 1 pushes their version of the formula much further back in history, and shows that the mythology of magic in the mid-third millennium was not as different from later periods as previously thought.

On the Corruption of the Asalluḫe-Enki Formula

The Asalluḫe-Enki formula in the Old Babylonian tablets published in this volume serves another purpose: as a case study in the problems that attend the decipherment of non-canonical incantations. In standard orthography the two lines of the Asalluḫe-Enki formula that give Enki's reaction to his son's admission of failure are rendered thus (Falkenstein 1931: 55–57):

níg gá-e ì-zu-a-mu ù za-e in-ga-e-zu
ù za-e ì-zu-a-zu! gá-e in-ga-e-zu

What I know you know too,
what you know I know too.

Instances of this formula in this volume present an extraordinarily large number of variant spellings:

níg-gá-e zu-mu ù za-⸢e⸣ gin$_7$-zu
ù za-e gin$_7$-zu a-na-àm gin$_7$-zu

No. 7i v 1–2

níg-gá-e zu-mu za-e gin$_7$-zu
ù ⸢za-e gin$_7$-mu⸣ a-na-à[m] gin$_7$-zu

No. 7h iv 14'–15' // p vii 30–31

Note also a-na-gin$_7$-zu in 7h iv 12'–13', 7p vii 28–29.

[níg-gá]-⸢e⸣ zu-mu ù za-a gin$_7$-zu
[ù] ⸢za-a⸣ gin$_7$-zu níg-gá-e zu-a

No. 8j iv 13–14

níg gá-e zu-mu ù za-e ga-zu
[ù g]á-⸢e x x-mu ù⸣ za-e ga-zu

No. 9h iv 24'–25'

níg gá-e zu-mu ù za-e zu-e
ù gá-e gá-zu ù za-e gá-zu

No. 9m vii 2'–3'

níg gá-e zu-a-mu za-e ì-zu
ù za-e zu gá-e zu-àm

No. 10b ii 9'–10'

níg gá-e ⸢zu⸣-a za-e in-gi-zu

No. 11b i 24'

[níg gá]-⸢e⸣ <zu-a>-mu za-e in-gi-zu
[ù za]-⸢e⸣ ì-zu-a-zu ⸢gá-e?⸣ ì-zu!/dab

No. 11k vi 11–12

níg gá-e zu-a-mu za-e in-gi-zu
⸢ù⸣ za-e zu-a gá-e ì-zu

No. 12a i 5'–6' // e iv 18–19 // g v 35–36 (za]-⸢e⸣ in-gi$_4$-[zu]) // h vi 5–6

⌜dumu⌝-mu níg-ì-za-àm za-e in-zu
ù za-e ì-zu!-àm gá-me-en ì-zu

No. 19b: 19–20

Other syllabic spellings of the Old Babylonian formula occur in the incantations from Tell Haddad, a provincial centre on the Diyala (Cavigneaux and Al-Rawi 1993: 180 l. 38; 1995a: 23 MA 29; 1995b: 171 l. 24, 186 MA 19, 196 l. 17). The two sets of spellings demonstrate convincingly that understanding of the formula was severely limited. In some Babylonian scribal centres in the early second millennium a high degree of confusion and incomprehension attended the writing of even standard forms.

The problems that beset these two lines of the Asalluḫe-Enki formula are endemic in the non-canonical incantations. They provide a clear example of what van Dijk meant when he wrote as follows of Old Babylonian incantations generally (1973b: 110): "ces incantations son très difficiles. Et cela non seulement à cause d'un lexique qui prête à l'équivoque, mais aussi à cause d'irrégularités en ce qui concerne la grammaire dues partiellement à une transmission orale et partiellement au syllabaire de la tradition écrite des temps présargoniques insuffisament connu des scribes babyloniens-anciens." Corruptions arising from confused oral transmission and scribal incompetence hinder the understanding of many tablets published in this book.

On the Partnership of Magic and Medicine

A major context for the deployment of incantations in ancient Mesopotamia was in the treatment of the sick. Sickness was often attributed to attack and possession by demons, to which the response was exorcism by incantation and magic ritual. More empirical aetiologies could be attributed to other problems. Into this category fell not only snake-bite and scorpion-sting, broken bones and childbirth, but also stomach-ache, which was put down to the consumption of something bad (e.g. eating "heart grass"), as well as to unprovoked attack by unseen malicious powers. The response here was practical therapy: poultices, lotions and salves for external application, purges, potions and suppositories for internal application. In the first millennium, incantations for some of these themes were embedded in medical compendia, in which they were accompanied by therapeutic remedies and magico-medical procedures: a partnership of *dicenda et agenda*. As *dicenda* spells and incantations lent magic power to the *agenda*. The *agenda* in these compendia are usually introduced by one of two Sumerian technical terms, either in their original forms (dù-dù-bi, kìd-kìd-bi),[1] or as loanwords in Akkadian. The Old Babylonian is *kikkitaša* "its (i.e. the spell's) kìd-kìd. These words are conventionally translated in English as "rituals," the most appropriate one-to-one correspondence.

Ritual procedures as responses to ailments are attested in the small corpus of Old Babylonian medical texts (see additionally tablets Nos. 72–73, edited in Part II as II.L.1 and 2). Hitherto, however, few separate rituals have been found inscribed alongside Old Babylonian incantations after the manner of first-millennium texts. The list in Table 1 is not exhaustive but gives a fair representation of problems and remedial strategies.

The number is now substantially increased by the several Old Babylonian tablets in the Schøyen Collection that set rituals alongside incantations. Between them, six tablets hold nine examples of an incantation accompanied by a ritual, in one case by two rituals.[2] The new additions to the corpus are tabulated in Table 2.

Of especial interest is No. 30d (ed. II.D.10), which gives two remedies for scorpion-sting. The first is a common therapy involving rubbing softened dough on the sting and on other parts of the body. It can be supposed to have had a practical function, to relieve pain, but also

[1] On these technical terms see Maul 2009.

[2] Disregarding No. 52: 16–20 (Pl. CXXI), which may be a ritual but is too damaged to be understood.

TABLE 1
OLD BABYLONIAN INCANTATIONS WITH APPENDED RITUALS ALREADY PUBLISHED

Text No.	*Where edited*	*Function of incantation*	*Language of incantation*	*Ritual*
E47.190	G. Farber 1984	Childbirth	Sumerian	*ki-ik-ki-ṭi-um*: Reed, ghee, gemstones
VAS 17 33	van Dijk 1975	Childbirth	Sumerian	*ki-ki-ta-ša*: Salving with oil and ghee
YOS XI 21a	–	Uncertain	Sumerian	kin-kin-bi: Damaged
YOS XI 69b	Cavigneaux, Al-Rawi 20012: 10	To catch crows	Sumerian	Setting up a trap
YBC 8041a	Farber 2014 OB$_5$	Lamaštu	Sumerian?	*ki-ki-ṭa-ša*: Prophylaxis by lumps of salt
YBC 8041b	Hallo 1999	Dog-bite	Akkadian	*ki-ki-ṭa-ša*: Ointment and dressing of wound
AO 7682	Nougayrol 1972	Scorpion-sting	Akkadian	Dressing of wound
BM 79125	Finkel 1999	Dog-bite	Akkadian	Ointment of oil and ghee
YOS XI 4b	–	Scorpion-sting	Akkadian	*ki-ik-ki-ta-ša*: Dressing of wound
YOS XI 12a	–	Stomach-ache	Akkadian	Damaged
YOS XI 14c	–	Jaundice	Akkadian	⌜*ki-ik*⌝-*ki-ta-ša*: Potion of chopped leeks and oil
YOS XI 35	–	Scorpion	Akkadian	Damaged
YOS XI 4a	–	Toothache	Elamite	Application of cooked frog's innards

another, more magical purpose, to transfer the harm of the sting from the victim to the dough with the aid of a spell (see the introduction to II.L.1). The second remedy is purely magic: the power of the incantation is transferred to water, which the victim of the sting drinks, and then the healer asserts his recovery by telling him, "you are alive and well!" The assessment of these new prescriptions for the history of medicine will have to await expert judgement, but here it is enough to observe that magical and medical remedies are very clearly already working in tandem in these Old Babylonian incantations, and can be presumed to operate equally in other instances too.

The partnership between magic and medicine is otherwise best represented by those incantations which legitimate ritual by ascribing it to divine intervention. These fall mainly into two forms: the Sumerian Asalluḫe–Enki formula, already discussed, in which a historiola concludes with Enki giving his son instructions to cure the problem; and the Akkadian *mannam lušpur* formula, in which a historiola concludes with the search for a messenger who will fetch the desired remedy from the gods (Farber 1990b). As one might expect, there is often a match in first-millennium texts between the remedy prescribed by the gods in an incantation and the instructions set out in the ritual that accompanies the incantation. A good example from the second millennium is No. 42 (ed. II.H.1), to calm a crying baby. In the incantation Enki tells Asalluḫe, "Pour [out some beer,] take [the froth,] mix it with milk sucked from his wet nurse and give it to the human child of his god, and sleep will come, slumber will follow!" The appended ritual has similarly, "Take beer froth and mix it with the wet nurse's milk. The baby will drink it and quieten down." The ritual is

TABLE 2
OLD BABYLONIAN INCANTATIONS WITH APPENDED RITUALS IN THIS VOLUME

Text No.	*Where edited*	*Function of incantation*	*Language of incantation*	*Ritual*
8d	II.E.10	Bloat	Akkadian	*ki-ik-ki-it-tum*: Purging with salt solution
21b	II.G.3	Childbirth	Elamite	Salving with magic oil
25b	II.D.14	Snake-bite	Unidentified	Dressing of wound
29a–b	II.F.3 note	Dog-bite	Akkadian	Poultice on wound
29d	I sub 29d	Childbirth	Akkadian	kìd-kìd-bi: Salving with oil
30c	I sub 30c	Scorpion-sting	Akkadian	[dù-d]ù-bi: Rubbing with dough
30d	II.D.10	Scorpion-sting	Akkadian	(i) Rubbing with dough (ii) Magic potion by mouth
30f–g	II.F.3	Bone	Unid.+Akkadian	Poultice
42	II.H.1	Crying baby	Sumerian	*ki-ik-ki-ta-ša*: Potion by mouth

easily recognizable as a briefer, more matter-of-fact Akkadian version of Enki's Sumerian instruction. It confirms Irving Finkel's thesis, that incantations of the Asalluḫe-Enki type were vehicles "for the preservation and transmission of medical praxis" (Finkel 1980: 51), and gives a glimpse of the process which resulted in the splitting of this transmission into two sets of instructions: "incantation" and "ritual."

The match between the two sets of instructions can now be observed much earlier. The Old Sumerian Asalluḫe-Enki incantation on the Early Dynastic tablet No. 1f (ed. II.D.2), against snake-bite, has Enki imparting to Asalluḫe a completely intelligible prescription (vii 1–2): "Pour out for me water of Tigris and water of Euphrates, give it to the bitten person to drink!" The administering of holy water is prescribed as the gods' remedy for snake-bite in several Ur III and Old Babylonian Sumerian incantations (Finkel 1999: 231–32). The Akkadian ritual appended to an Old Babylonian incantation against scorpion-sting prescribes the very same remedy (No. 30d ii 22–23, ed. II.D.10): "You cast the spell over water and he drinks it." These passages of incantation and ritual suggest very strongly that, already in the Early Dynastic period, healing techniques attributed to the gods in incantations were literary manifestations of remedies drawn from actual medical practice. They also provide further evidence for the survival of third-millennium magical and medical lore into later periods.

Salt as a Purgative in Babylonian Medicine

Another example of a healing ritual embedded in an incantation and ostensibly (but not explicitly) prescribed by Enki occurs in the well-known Sumerian incantation against "Gall," studied in several versions by Bendt Alster (1972a) and Piotr Michalowski (1981). Gall was formerly thought to be jaundice, but Michalowski observed that it gave rise to a "form of intestinal disorder" (1981: 9). Texts published in this volume confirm that Gall was a Babylonian aetiology of pain in the digestive tract.

In the Sumerian Gall incantation studied by Alster and Michalowski the remedy is to treat the sufferer with a lump of salt activated by a magic spell and administered by mouth:

lag mun-na šu ù-me-ti nam-šub ù-me-sì ka-ka-na ù-me-gar še$_{10}$-gin$_7$ ḫé-dúr-re bu-lu-

úḫ-gin$_7$ ḫé-si-il-le im-gin$_7$ gu-du-ni-ta ḫé-em-ma-ra-du (*var.* -e$_{11}$-dè)

Gall ll. 13–18, after Alster 1972a: 350, Michalowski 1981: 16

After you take a lump of salt, cast the incantation spell over it and place it in his mouth, he will void (the Gall) like a fart, he will burp it up like a belch, he will expel it from his anus like wind.

In his study of early incantations, Graham Cunningham likened the use of salt in this incantation to a magic practice alluded to in the first-millennium anti-witchcraft incantations *Maqlû* (1997: 123–34). There, at I 33, a ritual is presupposed in which tallow is melted and salt dissolved, actions that, by analogy, were believed to undo the perpetrators of witchcraft. The same text contains an incantation addressed to salt, before it was added to a censer in the ritual fumigation of the victim (see Stackert 2010).

In the Old Babylonian period salt's magic power was deployed against the demon Lamaštu: one spell is accompanied by a prophylactic ritual in which lumps of salt are tied into a person's garment and strung around his neck (YBC 8041: 6–9, ed. Hallo 1999: 276–77, Farber 2014: 261 OB$_5$). The use of salt in Old Babylonian magic ritual is also presupposed in the love-incantation text from Isin, where a spell designed to gain control of sexual desire (*uzzum ša Nanay* "the fury of N.") bears the rubric ka-inim-ma lag mun-kam "incantation formula for a lump of salt" (Wilcke 1985: 203–4 ll. 95–99). What was done with the salt in that instance is unclear in the absence of any ritual instructions, but a bilingual Old Babylonian incantation against a digestive problem bears within it Enki's prescription for a magic ritual involving salt. The following transliteration rests on earlier interpretations (Alster 1972a: 354; Cohen 1976: 102–3; *PSD* B 168) but differs slightly from them:

lag mun ù ḫa!-še-na ù-un-daḫ-ḫe ù-bí-⌜in⌝-[šub]
ki-ir-ba-an ṭa-ab-ti ù ḫa-ši-i us-ḫa-[*am-ma*]
še$_{10}$ ki-šè ḫé-si-il-le *ki-ma ši-it-*[*tim li-id-di?*]
bu-lu-uḫ-gin$_7$ ḫé-si-il-le *ki-ma g*[*i-šu-tim li-ig-šu?*]
im-gin$_7$ gu!-du-šè è-íb-ta *ki-ma* [*ša-ri-im li-še-ṣi?*]

CT 4 8a: 35–39

After you put together a lump of salt and thyme and make (the sufferer) [hurl it away,] he will fart out (the affliction out like) a turd on the ground, he will burp it up like a belch, expel it from (his) anus like wind!

This incantation suggests a ritual practice, in which a lump of salt and thyme is hurled into the distance,[1] to disintegrate as it strikes the ground, so that by analogy the digestive complaint will follow the same trajectory and suffer the same fate. The hurling of a clod of salt and thyme recurs in other spells against Gall, in which the offending problem is personified as a yellow (or green) nanny-goat who lives in an all-yellow (or all-green) world: this goat cannot be driven away by conventional missiles, only by the magic combination of salt and thyme: Old Assyrian kt 90/k 178: 32–33, ed. Michel 2004: 398: *a-dí-ší-im ba-pì-ra-am ḫa-šu-a-am ù* [*ṭá*]*-áb-tám* "I threw at it beer-dough (mixed with) thyme and salt"; first millennium *BAM* VI 578 ii 48, ed. Böck 1999: 421: *i-suk-ši bíl-li* $^{\text{ú}}$*ḫašê* (ḪAR.ḪAR) *u ṭābti*(mun) : *mar-tu kīma*(gim) *im-ba-ri a-na šá-ḫa-ḫi it-bé* "he hurled a mixture of thyme and salt at her (the goat) and Gall arose to disintegrate like a cloud."

As Bendt Alster observed (1972a: 352), salt is the usual remedy against Gall in the Old Baby-

1 "Hurl" is restored in the Sumerian version of the line, because it is the conventional companion of lag // *kirbānum*, and is commended by the passage quoted next. Akkadian *usḫamma* "pull up!" (the copy does not support *uṣṣab*) is then a mistranslation, or corrupt for *usukma* "hurl!" The two verbs *nasākum* and *nasāḫum* were perhaps easily confused, especially when the velar plosive /k/ could be represented in writing by the velar fricative /ḫ/ (evidence of spirantization according to Knudsen 1969).

lonian period. A short spell against Gall explains the reason why, in its concluding line (*VAS* XVII 1 iv 17): mun šim an-ki im-mi-i[n]-ḫu-luḫ-ḫa "it is salt that terrifies the plants of heaven and earth." The relevance of this strange attribute is explained by the Babylonians' aetiology of Gall, which is given in the first lines of several related Sumerian Gall incantations: that quoted earlier (ed. Alster 1972a: 350), *VAS* XVII 24 (edited below sub II.E.3), *VAS* XVII 25 (ed. Alster 1972a: 352), and two more published here (II.E.3 No. 7h, II.E.4 No. 7i). These incantations explain that in mythical time Gall broke through the surface of the earth "like a plant." It is thus the counterpart of the "Heart Grass" of Akkadian incantations, which was conceptualized as a malign plant and considered to cause stomach-ache in those who ate it (see II.E.8). The effect of salt on plants is deadly, a fact well known to the people of southern Mesopotamia, where salt is a prominent feature of the rural landscape and salinity has adversely affected agriculture for millennia. So salt "that terrifies plants" was a nuisance to farmers but a natural ally in countering ailments attributed to Gall.

New evidence makes it clear that salt had more than a magic application in Babylonian medicine. It was a practical remedy for stomach complaints. One instance of the use of saline solution as a remedy for sickness comes from a curious Old Babylonian document about a stolen pig (*CT* 48 23: 7–11, cf. Römer 1971: 203–4): ^{md}*sîn*(suen)*-i-ri-ba-am māri*(dumu) *ba-za-ak-nu-um im-ra-aṣ-ma bu-úḫ-ra-am i-ri-iš-ma a-na me-e em-mu-tim ṭá-ab-ta-am* ^{m}*nu-ṭú-up-tum mārat* (dumu.munus) *sà-la-lum i-di-i-ma ú-ul iš-qí-i-šu* "Sîn-irībam, son of Bazaknum(?),[1] fell ill and asked for some porridge, so Nuṭṭuptum, daughter of Salālum, put salt into hot water but did not give him any to drink." The Sumerian Gall incantation quoted above confirms that the salt is to be taken orally (l. 15).

A first-millennium copy of a medical compendium of remedies for digestive disorders includes among many prescriptions several for salt (or its herbal counterpart) taken on an empty stomach, dissolved in water or beer:

> DIŠ *amēlu*(na) *marta*(zé) *maruṣ*(gig) . . . *ṭābta*(mun) *tasâk*(súd) *ina mê*(a) *là pa-tan išatti*(nag) *ṭābta*(mun) *tasâk*(súd) *ina šikari*(kaš) *là pa-tan išatti*(nag) . . . ^{ú}*kirbān*(lag) *ṭābti*(mun) *šammi*(ú) *marti*(zé) *ina šikari*(kaš) *išatti*(nag)
>
> *BAM* VI 578 i 14–24
>
> ¶ (If) a man suffers from gall: . . . you pound salt and he drinks it in water without eating; you pound salt and he drinks it in beer without eating; . . . he drinks Salt-Lump, a herbal (remedy) for gall, in beer.

The version of the Old Babylonian Sumerian Gall incantation published here already indicates that the salt is taken in solution. Enki tells Asalluḫe (II.E.4 No. 7i v 3–6), "Take a lump of salt, drop it into a litre of best ale, cast the spell over it and give it [to that man] to drink [while] the sun is (still up)." The successful outcome is expressed in both versions of the incantation as a prediction that the Gall will be expelled by mouth or anus in the form of gas, as already quoted (Alster 1972a: 350 ll. 18–20; II.E.4 No. 7i v 7–9). This may be a cliché, for the lines occur in several unrelated incantations against digestive disorders and are a standard form.

There is another, more particular outcome. In the other Gall incantation published here (II.E.3 No. 7h iv 16'), and in the parallel *VAS* XVII 24, the salt is addressed as the gods' "mouth-opener": mun ka-duḫ-a dingir-re-e-ne. This phrase alludes to the successful outcome envisaged in the incantation *VAS* XVII 25: 8–9 (ed. Alster 1972a: 352): lag mun-na šu um-me-ti ka-bi in-duḫ-a "make him take a lump of salt, it will open his(!) mouth." The implication of opening the mouth in this context becomes clear when one reflects that drinking salt in beer is a sure way to induce vomiting. Probably

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[1] An improbable personal name: perhaps emend to *zu-za-*{ak}*-nu-um* = Zuzānum?

in all cases the taking of salt by mouth required liquid assistance, even where none is explicitly mentioned, as in the passage that opened this discussion. The ingestion of saline solution as an emetic is a common and long-known remedy for purging the stomach. The evidence shows that its history begins in Babylonia.

A final piece of evidence for salt as a purgative comes from an Akkadian incantation against another serious digestive disorder: bloat in cattle and sheep (II.E.10 No. 8d). The spell is followed by a remedy in Akkadian, as follows: "You put one-third litre of salt into one litre of water, give it to (the animal) to drink and place a funnel (*mudabbibum*, literally "speaker") in its mouth. You insert your finger in its bottom, cast the spell over it twice and it will void (the solution) from its anus." This therapy reveals the practical counterpart of the divinely sanctioned prescription handed down in Sumerian incantations, and illustrates the point made in the preceding section, that the partnership between incantation and ritual was well established in the early second millennium.

As a medical response to digestive problems, purging with highly salted water in Babylonia is an early, if extreme, example of a technique known today as a "saltwater flush," a do-it-yourself remedy in which a saline solution is taken by mouth to purge the gut and colon. According to the many internet sites that advocate this practice, modern practitioners use warm water and much less salt, and achieve the desired outcome in as little as thirty minutes. In Babylonia the practical remedy was enhanced and legitimated, while waiting for the solution to work, by the recitation and repetition of a spell of divine origin.

On Sumerian namg̃išpa "Incantation Spell"

The Sumerian word written nam-RU and conventionally transliterated nam-šub is a common technical term in Sumerian incantations, usually translated "incantation spell" or similar but possibly signifying some more concrete object that can be thrown (see Finkel 1980: 51–52); the translation "spell" will be used here. The present corpus contains two Old Babylonian texts that provide evidence for an alternative spelling of this nam-RU as (nam)-g̃iš-pa. The first is the big collective tablet No. 7:

II.D.6 No. 7f iii 7': tu_6-dug_4 g̃iš-pa $eridu^{ki}$-ga "incantation spell of Eridu"

II.E.4 No. 7i iv 30': nam-g̃iš-pa ⸢eridu⸣^{ki}-ga "spell of Eridu"

II.E.4 No. 7i v 5: [nam]-⸢g̃iš-pa⸣ ù-me-ni-šub "cast the spell"

II.E.5 No. 7j v 18: nam-g̃iš-pa // No. 8k iv 26 nam-RU

Note also II.K.4 No. 54: 3: nam-g̃iš-pà(d)

With the benefit of this unequivocal evidence it can be seen that the term nam-RU is vocalized (nam)-g̃iš-pu and similar in at least four other extant texts:

(a) The Old Sumerian incantation that begins Ur-Nanše's inscription 49 can now be understood to end with an early example of divine legitimation that has not nam-RU but g̃išpu (Sollberger 1956: 7 no. 49 iii 6–7): ^{d}en-ki g̃iš-bu_{10}(BÙLUG) šè-šub "Enki has cast the spell!"[1]

(b) Two versions of an early snake incantation juxtapose syllabic and conventional spellings of nam-RU: *YOS* XI 32: 10 (OB) nam-g̃iš-pu i-ri-du // *PBS* I/2 131: 20 nam-RU $eridu^{ki}$-ga (Ur III; van Dijk 1969: 542–43 and 545 C).

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1 Previous suggestions for g̃iš-BÙLUG in this incantation are "(magic) circle" (Civil 1967: 211 n. 33), and "(magic) hoop" or "magician's wand" (Cooper 1986: 33). None works so well with the verb šub as g̃išpu "spell."

(c) A manuscript of Ur-Namma B, *SRT* 11: 19, offers nam-giš-RU galam-ma-na "with his clever spell" where another has nam-RU (Klein 1989: 48).

(d) Finally an incantation fragment from Boğazköy, *KUB* 37 109: 6', has na-am-gi-iš-[. . .] where nam-RU is expected (cf. Geller 1989: 202–3).

There is no doubt that nam-RU can be read nam-šub, for it is syllabically written in rubrics, e.g. *VAS* X 216 rev. 7, 11: šìr nam-šu-ub. The evidence adduced above shows that in some quarters, at least, scribes replaced the technical terms šub "cast" and nam-šub "spell" with geš-pa/u (literally "throwstick") and nam-gešpa/u. Since this usage goes back to the mid-third millennium, nam-gešpu appears to be an archaic synonym of nam-šub. But no doubt Old Babylonian scribes had in mind Proto-*Ea* 600: $^{\text{geš-pa}}$RU, and by replacing commonplace šub with this more arcane value of RU sought to demonstrate superior learning. This technique was already then a feature of academic Sumerian, as described in George 2009: 104–10, esp. 105 para. f ("substitution of a normal Sumerian equivalence by another value of the sign in question"). The motivation was probably to conceal professional knowledge from the uninitiated.

The Seven Sons of Abzu and the Ancestors of Enlil

The incantation edited in Part II.A.5 provides new knowledge of the mythology that was attached to rites of purification with water. The incantation begins with a mythic narrative explaining how Enki's wife, Damgalnunna, first summoned the "Seven Sons of Abzu" (No. 6c ii 13: <ur-sag dumu> abzu-ke$_4$-⌜ne⌝ imin-na-ne-ne) and then gave refuge to the "Enki-gods and Ninki-goddesses" (ii 19: ^{d}en-ki-ne ^{d}nin-ki-ne), also called "Enlil and Ninlil" (ii 30: ^{d}en-líl ^{d}nin-líl, by which in this context is meant a plurality of "Enlils and Ninlils"), who "had fled" (ii 18, 31: um-ma-kar-ra) to Enki's haven.

The Seven Sons of Abzu occur as purifiers of water in other incantations (see VAS XVII 13: 8–12, ed. Charpin 1986: 389: dumu abzu imin-àm-ne-ne; *Šurpu* appendix 10–11, ed. Reiner 1958: 52: dumu abzu imin-na-ne-ne // *mārū*$^{\text{meš}}$ *ap-si-i se-bet-ti-šú-nu*). Knowledge of them is enriched by further attestations of them in this book, in the same function (II.A.6 Nos. 6f iii 31, 39: ur-sag dumu abzu imin-na-ne-ne; 6g iv 2: dumu abzu imin-na-ne-ne). They also appear as healers of pain in an Ur III incantation (Waetzoldt and Yıldız 1987: 293 obv. 2: dumu ab-zu imin-na-ne-ne).

Another group of seven associated with Enki's cosmic domain is the legendary seven sages (*apkallu*), fish-men from the Abzu held responsible for civilizing mankind before the Flood (Galter 2005: 285–94, George 2009: 110). These were the subject of much lost folklore, according to a late tradition (Reiner 1961). A first-millennium incantation relates a myth in which one of these mythical beings supplied the god Nabû with twenty-one poultices to take from the Abzu to the "upper world," i.e. transmitted healing techniques to mankind (Lambert 1980). The same sages had an important role in ancient Mesopotamian apotropaic rites (Wiggermann 1992: 76–77 "fish-*apkallu*"; 2000: 248). In the ritual series *bīt mēseri*, images of "fish-sages," seven in number (7 abgal-suḫur$^{\text{ku}_6}$), are painted on the walls and door of a chamber to maintain purity, and activated by an incantation that identifies each of them by name with the seven sages of legend (*Uruk* II 8 i 1–31; Wilcke 1988: 128; Wiggermann 1992: 108). On amulet-plaques the fish-sage acts as a healer: a figure mantled in a fish-skin cape carries a bucket of holy water and sprinkles it on an invalid in bed to purify him of evil (e.g. Wiggermann 1992: 76, Green 1994: 252; another exemplar is No. 63 in this volume). In the incantation series *Maqlû*, the "sages of Abzu" (III 62, VI 86, and the "seven sages of Eridu" (II 125, VII 46, VIII 40') are enlisted as forces for good in the battle against sorcery, both to combat evil spells and to bring

relief to their victim. The two terms surely refer to the same beings (see further Annus 2012: 18–20). It seems very probable that the Seven Sons of Abzu, who purify water and heal the sick, and the seven sages of Abzu (or Eridu), who have similar functions, are none other than the same figures under different titles.

The seven benign sons of Abzu have malign counterparts, a heptad of demons from Abzu that are the topic of incantations beginning imin-na-me-eš imin-na-me-eš "They are seven, they are seven," one published here (No. 10i viii 3'–18') and two in *Udug-ḫul* (Geller 1985: 42–47 ll. 400–50; see further Caplice 1973: 303).

The "Enki-gods and Ninki-goddesses" of the incantation edited in Part II.A.5 are ancestral deities drawn from the theogony of Enlil, of whom Enki and Ninki (also Nunki, Numunki)[1] constitute the first pair. They appear in a wide variety of texts (Westenholz 2010: 308–14; Lambert 2013: 405–17; Lisman 2013: 165–68). Some of them are given netherworld functions, presumably because they are reckoned to be defunct themselves. This suggests that they are in much the same category as the enigmatic groups of netherworld gods reckoned to be dead, bound or captive, one of which is tellingly called the "seven conquered Enlils" (Lambert 2013: 216–17). As regards incantations, the pair Enki and Ninki first appears in Old Sumerian spells, where they are subterranean deities anchoring the roots of the archetypal tamarisk (Krebernik 1984: 228). In Old Babylonian *Udug-ḫul* 56–58 they occur in the plural, ^{d}en-ki-e-ne ^{d}nin-ki-e-ne, alongside another ancestral pair, Enkum and Ninkum, and a third plural group, as authorities invoked by the exorcist in a rite of self-legitimation (misunderstood in SB *Udug-ḫul* III 79–80). Another Sumerian incantation of this period, to consecrate the torch, associates them with a scapegoat made pure by prince Enki (*VAS* XVII 19: 1: en-ki-ne nin-ki-e-ne, ed. Cavigneaux 1995a: 63). Groups of Enlil's ancestors occur in several other incantations of the Ur III and Old Babylonian periods, usually in the context of exorcism as authorities by whom demons are forced to swear (zi—pàd: Cavigneaux and Al-Rawi 1994: 74 ll. 9–11; eid. 1995b: 197; Peterson 2009). They are commonly deployed in this function in later exorcistic texts (examples collected by Lambert 2013: 409–10). Their connection with Enki's cosmic domain is explicit in SB *Udug-ḫul* XIII–XV 232'–34' (ed. Geller 2007: 176), where they are "lords of du$_{6}$-kù-ga," and "dwell in Eridu."

The Old Babylonian texts published here add considerably to the presence of Enlil's ancestors in early incantations. In No. 16 iii 5'–9' they occur in zi—pàd formulae, summarized as ama a-[a ^{d}e]n-l[íl-lá-k]e$_{4}$-ne "female and male ancestors of Enlil" (see Part I), and in II.K.2 No. 59 ii 3'–9' they appear in a similar context, included as en ^{d}en-líl *ù* nu-mu-un "Lord Enlils and Lady (Ninlils)." Text No. 12d iii 4' also has ancestral Enki in a zi—pàd context. Aside from acting as passive authorities invoked in exorcism, Enlil's ancestors also play an active role in rites of purification with water. They act in this capacity alongside Enki's servants: the *laḫama*-monsters of Abzu (II.A.4 No. 5i v 17'–18': ^{d}en-ki ^{d}nin-ki etc.), the Sages of Eridu (II.A.5 No. 6c ii 19; II.A.8 No. 6i iv 33: both ^{d}en-ki-ne ^{d}nin-ki-ne), but also alone (II.A.6 No. 6e iii 21: a-a ^{d}en-líl-lá-ke$_{4}$ "ancestors of Enlil"). The text presented in II.A.13, which is related to OB *Udug-ḫul* 56–58, invokes them in the plural alongside a-ta-a-ba eridu^{ki}-ke$_{4}$-e-ne "the *Adapas* (i.e. sages) of Eridu" (No. 17b obv. 23–24), probably as guarantors of the exorcist's effectiveness.

Gods of the netherworld were often understood to reside in the Abzu (Horowitz 1998: 342–44), and no doubt for that reason, as well as for their authority as primeval cosmic beings, Enlil's defunct ancestors were often invoked in exorcism and held to be experts in purification. The incantation edited in II.A.5, however, offers a clue to the ancients' understanding of the matter, for, as quoted above, it reports that the

[1] See the textual note in II.K.2 on No. 59 ii 3'.

Enki-gods and Ninki-goddesses, also known as Enlils and Ninlils, *fled* to the "quay of Eridu," i.e. the Abzu. I understand this detail to be an allusion to a myth. Several Babylonian mythological narratives relate the fate of the primeval deities at the hands of a new order of gods. Best known is *Enūma eliš*, which radically adapts much older mythology in telling what became of Abzu, Ti'āmat and Qingu. Other narratives feature ancestors of Enlil whose names occur in the theogony: Enmešarra alone, whose doom was imposed by Marduk (Lambert 2013: 281–98), or together with his father Enutila, when Ninurta executed both (pp. 326–69). Many variants of the myth seem to have been current in ancient Mesopotamia. Another elaboration of it may well have told how the most ancient gods were spared execution and instead banished from heaven and earth, and found new tasks in their refuge in the subterranean levels of the cosmos. Such would seem to be the implication of the verb *kar* "fled" in II.A.5.

As stated at the outset, Mesopotamian incantations routinely locate the archetypal precedents of adversity in the mythical past, *in illo tempore*, a time when Enki, the god of magic, handed down effective remedies to his son Asalluḫe, the original exorcist. The projection of the exorcist's work into the furthest past acknowledges the superiority of that lost world. As survivors of the earliest world order, the Enki-gods and Ninki-goddesses represented the cosmos in its original form. Their presence in Sumerian incantations is an invocation of that pristine universe, in which the forces of good held absolute sway over the forces of evil.

Catalogue

Text No.	Description	Measurements (mm.) (W×H×D)	MS no.
1	Clay tablet, landscape format, complete, 6+5 cols., 14+13+14+14+14+12, 9+9+10+11+8 cases Old Sumerian incantations, Early Dynastic: various topics; colophon	160×140×30	4549/1
2	Clay tablet, portrait format, near complete, 2 cols., 6+6 cases Old Sumerian incantation, Early Dynastic: snake; colophon	60×70×20	4549/2
3	Clay tablet, portrait format, right-hand portion, 7+7 cols., 6+15+13+15+15+16+13, 4+5+6+2+4+8+2 cases Old Sumerian incantations, Early Dynastic: various	150×230×50	4550
4	Clay tablet, portrait format, complete, 10+9 ll. Sumerian, Ur III or early Isin period: consecration of $^{\text{giš}}$kišig	46×65×22	3212
5	Clay tablet, portrait format, lower portion, 5+5 cols., 42+48+51+44+37, 28+22+14+19+17 ll. Sumerian, OB: *Kultmittelbeschwörung* collection	268×265×45	2789
6	Clay tablet, portrait format, near complete, 5+5 cols., 41+39+51+44+40, 47+46 ll. Sumerian, OB: *Kultmittelbeschwörung* collection	173×215×35	3098
7	Clay tablet, portrait format, lower portion, 4+4 cols., 28+24+25+43, 45+37+35+27 ll. Sumerian and Akkadian incantation collection, OB: varied contents, partly dupl. No. 8	250×240×50	3097
8	Clay tablet, portrait format, near complete, 2+2 cols., 45+40, 44+32 ll. Sumerian and Akkadian incantation collection, OB: varied contents, partly dupl. No. 7	93×165×32	3085
9	Clay tablet, middle portion, 4+4 cols., 10+15+24+ 27, 22+17+16+5 ll. Sumerian incantation collection, OB	220×140×54	3088
10	Clay tablet, middle portion, 3+3 cols., 17+18+13, 17+18+18 ll. Sumerian incantation collection, OB	154×107×32	3089+3102

Text No.	Description	Measurements (mm.) (W×H×D)	MS no.
11	Clay tablet, landscape(?) format, lower portion, 3+3 cols., 26+25+20, 23+31+25 ll. Sumerian incantation collection, OB: *Udug-ḫul*	230×155×45	3091+3092+310
12	Clay tablet, square format, lower portion, 3+3 cols., 30+33+34, 30+37+34 ll. Sumerian incantation collection, OB: *Namtar*	205×170×45	3096
13	Clay tablet, portrait format, top missing, 4+4 cols., 24+30+37+37 ll. on obv. Sumerian incantation collection, OB: *Namtar*	198×220×33	3100
14	Clay tablet, fragment of right col., 11+11 ll. Sumerian incantation collection, OB: demons	35×52×29	3105/2
15	Clay tablet, portrait format, corners missing, 2+2 cols, 14+33, 32+35 ll. Sumerian incantation collection, OB: zi—pàd	150×220×40	3095
16	Clay tablet, middle portion, 1+3 cols., 20, 28+23+3 ll. Sumerian incantation collection, OB: zi—pàd, field pests	145×120×45	3090
17	Clay tablet, portrait format, top portion, 1+1 cols., 25+23 ll. Sumerian incantation collection, OB: purification	72×137×32	3087
18	Clay tablet, portrait format, near complete, 1+1 cols., 24+25 ll. Sumerian incantation collection, OB: consecration(?)	60×140×26	3427
19	Clay tablet, portrait format, complete, 1+1 cols., 28+2 (edge)+31 ll. Sumerian incantation collection, OB: scorpion	55×149×30	2353
20	Clay tablet, portrait format, lower part, 1 col., 32 ll. Sumerian and Akkadian incantation collection, OB: various	65×155×28	3086
21	Clay tablet, portrait format, near complete, 1+1 cols., 34, 40 ll. Sumerian and Akkadian incantation collection, OB: various	95×185×30	3084
22	Clay tablet, portrait format, middle portion, 3+1 cols., 27+25+11, 11 ll. Sumerian and Akkadian incantation collection, OB: various	130×150×30	3105/1
23	Clay tablet, portrait format, complete, 1+1 cols., 17+10 ll. Sumerian and Akkadian incantations, OB: bone, love	45×120×26	3062
24	Clay tablet, portrait format, near complete, 1+1 cols., 8+7+2+3 ll. Sumero-Akkadian incantation(s), OB: scorpion	45×57×22	3059

Text No.	Description	Measurements (mm.) (W×H×D)	MS no.
25	Clay tablet, portrait format, complete, 1+1 cols., 14+8 ll. Sumero-Akkadian and unidentified incantations and Akkadian ritual, OB: stomach upset, snake-bite	49×68×17	2780
26	Clay tablet, fragment from middle, 2 cols., 15+15 ll. Akkadian and Sumerian incantation collection, OB: childbirth, toothache	52×57×20	3387
27	Clay tablet, portrait format, near complete, 1+1 col., 28+25 ll. Akkadian and Sumerian incantation collection, OB: snake, bone, scorpion	70×150×30	2791
28	Clay tablet, portrait format, near complete, 1+1 cols., 23+12 ll. Akkadian and unidentified incantations, OB: childbirth, Lamaštu	50×98×26	3067
29	Clay tablet, portrait format, near complete, 1 col., 34 ll. Akkadian incantations and ritual, OB: dog, childbirth	75×185×33	3082
30	Clay tablet, portrait format, upper portion, 2+2 cols., 26+28, 25+10 ll. Akkadian incantation collection and ritual, OB: gut, scorpion, bone	120×135×32	3093
31	Clay tablet, portrait format, lower portion, 2+2 cols., 3+24, 27+24 ll. Akkadian incantation collection, OB: evil eye, crying baby	115×125×35	3103
32	Clay tablet, portrait format, lacking bottom edge, 1+1 cols., 22+16 ll. Akkadian incantation collection, OB: "brewing jar"	60×100×31	2822
33	Clay tablet, portrait format, near complete, 1+1 cols., 16+4 ll. Sumerian incantations, OB: consecration of tamarisk	50×102×25	2844
34	Clay tablet, portrait format, near complete, 1+1 cols., 16+3+3 ll. Sumerian incantation, OB: consecration of torch	59×85×20	2757
35	Clay tablet, portrait format, near complete, 1+1 cols., 23+12 ll. Sumerian incantation, OB: consecration of divine statue	76×130×30	3083
36	Clay tablet, portrait format, lower portion, 1+1 cols., 12+13+2 ll. Sumerian incantation, OB: exorcism by divine oath	45×63×25	2283/1
37	Clay tablet, portrait format, complete, 1+1 cols., 13+3+2 ll. Sumerian incantation, OB: exorcism by divine oath	43×74×22	3074
38	Clay tablet, portrait format, near complete, 1+1 cols., 11+3 ll. Sumerian incantation, OB: exorcism by divine oath	39×74×21	2283/2

Text No.	Description	Measurements (mm.) (W×H×D)	MS no.
39	Clay tablet, landscape format, near complete, 1+1 cols., 12+8 ll. Sumerian incantation, OB: exorcism by divine oath	82×60×28	3069
40	Clay tablet, portrait format, near complete, 1+1 cols., 19+1+19+2 ll. Sumerian incantation, OB: exorcism by divine oath	52×110×26	3056
41	Clay tablet, portrait format, complete, 1+1 cols., 9+9 ll. Sumerian incantation and colophon, OB: snake	50×65×22	3063
42	Clay tablet, portrait format, near complete, 1+1 cols., 21+12 ll. Sumerian incantation and Akkadian ritual, OB: crying baby	54×95×23	3381
43	Clay tablet, square, near complete, 1+1 cols., 9+2 ll. Sumerian incantation, OB: function uncertain	54×46×18	3371
44	Clay tablet, portrait format, lower portion, 1+1 cols., 11+3+1 ll. Sumerian incantation, OB: function uncertain	69×71×20	3306
45	Clay tablet, portrait format, lower portion, 1+1 cols., 18+21 ll. Sumerian incantations(?), OB: function uncertain	60×102×28	3068
46	Clay tablet, portrait format, near complete, 1+1 cols., 16+18+2 ll. Sumerian, OB: exorcistic ritual against Namtar(?)	55×93×25	2401
47	Clay tablet, landscape format, complete, 1 col., 5 ll. Sumerian, OB: excerpt, Incantation to Utu 92–95	82×42×20	2816
48	Clay tablet, portrait format, near complete, 1+1 cols., 20+2 ll. Akkadian incantation, OB: snake	44×90×25	3070
49	Clay tablet, portrait format, near complete, 1+1 cols., 16+18+1 ll. Akkadian incantation, OB: scorpion	44×75×14	3060
50	Clay tablet, landscape format, near complete, 1+1 cols., 5+8 ll. Akkadian incantations, OB: scorpion, wasp(?)	58×49×22	3073
51	Clay tablet, portrait format, near complete, 1 col., 13 ll. Akkadian incantation, OB: wasp(?)	43×78×23	3061
52	Clay tablet, portrait format, near complete, 1+1 cols., 10+1+8 ll. Incantation in an unidentified language, Akkadian ritual(?), OB: function uncertain	45×59×23	2662
53	Clay tablet, portrait format, near complete, 1+1 cols., 11+2 ll. Presumed incantation in an unidentified language, OB: function uncertain	57×85×16	2321

Text No.	Description	Measurements (mm.) (W×H×D)	MS no.
54	Clay tablet, landscape format, complete, 1+1 cols., 4+4 ll. Sumerian and Akkadian exorcistic phrases, OB: school exercise?	54×40×23	3072
55	Clay tablet, oval landscape format, near complete, 1+1 cols., 13+1+10 ll. Pseudo-Sumerian and Akkadian, OB: self-praise of Ningirsu's weapon	100×72×23	3388
56	Clay tablet, landscape format, near complete, 1+1 cols., 11+10 ll. Pseudo-Sumerian and Akkadian, OB: self-praise of Ningirsu's weapon?	110×66×20	3380
57	Clay tablet, oval landscape format, lower portion, 4 ll. Pseudo-Sumerian and Akkadian, OB: self-praise of Ningirsu's weapon?	100×55×27	3334
58	Clay tablet, landscape format, complete, 6 ll. Pseudo-Sumerian and Akkadian, OB	80×72×18	3323
59	Clay tablet, portrait format, middle and lower portion, 3 cols., 29+30+32 ll. + fragment, 2 ll. Incantation-prayer, Akkadian, OB + account, Ur III	140×190×30	3419
60	Clay tablet, landscape format, complete, 1+1 cols., 4+1+3 ll. Akkadian spell or riddle, OB: scorpion	53×36×21	3949
61	Clay tablet, portrait format with pierced lug, near complete, 1+1 cols., 29+19 ll. Incantation-prayer, Akkadian, Neo-Assyrian period: apotropaion for a named individual	61×208×23	3187
62	Stone tablet, portrait format with pierced lug, complete, 6 ll. Amulet with Sumerian incantation, Middle-Assyrian period: Lamaštu	39×59×5	1913
63	Stone tablet, portrait format with pierced lug, complete, 13 ll. Amulet with label and Akkadian incantation, Neo-Assyrian period: Lamaštu	47×62×12	2779
64	Stone tablet, portrait format with pierced lug, complete Lamaštu-type amulet, uninscribed, first millennium BCE.	51×68×10	2819
65	Stone tablet, portrait format with pierced lug, complete Lamaštu-type amulet with pseudo-inscription, date unknown	44×67×6	2049
66	Stone head with pierced lug, complete, 10 ll. Pazuzu-head amulet with Akkadian and Sumerian incantation, Neo-Assyrian period: *Ḫulbazizi*	22×34×13	2447

Text No.	Description	Measurements (mm.) (W×H×D)	MS no.
67	Chalcedony bead, pierced lengthways, complete, 8 ll. Sumerian incantation and Akkadian subscript, 8th(?) century: *Ḫulbazizi*	25×19×13	3001
68	Carnelian bead, pierced lengthways, complete, 4 ll. Akkadian spell, Neo-Assyrian period	8×5×13	2880
69	Clay cylinder, pierced lengthways, complete, 8 ll. Akkadian incantation, Neo-Assyrian period: *Ḫulbazizi*	20×10	3272/1
70	Clay cylinder, pierced lengthways, complete, 12 ll. Akkadian incantation, Neo-Assyrian period: *Ḫulbazizi*	10×7	3272/2
71	Clay tongue, pierced sideways, complete, 1 l. Unidentified inscription, probably a charm	29×14×9	3273
72	Clay tablet, square, complete, 1+1 cols., 8+1 ll. Medical remedy in Akkadian, OB	52×52×22	3413
73	Clay tablet, landscape format, complete, 1+1 cols., 23+3+20 ll. Medical remedies in Akkadian, OB	118×80×27	3277
74	Clay tablet, portrait format, complete, 1+1 cols., 15+16 ll. Medical remedies in Akkadian, Late Babylonian period	58×74×23	4575
75	Stone tablet, landscape format with lion-shaped pierced lug, near complete, 6+6 ll. Hemerological table, Middle or Neo-Babylonian period	172×71×17	2781
76	Clay tablet, portrait format, lower left portion, 1+2 cols., 18+17+18 ll. Tabulated *Iqqur īpuš*, hemerological table and colophon in Akkadian, Neo-Assyrian period	69×81×26	2226
77	Clay tablet, portrait format, lower portion, 1+1 cols., 14+15 ll. Praise poetry and refrain, Akkadian, OB	72×110×34	3081

Concordances

1. Concordance of tablet numbers in the Schøyen Collection and text numbers in this volume.

MS No.	*Text No.*	*MS No.*	*Text No.*	*MS No.*	*Text No.*
1913	62	3063	41	3102	see 3089+
2049	65	3067	28	3103	31
2226	76	3068	45	3105/1	22
2283/1	36	3069	39	3105/2	14
2283/2	38	3070	48	3187	61
2321	53	3072	54	3212	4
2353	19	3073	50	3272/1	69
2401	46	3074	37	3272/2	70
2447	66	3081	77	3273	71
2662	52	3082	29	3277	72
2757	34	3083	35	3306	44
2779	63	3084	21	3323	58
2780	25	3085	8	3334	57
2781	75	3086	20	3371	43
2789	5	3087	17	3380	56
2791	27	3088	9	3381	42
2816	47	3089+3102	10	3387	26
2819	64	3090	16	3388	55
2822	32	3091+3092+3101	11	3413	73
2844	33	3092	see 3091+	3419	59
2880	68	3093	30	3427	18
3001	67	3095	15	3949	60
3056	40	3096	12	4549/1	1
3059	24	3097	7	4549/2	2
3060	49	3098	6	4550	3
3061	51	3100	13	4575	74
3062	23	3101	see 3091+		

2. Concordance of text numbers and editions in Part II

Text No.	*Edition*	*Text No.*	*Edition*	*Text No.*	*Edition*
1b	II.D.1	8j	II.E.9	32a–c	II.E.12
1c	II.B.1	8k	II.J.1	37	II.B.9
1f	II.D.2	8l	II.E.5	39	II.B.4
1g	II.E.1	9k	II.I.1	40	II.B.3
1h	II.E.2	10a	II.A.15	41	II.D.3
4	II.A.1	10g	II.B.8	42	II.H.1
5b	II.A.2	11f–h	II.A.15	43	II.J.2
5f–g	II.A.3	12a	II.B.7	46	II.B.7
5i	II.A.4	12d	II.B.5	47	II.K.1
6c	II.A.5	12f	II.B.7	48	II.D.7
6e–g	II.A.6	12g	II.B.6	49	II.D.9
6h	II.A.7	17a–b	II.A.13	50a	II.D.12
6i	II.A.8	17c	II.A.14	50b	II.D.13
6p	II.A.9	19a	II.D.4	51	II.D.13
6r	II.A.10	19d	II.D.5	54	II.K.4
6s	II.A.11	20d	II.J.2	55	II.K.5
6t	II.A.12	21b	II.G.3	56	II.K.5
7b	II.B.2	22c–d	II.B.8	57	II.K.5
7c	II.J.3	23a	II.F.1	58	II.K.5
7f	II.D.6	23b	II.I.2	59	II.K.2
7g	II.C.1	24a–b	II.D.11	60	II.K.6
7h	II.E.3	25a	II.E.6	61	II.K.3
7i	II.E.4	25b	II.D.14	62	II.B.10
7j	II.E.5	26a	II.G.2	63	II.B.10
7l	II.E.6	26c	II.E.13	67	II.B.11
7m	II.E.7	27a	II.D.8	69	II.B.12
7o	II.E.8	27b	II.F.2	70	II.B.12
7p	II.E.9	27c	II.D.8	72	II.L.1
7q	II.J.1	28a	II.G.1	73	II.L.2
8b	II.D.6	28c	II.B.8	74	II.L.3
8c	II.C.1	30a–b	II.E.11	75	II.M.1
8d	II.E.10	30d	II.D.10	76	II.M.2
8e	II.E.6	30f–g	II.F.3		
8f	II.E.7	31c–d	II.C.2		
8i	II.E.8	31e	II.H.2		

3. Concordance of previous publication with text numbers in this volume

Publication	*Text No.*	*Edition No.*
Bonhams 1999: 149 no. 542	63	II.B.10
Finkel 1999: 241 n. 19	19	–
Finkel 1999: 250 fig. 17	41	II.D.3
Heeßel 2002 no. 163	66	Part I ad loc.
MSCT II pp. 52–54	58	II.K.5
MSCT IV no. 19	60	II.K.6
Sotheby's LN7381	64	–

4. Concordance of published duplicates and closely related texts and passages

Museum/Field Number, Title, or Publication	*Text No.*	*Edition No.*
Abšegeda	75–76	II.M.1–2
AMT 61 no. 5 obv. 7'–14'	74 §1	II.L.3
AMT 62 no. 1 i 2'–11'	74 §1	II.L.3
AO 11447: 35–36 (Labat 1959)	73 §19	II.L.2
BAM 494 iii 66'–68'	73 §16	II.L.2
BM 47859 etc. (Alster 1972a)	7i	II.E.4
Borger 1970: 167–68 ii 41–52	6t	II.A.12
CT 42 32	22a	Part I ad loc.
CTN IV 93: 1'–10'	6t	II.A.12
CUSAS 25: 84 MS O	76	II.M.2
CUSAS 25: 84 MS p, 99	75	II.M.1
H 60: 1–16 (Cavigneaux 1995b: 78–79)	19d	II.D.5
H 60: 20–26 etc. (id. 1995b: 92)	19a	II.D.4
H 97 I 36–66 (Cavigneaux, Al-Rawi 1993: 179–81)	12a // 46 // 12e	II.B.7
H 97 ii 29–iii 5 etc. (eid. 1993: 198–99)	11i	Part I ad loc.
H 97 v 7–30 etc. (eid. 1995b: 184–87)	10a // 11f–h	II.A.15
H 103 i 1–14 etc. (eid. 2002: 24)	9h // 16 v 14'–23'	Part I ad loc.
Ḫulbazizi no. 2	67	II.B.11
Ḫulbazizi no. 17	66	Part I ad loc.
Ḫulbazizi no. 18	69 // 70	II.B.12
IAS 549 (Krebernik and Postgate 2009: 11)	1h	II.E.2
IB 1554: 96–97 (Wilcke 1985)	31e iv 19–21	II.H.2
IM 95317 (Al-Rawi and Dalley 2000 no. 134)	7j // 81	II.E.5
IM 160651 (Ali Murad 2015: II 171–72)	10a // 11f–h	II.A.15
Incantation to Utu 92–95	47	II.K.1
Iqqur īpuš	76	II.M.2
ISET I 217 Ni 4176 obv. 7–12	6p	II.A.9
Krebernik 1984 no. 2 A ii 6–7	1b ii 11–12	II.D.1
Krebernik 1984 no. 4 A iv 1–6	1e v 11–vi 4	Part I ad loc.
Krebernik 1984 no. 6 A vii 6	1e v 10	Part I ad loc.
Krebernik 1984 no. 11	1g	II.E.1

Krebernik 1984 no. 15	1b ii 5–6	II.D.1
Lamaštu SB I 1–8	63	II.B.10
Lamaštu SB II 129–34	10g // 22d, 62	II.B.8, 10
Langdon, *BL* no. 3: 3 (Geller 2003: 129)	10e vi 8'–10'	Part I ad loc.
LB 1000 (Geller and Wiggermann 2008)	22a	Part I ad loc.
Mari 15289 (Cavigneaux 1994)	60	II.K.6
Mayer 1976: Ea, Šamaš, Marduk/Asalluḫi no. 13	61	II.K.3
N 4109 (Cavigneaux and Al-Rawi 1993: 176)	10a // 11f–h	II.A.15
OECT V 55	22c // 28c	II.B.8
PBS I/2 122 etc. (Geller 1989)	21a	Part I ad loc.
PBS I/2 123	6p	II.A.9
RSM 1909.405.2 etc. (Geller 2002)	9k	II.I.1
S 7/1600 etc. (Cavigneaux and Al-Rawi 1994)	37a	II.B.9
Schramm 2008 no. 8	11i	Part I ad loc.
Schramm 2008 no. 12	10a // 11f–h	II.A.15
Šurpu V 144–49	6t	II.A.12
TCL XVI 89: 3–4 (Geller 2003: 129)	10e vi 8'–10'	Part I ad loc.
TIM IX 63: 17'–23'	22c // 28c	II.B.8
TIM IX 64	43	II.J.2
Udug-ḫul OB 352–57	11c	Part I ad loc.
Udug-ḫul OB 400–19	10i	Part I ad loc.
Udug-ḫul OB 473–78 etc.	14 obv.	Part I ad loc.
Udug-ḫul OB 646–90	11k	Part I ad loc.
VAS X 187 ii 11'–18'	6f	II.A.6
VAS X 202: 11'–14'	7j // 8l	II.E.5
VAS X 203: 17–21	7j // 8l	II.E.5
VAS XVII 15: 9–15	6s	II.A.11
VAS XVII 23: 1–3	5e	Part I ad loc.
VAS XVII 24	7h	II.E.3
VAS XVII 32: 1–3	5e ii 42'–45'	Part I ad loc.
VAS XVII 33: 16–17	11b i 25'–26'	Part I ad loc.
VAS XXIV 61: 4'–7'	16 iv 10'–12'	Part I ad loc.
Williams College 3	9k	II.I.1
YOS XI 5: 15–19	21b	II.G.3
YOS XI 5: 26	51	II.D.13
YOS XI 11 etc. (Veldhuis 1990)	7 o // 8i	II.E.8
YOS XI 12: 14–15	7n	Part I ad loc.
YOS XI 44	6h	II.A.7
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ZA 2: 334–35	76	II.M.2

5. Index of selected other citations

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VAS XVII 15: 11	71
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YOS X 42 iii 31–32	134
YOS XI 2: 3–6	137
YOS XI 4: 20–22	165
YOS XI 14 rev. 8–9	137
YOS XI 20: 10–12	97
YOS XI 49: 10.18	59
YOS XI 53: 4	49
YOS XI 61: 3	150
YOS XI 69 rev. 4'	150
YOS XI 86: 18	141

6. Concordance of text numbers in this volume and entry numbers in the database of the Cuneiform Digital Library Initiative (CDLI), which offers color images of all the objects published in this book, sometimes in a fuller photographic record. The URL of an individual tablet at CDLI is the domain address http://cdli.ucla.edu/ followed by the CDLI entry number, e.g. text No. 1 has the URL http://cdli.ucla.edu/P253640.

Text No.	*CDLI No.*	*Text No.*	*CDLI No.*	*Text No.*	*CDLI No.*
1	P253640	27	P251837	53	P251560
2	P253641	28	P252076	54	P252081
3	P253642	29	P252091	55	P252329
4	P342660	30	P252102	56	P252321
5	P251835	31	P252112	57	P252275
6	P252107	32	P251869	58	P252264
7	P252106	33	P251886	59	P252360
8	P252094	34	P251784	60	P253038
9	P252907	35	P252092	61	P342653
10	P252098	36	P251520	62	P250590
11	P252100	37	P252083	63	P251828
12	P252105	38	P251521	64	P251866
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19	P251572	45	P252077	71	P252214
20	P252095	46	P251601	72	P252218
21	P252093	47	P251863	73	P252354
22	P252114	48	P252079	74	P253648
23	P252071	49	P252069	75	P251830
24	P252068	50	P252082	76	P251422
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Descriptions of Tablets

Nos. 1–3. Early Dynastic Incantation Tablets
Sumerian incantations of the Early Dynastic (pre-Sargonic) periods are the earliest in the Mesopotamian record. They have mainly derived from two sources: (a) four tablets excavated in Early Dynastic IIIA buildings at Fara, ancient Šuruppak, by the German expedition of Koldewey and Andrae in 1902–3, split between the museums of Berlin and Istanbul and published between the wars by Deimel (1923) and Jestin (1937); and (b) eleven tablets, slightly later in date but in the Early Dynasxtic tradition, from among the archives excavated in 1975 in room L 2769 at Tell Mardikh in Syria, ancient Ebla or Ibla, by the Italian team led by Matthiae, and published by Pettinato (1979), Edzard (1984) and Krebernik (1996). A single Early Dynastic incantation tablet derives from excavations at al-Hiba, ancient Lagaš, conducted by Crawford and Hansen in the season 1970–71 and published by Biggs (1976).

The Sumerian incantations on those of these pre-Sargonic tablets that were identified by the early 1980s, together with the Semitic-language incantations copied at Ebla alongside them—some on the same tablets—benefited from a pioneering edition by Manfred Krebernik, *Die Beschwörungen aus Fara und Ebla* (1984). Since then, other Early Dynastic Sumerian incantation tablets have been published: two more from Ebla (Krebernik 1996; see further Catagnoti and Bonechi 1998), another excavated in a lavatory drain at Abu Salabikh in the 1988–89 season (Postgate 1990: 101 and pl. XVd; Krebernik and Postgate 2009: 11 and 31 IAS 549), and a third of no provenance, now in Brussels (Veldhuis 2006). A tablet excavated at Adab remains unpublished (Michalowski 1992: 322 no. 3) and still other unpublished examples have been noted in private hands (e.g. van Dijk and Geller 2003: 16).

The Schøyen Collection holds three Early Dynastic incantation tablets: two collective exemplars—tablets with several incantations—and one inscribed with a single incantation. Early Dynastic incantations, like other pre-Sargonic Sumerian literary texts, are notoriously difficult to understand and these are no exception. **No. 1** (Pls. I–II) is a fine oblong tablet, rebuilt from many pieces, small and large, but almost complete. It is inscribed with six columns of text on the obverse and four and a half on the reverse, written in a beautiful, elegant hand. They contain the text of nine incantations, all beginning én(ŠÚ.AN)-é-nu-ru, except the first, which has AN-é-nu-ru.[1] The text becomes more parsimonious with rubrics as it proceeds. Incantations (a) and (b) have rubrics that consist of the standard attribution to Ningirimma, also appended to incantations from Fara, but in addition they have a further line that seems to be an abbreviated counterpart of the later ka-inim-ma rubric, giving the incantation's topic or func-

[1] In i 1 én was surely intended, for the sign is right in the corner and the first two strokes of the stylus, that distinguish én from AN, may not have made much impact on the clay. However, note é-AN-⌜nu-ru⌝ in an Early Dynastic Akkadian text from Mari (Bonechi and Durand 1992: 155 sub 4') and AN-é-nu-ru in an Old Babylonian copy of the Sumerian "gall" incantation (Alster 1972a: 357 obv. 1).

tion.[1] Incantations (c) and (d) have only the attribution to Ningirimma; the next four incantations make do with a hatched case consisting of four or five KAS-signs—these seem to be a notation to mark the end of the incantation without having to append the standard rubric. The last incantation is followed by a colophon (on a new column).

The collection is noteworthy for the appearance of Asarre (^{d}asar), i.e. Enki's son Asalluḫe, in the role of an agent who counters evil (iv 12) and asks his father Enki for help in its expulsion (vi 8). Enki's son is omnipresent in this function in later incantation traditions, but until now his name has been conspicuously absent from Early Dynastic incantations (see the introduction to this volume).

The nine incantations are as follows:

(a) i 1–ii 2, incipit dumu ME.TE.MA, rubric KA×UD ^{d}nin-girim$_x$(A.BU.ḪA.DU) ki-ME.TE.MA-kam$_4$(*LAK*29): Sumerian incantation of uncertain topic (the key word ME.TE.MA is undeciphered), includes adjuration by An and Enlil (i 6–7).

(b) ii 3–iii 7, incipit UNU KI AN TAB AMAR AB SI GAR AN GAR, rubric KA×UD ^{d}nin-girim$_x$ gír-gír "spell of Ningirimma, scorpions": Sumerian incantation against scorpion and snake, edited in Part II.D.1.

(c) iii 8–iv 6, incipit èš gar dingir šú, perhaps "the house is in place, the (sun)-god is set," rubric KA×UD ^{d}nin-girim$_x$ "spell of Ningirimma": Sumerian incantation against demonic forces, edited in Part II.B.1.

(d) iv 7–v 3, incipit KAK GI BAR NE TUR, rubric KA×UD ^{d}nin-girim$_x$ "spell of Ningirimma": Sumerian incantation of uncertain topic; the key words are KAK and amar KAK, which like many evil things are described as (iv 9) ki-ta è-a "coming forth from the netherworld." The evil is countered by Asarre (iv 12): ^{d}asar zu:ab g̃iri ì-ma-TAG "A. hastened (cf. g̃iri—ul$_4$) (from) the Abzu."

(e) v 4–vi 6, incipit IGI GIŠ mu-šub, rubric replaced by 4 × KAS: Sumerian incantation of uncertain topic. The phrase MUNSUB a-gi$_6$ mu-du$_7$-du$_7$ "blood charges forth (like) a flood wave" (v 10) can be compared with Krebernik 1984 no. 6 A vii 6 MUNSUB ga-gin$_7$ GU$_4$.GU$_4$ // B vi 4 MUNSUB ⌜x⌝ du$_7$-du$_7$. The pair IGI IM mir IM (v 11–12, vi 3–4) suggest IM-u$_5$ IM-mir "south wind, north wind" in Krebernik 1984 no. 4 A iv 1–2, 5–6; Veldhuis 2006 i 4–5, iii 3–4, rev. i 5–6.

(f) vi 7–vii 4, incipit ^{d}asar mu-nun mu-gír-gír "Asarre (was out walking): a big snake was slithering along," rubric replaced by 4 × KAS: Sumerian incantation against snakebite, edited in Part II.D.2.

(g) vii 5–ix 2, incipit šà-gig mu-ak šà-gig libiš-gig mu-ak "stomach-ache was active, stomach-ache and gut-ache were active," rubric replaced by 5 × KAS: Sumerian incantation against internal pain, edited in Part II.E.1.

(h) ix 3–x 4, incipit šà-gig šà-ga-ni an-na-e-e "stomach-ache came forth against him, his insides," rubric replaced by 5 × KAS: Sumerian incantation against internal pain, partly parallel to IAS 549, edited in Part II.E.2.

(i) x 5–11, incipit AN AN AN gír an-na x an-KUD, no rubric: Sumerian incantation of uncertain function. Ningirimma (x 8) is

[1] Comparable rubrics, without the phrase ka-inim-ma, occur in Ur III incantations, e.g. šà-gi$_4$ for šà-gig "(against) stomach-ache" (Sigrist 1980: 159 i 12); a-tu$_5$-kam "(for) ablution" (*VAS* X 190: 28); lú muš ka ba-NI a-bi lú kúr-ra na$_8$-na$_8$-da-kam "a man having been bitten by a snake, (spell to accompany) the bitten person drinking the respective potion" (*VAS* X 193: 15–16; Römer 1995: 420 and Cunningham 1997: 97 emend to lú muš zú ba-dù, but ka ba, literally "to open the mouth," occurs in the context of biting in another third-millennium snake incantation, No. 2 i 2, quoted below on p. 27 n. 4).

asked to (x 9–10): si-bi ki ḫé-lá kun-bi da-ba ḫé-gá-gá "bind its horn to the ground, fix its tail to its side," language that suggests the elimination of a scorpion (gír).

Col. xi is half occupied by a colophon similar to those that are appended to literary and lexical school texts (but not incantation tablets) at Fara and, to a much lesser degree, at Abu Salabikh.[1] It lists five individuals, each preceded by the sign SANGA. The first, Ur-Gibil, bears the title $^{\text{lú}}$dub-sar "scribe," which marks him out as the writer of the tablet (a man of the same name wrote tablet No. 2). The second and third names are also qualified by either occupational title or other identity.[2] The colophon reads as follows:

1 SANGA ur-$^{\text{d}}$bi[l]:gi
2 $^{\text{lú}}$dub-sar
3 SANGA [g]u-[ni-d]u
4 ir-⌜da⌝
5 SANGA! ba-[za]
6 nar
7 SANGA DINGIR:ur-inanna
8 SANGA amar-é-zi-da

By mouth[3] of Ur-Gibil, scribe; by mouth of Irda's Gunidu; by mouth of Baza, singer; by mouth of Ur-Inanna; by mouth of Amar-Ezida.

No. 2 (Pl. III) is a small, rounded tablet that holds, in two columns of script on the obverse only, a text of at least ten cases. The incipit is damaged. The tablet has no rubric indicating that it carries an incantation, but the text mentions snakes and their attributes and has several points in common with the Ur III snake incantation *VAS* X 193.[4]

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[1] For the Fara colophons see Krebernik 1998: 325–35; for those from Salabikh see Biggs 1974: 33–35.

[2] The sign nar "singer, musician" in xi 6 was deciphered by Manfred Krebernik, who had a brief glimpse of the cuneiform in September 2015. ir-da in xi 4 is a patronym or other personal name that distinguishes this Gunidu from another of the same name.

[3] In other ED colophons the sign SANGA (or ŠID), which at Fara occurs before most of the personal names in a colophon, and sometimes before all of them, is usually interpreted as a professional title with the reading umbisag, meaning "scribe" or similar (e.g. Biggs 1967: 59; 1974: 33; Mander 1984: 339; Krebernik 1998: 314; Glassner 2000: 107–10; Waetzoldt 2009: 252), or sanga "temple administrator" (Westenholz 1985: 296–97).

The problems are (a) that job titles elsewhere follow names, and do here in xi 2 and 6, (b) that the word for "scribe" in contemporaneous administrative documents is dub-sar, and (c) that in our two new colophons (tablets Nos. 1 and 2) Ur-Gibil bears exactly that title, $^{\text{lú}}$dub-sar, while also preceded by SANGA. Moreover, the colophons from Fara often list several individuals, each prefixed SANGA, much as in the colophon of our No. 1, but record the name of the actual scribe by appending to one (and only one) of those names the phrase dub mu-sar "he wrote the tablet." Noting suggestions that the colophons on ED manuscripts seem "in some way to have authenticated the contents" (Westenholz 1985: 295) or recorded "die für den Text verantwortlichen Gewährsleute bzw. Autoren" (Krebernik 1998: 314), the most plausible explanation for such colophons is that they report a situation in which a tablet was written by one man on the authority or with some other involvement of several others. Accordingly, it is here proposed that SANGA/ŠID is not a displaced professional title but should be understood as the UD.GAL.NUN spelling for ka "mouth" (Lambert 1981: 86–87; Krebernik 1984: 283; 1998: 301; on UD.GAL.NUN spelling in ED literary texts, see further Krecher 1992). "(By) mouth of PN" aptly records that the text written on the tablet was faithful to the oral tradition passed down by living authorities, one of whom wrote the tablet. An analogous phrase in the colophons of much later tablets is *ša/ana pî* PN "from the mouth of So-and-So."

[4] No. 2 i 2–4: uš-è-bi gar ka ba-ba, zú-bi GA ŠÀ! KID DI KA, muš-gur$_8$ ušum-gal-gur$_8$ "finding a place for its spewed venom, opening the mouth (to bite), . . . its fangs, a *gur* snake, a *gur* viper," cf. *VAS* X 193: 2–3 // 6–7 (ed. Veldhuis 1993a: 161; 1994; Römer 1995: 419; cf. Cunningham 1997: 79): lú-ra muš mu-ra gír mu-ra ur-mú-da mu-ra uš-bi mu-na-ab-šúm-m[a] "a *mu-ra* snake, a *mu-ra* scorpion, a *mu-ra* rabid dog that gave its venom to a man." A juxtaposition of ED gur$_8$ and Ur III mu-ra makes improbable the analysis of mu-ra as conjugation prefix and verb base (Römer: "vielleicht als 'zuschlagen'"; Veldhuis: *mu-ra-a-e "that was biting"). The two spellings probably convey the same lemma, perhaps mir "angry."

There is no doubt that it is a spell giving protection against snakes and snake-bite. The tablet concludes with a colophon (ii 4–6): SANGA ur-^{d}NE:gi ^{lú}⌜dub-sar⌝ [in-sar?] "by mouth of Ur-Gibil, the scribe, [(who also) wrote it(?).]"

Nos. 1 and 2 are the only two pre-Sargonic incantation tablets so far published that bear colophons.

No. 3 (Pls. IV–VII) is a large but badly damaged portion of a tablet of considerable size. It was perhaps originally divided into as many as ten columns per side; parts of seven remain on the obverse, and parts of seven on the reverse. Because of damage to the inscribed surface it is not possible to be sure exactly how many incantations are represented on the surviving fragment. The division between successive incantations is marked as in the latter part of No. 1, by a small case cross-hatched with KAS-signs. Such cases occur on ten occasions (ii' 3', 9', iii' 4', iv' 2, 10', v' 7, vi 5', 11', x' 3, xiii' 5). All such cases are followed by a new incantation, beginning én(ŠÚ.AN)-é-nu-ru as in No. 1, a formula that also occurs at the top of col. ix'. No closing formulae are detectable. Accordingly, the extant text yields the fragmentary remains of at least twelve incantations.

The contents of No. 3 are less easy to describe. Spelling is partly syllabic, e.g. vi' 2 ⌜ù⌝-na-du instead of ù-na-dug$_4$ "say to him." The opening of the second incantation (ii' 5'–6': šà-gig libiš-gig, a-gá-lá LÚ+*šeššig*×BAD gig) contains phrases already met in No. 1h and IAS 549 (Krebernik and Postgate 2009: 11 and 31). It is not the same incantation but is certainly a spell against stomach upset. The fifth incantation begins like No. 1i (incipit iv' 4: [A]N AN GÍR [A]N AN NA), but then differs; presumably it is also against scorpions. Enlil is much in evidence, both in the repeated phrase gá-gá ama-tud ^{d}en-líl-(la)-ka (vi' 4, 7, 10), in a lú-gi$_4$ formula (v' 14 a-ni ^{d}en-líl-še$_x$(GÁN)), and elsewhere (iv' 12 zi ^{d}en-líl-la; vi' 15 ^{d}en-líl uru$_5$; also iv' 14). Unlike in No. 1, Enki and his son Asalluḫe are nowhere to be seen.

No. 4. Ur III Incantation Tablet

Eighteen incantation tablets from the period of the third dynasty of Ur (Ur III) were catalogued by Cunningham 1997: 96–97. Some were excavated at Nippur and one hails from Drehem (Puzriš-Dagān), but others derive from the antiquities' market and lack provenance. Between them they hold twenty-two incantations, all in Sumerian except for a solitary spell in Akkadian. Two other pieces were overlooked by that catalogue, both in Istanbul: Um 712, a tablet from Umma with a stomach-ache spell written over an administrative text (Waetzoldt and Yıldız 1987), and L. 1036, a cylinder from Tello holding two snake incantations (Lafont and Yıldız 1989: 193–94 and 295–56). A tablet from Tell Asmar, excavated in the 1930s and now in Chicago, added another Sumerian incantation to the published number (Finkel 1998: 81–83, 101–2 no. 4). A further twenty-two tablets of Sumerian incantations and related texts, formerly in the possession of Hermann Hilprecht and probably all discovered at Nippur before 1900, have since been published (van Dijk and Geller 2003).

The incantation tablets identified as Ur III are not dated, so that their attribution to the Ur III period is by palaeography and conventional. The style of Ur III writing—tablet format and ductus—did not disappear immediately at the fall of Ur (2004 BC in the middle chronology) but continued among scribes writing under the early kings of the first Isin dynasty. Consequently an undated tablet identified by script as Ur III may be slightly later than the end of the eponymous dynasty.

No. 4 (Pl. VIII). The Schøyen Collection has in its care a single example of an Ur III incantation tablet. This bears a Sumerian *Kultmittelbeschwörung* for use with the thorny shrub ^{giš}kišig. Its incipit is ^{giš}kišig(Ú.GÍR-*gunû*) giš-zi "thorn-bush, upright bush," but there is no rubric. It is edited below, in Part II.A.1.

Nos. 5–60. Incantations and Related Texts on Old Babylonian Tablets

Incantation tablets of the Old Babylonian period survive in large numbers. Cunningham's catalogues for the period have entries for 236 Sumerian incantations, 92 Akkadian incantations, six at least partly in both languages, and forty-two in languages other than Sumerian and Akkadian (1997: 131–59). More have been added to these numbers in the years since. The majority of tablets on which these 376 catalogued incantations are written lack archaeological provenances, including the large collections published in cuneiform by van Dijk in *VAS* XVII (1971) and *YOS* XI (1985).[1]

The fifty-seven Old Babylonian incantation and related tablets in the Schøyen Collection can be divided into two groups: (a) tablets in the range MS 3056–3105 and (b) tablets distributed elsewhere in the collection. The fifty numbers of (a) were assigned to a group of tablets and fragments that came into the collection under the title of the "Magician's Archive." After baking, cleaning and joining, the tablets in this group numbered forty-eight.[2] Upon further study it became apparent that not all tablets in the range MS 3056–3105 bore incantations and related texts: sixteen tablets have texts that belong to other genres. Six of them, scattered throughout the range, bear divinatory texts that have already been published in a previous volume in this series.[3] Two of these are part of a seven-strong group, MS 3075–3081, that interrupts the sequence of incantations and may represent an intrusion.[4] One divinatory tablet and two other tablets make a smaller intrusive group, MS 3064–3066.[5] Three tablets dispersed in the sequence are also not incantation tablets: MS 3071, 3094 and 3099.[6] Nevertheless, thirty-six fragments belonging to thirty-two incantation tablets are concentrated in this short range, and it must be asked whether these have any integrity as a collection.

In the absence of knowledge of the tablets' prior history and the lack of ancient indicators, such as colophons, the only criteria available for determining whether or not the thirty-two tablets form a discrete group are physical: the script, the clay, and any other features in common. There is little objective to report here, but one thing stands out. Most of the larger tablets and some smaller ones have suffered damage by disintegration: they have lost edges not by clean breaks but because the clay has flaked badly with consequent loss of surface and destruction of core. This effect can be seen on Nos. 7–8, 10–17, 20–22, 30–31 and 35 of this book, and on No. 16 of the divinatory volume. It is interesting to observe that the collection numbers of these seventeen tablets—MS 3083–3087, 3089–3093, 3095–3097, 3100–3105—all stem from the end of the range, immediately following the larger intrusive group of seven identified in the preceding paragraph. It is possible to consider that at least the tablets in the sequence MS 3082–3105 shared a common place of manufacture and

[1] On the provenance of OB incantations see further Michalowski 1992: 312–14.

[2] Joined: MS 3089+3102, MS 3091+3092+3101; separated: MS 3105 into 3105/1 and 3105/2.

[3] MS 3057, 3058, 3066, 3078, 3080, 3104, ed. *CUSAS* 18 = *MSCT* VII nos. 3, 5, 8, 9, 16 and 37.

[4] MS 3075: Sumerian hymn to Nanna (Gungunum A); MS 3076: Sumerian hymn; MS 3077: *Inninšagurra* (Inanna C) 1–20; MS 3078: omens, ed. *CUSAS* 18 no. 9; MS 3079: OB letter fragment; MS 3080: model colon, ed. *CUSAS* 18 no. 37; MS 3081: Akkadian praise-song and refrain, text No. 77 at the end of this volume. Photographs: CDLI P252084–90.

[5] MS 3064: unidentified text on two surfaces of a small four-sided prism; MS 3065: two praise clauses in Sumerian; MS 3066: omens, ed. *CUSAS* 18 no. 8. Photographs: CDLI P252073–75.

[6] MS 3071, CDLI P252080: Sumerian litany, partly syllabic version of *VAS* II 25 i 1–20, cf. Krecher 1966: 53–54; MS 3094, CDLI P252103: OB administrative fragment; MS 3099, CDLI P252108: Sumerian, collection of popular compositions, including Old Man and Young Girl (identified by J. Matuszak).

a common archaeological provenance where many were exposed to the same adverse conditions. They, and maybe some other tablets in the range MS 3056–3105, but not all, might then be the remains of a library of an Old Babylonian scholar, an exorcist who perhaps also had an interest in divination—but there can be no certainty of this.

For present purposes the collection's Old Babylonian incantation tablets will be organized by format: first to be described are the multi-column collective tablets that hold many incantations, beginning with the giant tablets; then will follow the description of incantations and related texts on single-column tablets.

Old Babylonian Incantations on Collective Tablets

In his discussion of the creation of series of Old Babylonian incantation texts van Dijk observed that collective incantation tablets fall into two text types (1967: 238–39): (a) tablets which collect incantations of the same genre (e.g. scorpion spells), which are easy to identify from content, and (b) tablets that collect sequences of incantations organized according to their use in ritual, which, in the absence of detailed knowledge of rituals in this period, are less easily identified. Examples of the former in this book are Nos. 11 (*Udug-ḫul*), 12 and 13 (Namtar), 15 (zi—pàd) and 19 (snake, scorpion). Examples of the latter: Nos. 5 and 6. A third type, in which miscellaneous incantations are assembled, is represented by Nos. 7, 8, 9, 10, 16, 18, 21 etc.

No. 5 (Pls. IX–XIV). This is the lower three-fifths of a giant tablet of five columns per side, rebuilt from two pieces and consolidated with plaster of Paris. It holds at least fifteen Sumerian incantations of the *Kultmittelbeschwörung* type, all beginning én-é-nu-ru, as far as preserved. The sequence of materials and objects treated in the incantations is: gypsum (a), clay pots (b–c), reed hut and water (d–g), tamarisk (h), soapwort (i), reed post(?) (j), tamarisk again (m), and reed torch (n). This sequence probably follows the actions taken and instruments used in a ritual of purification. A ritual-based organization can be suspected in at least three other Old Babylonian compilations of *Kultmittelbeschwörungen*: certainly the collective tablet in Dublin edited by M. J. Geller (2001), and probably another collective tablet, formerly in the Amherst Collection but now known only in the copy of T. G. Pinches (*MVN* V 302, cf. Römer 1981), and tablet No. 6 in this book. As Geller notes of the Dublin text, there is a clear first-millennium analogue in Tablet IX of the incantation series *Šurpu*, which is likewise given over to incantations for activating the powers latent in ritual materials and objects. Another Old Babylonian collective tablet that has an explicit ritual context is a tablet in Chicago containing six incantations with individual rubrics, summed up as ka-inim-ma gudu$_4$ kù-ge-da-kam "incantation formulae to consecrate a *gudu*-priest" (Farber and Farber 2003).

There are some syllabic spellings, e.g. v 24' im-ta for im-tag, and plain errors, e.g. iii 50' dumu dingir-re-e-ne "son of the gods" for the standard epithet dumu dingir-ra-na "son of his god." The fifteen incantations are as follows:

(a) i 1'–10', incipit lost, rubric ka-inim-ma im-bábbar!-ra! (sup. ras.) "incantation formula for gypsum": end of a Sumerian incantation to consecrate a mineral used as soap in cleansing rituals. Other incantations for gypsum are No. 6q and K 2466 (Geers Folio E13, Lambert Folio 9814, incipit im-babbar im dadd[ag-ga], rubric [ka-inim-ma im]-babbar-ra-ke$_4$), but their contents differ.

(b) i 11'–39', incipit im abzu-ta "clay from the Abzu," rubric ka-inim-ma $^{dug!}$sáḫar-ra šu te-gá-da-kam "incantation formula for handling a *saḫar*-pot": Sumerian incantation, consecration of *saḫar*-pot, edited in Part II.A.2. An incantation with a similar rubric is No. 6v.

(c) i 40'–42', incipit broken, probably continues as ii 1'–7', rubric ka-inim-ma ^{dug}bur! (GAR)-⌜zi⌝-[tur-r]a šu te-gá-da-kam "incantation formula for handling a small bowl": Sumerian incantation, content largely lost, consecration of a small vessel that was used in rituals for offering syrup and oil (*Urra* X 270: ^{dug}bur-zi-tur = *saḫ-ḫa-ru*, see further Salonen 1966: 112–13).

(d) ii 8'–40', incipit giš-gi gal-gal dingir-re-e-ne-ke$_4$ "the great reedbeds of the gods," rubric ka-inim-ma šutug! (tablet: šur) šub-ba-kam "incantation formula for setting up a reed hut": complete Sumerian incantation, consecration of a temporary outdoor booth for a ritual (on the functions of this structure see now Wee 2014: 35–41). Other incantations with this rubric are Nos. 6w and 6x and probably *MVN* V 302 ii 1'–11': ka-inim-ma! ^{giš}šutug šub!-kam.

(e) ii 41'–48', incipit nun-e a-idim šu im-ma-ni-⌜dab$_5$⌝ (// 44') "the prince took in hand water from the Deep," rubric lost (unless at iii 31'): Sumerian incantation to consecrate water, opening lines only. The beginning of the incantation describes how Enki filled the Tigris and Euphrates with water from his cosmic abode (45'), duplicating a passage that occurs at the outset of *VAS* XVII 32, an incantation to counter body lice (see Cavigneaux and Al-Rawi 2002: 10); probably the context of both is cleansing the body with holy water. Possibly continues on col. iii as (f).

(f) iii 1'–31', incipit lost (unless at ii 42'), rubric ka-inim-ma a sa$_{10}$-sa$_{10}$-kam šutug!-šub-ba gi-dù-e "incantation formula for buying (i.e. drawing) water,[1] (for use in) an erected reed hut and reed fence": Sumerian incantation to consecrate water for use in an outdoor ritual. The water is made fragrant with aromatics and invested with magic force by Asalluḫe. The closing passage (iii 20'–30') is quoted in Part II.A.3.

(g) iii 32'–51', incipit nun-e abzu-ta è-a-ni "when the prince came forth from Abzu," rubric lost, perhaps at iv 1': opening portion of Sumerian incantation for ablution rites, edited in Part II.A.3.

(h) iv 2'–44', incipit ^{giš}šinig giš sikil gi[š . . .] "tamarisk, pure tree, [. . .]," very probably continuing as v 1'–6', rubric ka-inim-ma ^{giš}šinig x[. . .] "incantation formula for [. . .] tamarisk": long Sumerian incantation to consecrate tamarisk for a ritual. The archetypal tamarisk, whose roots were grounded in the Abzu and whose branches reached the sky, was discovered and put to good use by Ninildu, the carpenter god, and made sacred by the magic expertise of Enki's close family: Asalluḫe, Damgalnunna and Namma.[2]

(i) v 7'–36', incipit ú ki-sikil-e mú-[a] "plant grown in a pure place," rubric ka-inim-ma ú-in-uš a-tu$_5$-kam "incantation formula for washing with soapwort": complete Sumerian incantation, edited in Part II.A.4.

(j) vi, incipit (2–3) giš-gi x x [. . .] giš-gi x x [. . .] "reedbed . . ., reedbed . . ., rubric lost: damaged Sumerian incantation, to consecrate a ritual object (or objects) made of reed, probably the posts (^{gi}ùri-gal; see Sallaberger 2005–6) that marked off the ritual space around a ^{giš}šutug. Nanše(?) nin a-gúb-ba "lady of the holy-water vessel" is the agent of purification (vi 15).

(k) vii, incipit and rubric lost: remains of a Sumerian incantation of uncertain function.

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1 On the phrase a sa$_{10}$-sa$_{10}$ see Part II.A.6, textual note on No. 6e–g iii 17, 18, 23.

2 Enki's son, wife and mother also act together in *VAS* XVII 30, an incantation of uncertain function. There they follow his father, An, and Enki himself, and one observes a divine family operating almost as a business unit.

(l) viii, incipit and rubric lost: remains of a Sumerian incantation of uncertain function.

(m) ix 3–11, incipit lost, rubric ka-inim-ma sikil-e-dè šinig a-tu$_5$-a-kam "incantation formula to purify by washing with tamarisk": scant remains of the end of a Sumerian incantation for ablution.

(n) ix 12–20, incipit damaged, rubric lost: very poorly preserved opening lines of a Sumerian incantation, apparently to consecrate a reed torch (14: gi-izi-lá), but not recognizably a version of any so far known.

(o) x, incipit and rubric lost: remains of a Sumerian incantation of uncertain function, mentioning Ninḫursag and Tigris water.

No. 6 (Pls. XV–XX). Only seven columns of this neat ten-column tablet are inscribed, in small but clear script. It contains an unfinished compilation of Sumerian incantations, breaking off in the middle of the twenty-fifth incantation. The contents are ordered to follow an elaborate ritual involving ceremonial washing and dressing, as already suspected for No. 5. There is more certainty here because the sequence of incantations is interrupted by a statement reporting that the next incantations are for "putting the 'outlines' in place" (d). The "outlines" are the arrangements made to enclose a ritual space, usually by making a magic circle with flour and setting up a cordon of reed posts (^{giš}ùri-gal; Sallaberger 2005–6: 65, *CAD* G 102). The use of this ritual apparatus already in the Old Babylonian period is demonstrated by the incantation II.B.7 No. 46 rev. 11'–12'. The compilation No. 6 thus divides into two unequal parts: the three incantations presented before this statement, which presumably belong to a preliminary stage of the ritual, and the twenty-one that come afterward, which pertain to setting up the magic circle and cordon of posts. As might then be expected, toward the end of the second group are incantations for building the ^{giš}šutug, a temporary reed booth erected inside the cordon to shelter the patient of the ritual (see above on No. 5d).

The incantations deal with the following topics: royal signet ring(?) (a), street (b), riverbank and drawing water (c, e–g), cleansing a divine statue (h), ablution (i–k), soap (l), pot of milk (m), more ablution with soap (n–o), tamarisk (p), gypsum (q), treading in something dirty (r), water-basin (s), cloak (t), clay and pot (u–v), ritual hut (w–x), and various agents of purity, vegetable and mineral (y).

Other collective tablets are known to present incantations recited during the ritual consecration of priests (Old Babylonian: Farber and Farber 2003; later: Borger 1973, Löhnert 2010), but the contents of (a) suggest that here the king is involved. We might consider the text to be an Old Babylonian analogue of later ritual texts such as *bīt rimki* "Bath-house," in which the king is isolated in a reed booth surrounded by the usual circle of reed posts and ritually purified by elaborate and repeated washing (most recently Ambos 2012). However, in the present text a divine statue is also washed (h), so this ritual—if a ritual is at issue—was not focused only on the king. The inclusion of an incantation that depicts the *en*-priest of Inanna, i.e. Dumuzi, riding on a barge (c) may suggest that the ritual was connected with the sacred marriage rites in which the king played the role of Inanna's divine lover.

Understanding is hampered by unconventional writing and corruption, e.g.: ii 25 a-gub-ba for a-gúb-ba "holy-water vessel"; iv 28 etc. a-ŠU.AK for a-tu$_5$(ŠU.NAGA) "washing"; iv 40 gada-gin$_7$ ḫé-eb-re apparently for gada-gin$_7$ ḫé-búr-re "may it unfold like a sheet," iv 41–42 ^{d}KÙ.GÁ sa$_6$-ga ^{d}UNUG? sa$_6$-ga en-mu-un-da-su$_8$-su$_8$-ge-eš for ^{d}udug sa$_6$-ga ^{d}lamma sa$_6$-ga ḫu-mu-un-da-su$_8$-su$_8$-ge-eš "may a kind *udug* and a kind *lamma* stand alongside him"; v 27 nag-si for naga-si "soapwort"; v 28 kaš-ùlu-ši perhaps for kaš-ulušin "emmer beer"; v 30 e-máš for amaš "cowfold"; vii 43 ú-mur-du-du for ú-mur-dù-dù.

A curious feature of the tablet is the unruled spaces left vacant in cols. ii, iv, v, vi and vii, and the partly vacant lines in cols. v and vi. These blank spaces probably indicate breaks intervening between legible passages of text on a damaged or illegible master copy.

The twenty-five incantations are as follows:

(a) i [1]–43, rubric [ka-in]im-ma šu-<gur?> lugal-la-šè "incantation formula for the king's signet ring(?)": Sumerian incantation, consecration of regalia (14: ⌜šu⌝-gur kù-sig$_{17}$ kù-babbar), includes blessings of plenty for the king's reign.

(b) ii [1]–8, rubric ka-inim-ma e-sír DU-ù "incantation formula for going down the street": Sumerian incantation, purification with water. Between ll. 4 and 5 an unruled space for three lines is left vacant.

(c) ii 9–iii 8, incipit kar ^{d}asar kar abzu-ke$_4$ "quay of Asarre, quay of Abzu," rubric ka-inim-ma "incantation formula": Sumerian incantation, edited in Part II.A.5.

(d) iii 9–10, editorial statement in Sumerian: egir-bi ka-inim-ma giš-ḫur-ḫur gar-ra "after these (come) the incantation formulae for putting the 'outlines' in place." On this see above.

(e) iii 11–23, incipit ^{d}namma ama ^{d}en-ki-ga-ke$_4$ "O Namma, mother of Enki," rubric ka-inim-ma a sa$_{10}$-sa$_{10}$ "incantation formula for buying (i.e. drawing) water": Sumerian incantation, edited in Part II.A.6.

(f) iii 24–43, incipit kar si-sá kar abzu "The fair quay, quay of Abzu," rubric ka-inim-ma kar si-a-kam "incantation formula for filling (a pail at) the river bank": Sumerian incantation, // *VAS* X 187 ii 11' ff.. Edited in Part II.A.6.

(g) iii 44–iv 6, incipit kar si-sá kar abzu "The fair quay, quay of Abzu," rubric ka-inim-ma "incantation formula": Sumerian incantation, variant of (f), edited in Part II.A.6. The rubric is followed by space for three lines, left unruled and vacant.

(h) iv 7–28, incipit a-e kur-ra nam-tar-ra-àm "water, given its function in the uplands," rubric ka-inim-ma a ŠU.AK dingir "incantation formula (for) washing a god": Sumerian incantation closely related to *YOS* XI 44. Edited in Part II.A.7.

(i) iv 29–42, incipit a íd-da kù-ge-dè "O river-water for consecration," no rubric: Sumerian incantation for ablution with holy water. Edited in Part II.A.8.

(j) iv 43–v 5, incipit a [x] a sa nun-e gar-ra-àm "water . . . put in place by the prince," rubric ka-inim-ma "incantation formula": Sumerian incantation, probably for ablution with holy water, as in the preceding and following incantations. Between the end of the writing and the rubric is an unruled blank space adequate for four lines.

(k) v 6–18, incipit missing, rubric ka-inim-ma a-ŠU.AK "incantation formula for washing": Sumerian incantation for ablution with holy water. The text is interspersed with blank lines and parts of lines.

(l) v 19–27, incipit damaged, rubric ka-inim-ma nag-si gar-ra-àm "incantation formula for putting the soap in place": Sumerian incantation, no doubt in connection with washing ritual, but marred by damage and omissions.

(m) v 28–38, incipit dug kù-ga kaš-šilig/ùlu-šita pàd-da "holy pot, found in . . .," rubric ka-inim-ma ga-àm "incantation formula for milk": Sumerian incantation to consecrate milk, noteworthy for a list of dairy gods, elsewhere identified as sons of Gayu, the moon-god's cowherd (cf. *An* III 88–96, Richter 1999: 397).

(n) v 39–43, incipit a sikil ^{d}en-ki-ke$_4$ šu sikil ka sikil "pure water of Enki that makes hand and mouth pure," rubric ka-inim-ma a-ŠU.AK "incantation formula for washing": short Sumerian incantation for ablution with holy water.

(o) vi 1–14, incipit a kù-ge!(tablet: zi) naga kù "holy water, holy soap," rubric ka-inim-ma "incantation formula": Sumerian incantation, no doubt for ablution with holy water. The text presents the beginnings of lines only, the ends and space for a five-line passage being left blank.

(p) vi 15–25, incipit ^{giš}šinig "tamarisk," rubric ka-inim-ma ^{giš}šinig "incantation formula for tamarisk": Sumerian incantation to consecrate tamarisk, similar to *PBS* I/2 123. Edited in Part II.A.9.

(q) vi 26–34, incipit im-bábbar k[i din]gir-⸢re-e⸣-ne gar-ra "gypsum, established where the gods (dwell)," rubric ka-inim-ma im-bábbar "incantation formula for gypsum": Sumerian incantation to consecrate gypsum. Other incantations with this rubric are noted under No. 5a.

(r) vi 35–44, incipit níg-e níg-e níg-nu-gar-ra gìri ba-ús "a thing, a thing, I have trodden on a nasty thing," rubric ka-inim-ma gìri ús-sa "incantation formula for treading (in something)": Sumerian incantation to counter treading in something dirty. Edited in Part II.A.10.

(s) vi 45–49, incipit a kù-ga a sikil-la a dadag-ga "holy water, pure water, clean water," rubric ka-inim-ma a-gúb-ba-k[am] "incantation formula for a holy-water basin": Sumerian incantation to consecrate a vessel containing holy water, variant of *VAS* XVII 15: 9–15. Edited below in Part II.A.11.

(t) vii 1–6, incipit gu ^{d}uttu kin-na ba-ni-in-šub "Uttu cast a thread in her work," rubric ka-inim-ma túg-ba$_{13}$ "incantation formula for a cloak": Sumerian incantation to consecrate a ceremonial mantle, edited in Part II.A.12.

(u) vii 7–11, incipit im-gin$_7$ "like clay," rubric ka-inim-ma "incantation formula": Sumerian incantation largely destroyed by damage to the tablet and by the illegibility of the original exemplar (two lines left blank).

(v) vii 12–22, incipit ^{dug}sáḫar-ra x x è-a "*saḫar*-pot, coming out of . . .," rubric ka-inim-ma ^{dug}sáḫar-ra-kam "incantation formula for a *saḫar*-pot": Sumerian incantation to consecrate a ritual vessel. An incantation with a similar rubric is No. 5b.

(w) vii 23–31, incipit [gi kù?] mu-un-de$_6$ gi-ta mu-de$_6$ "He brought [a holy reed(?)], he brought it from the reed-(bed)," rubric ka-inim-ma šutug šub-ba-a-ka "incantation formula for setting up a reed hut": Sumerian incantation to consecrate a ritual booth. Other such incantations are Nos. 5d and 6x, but the contents are different.

(x) vii 32–38, incipit damaged, rubric ka-inim-ma ^{giš}šutug šub-ba "incantation formula for setting up a reed hut": Sumerian incantation to consecrate a ritual booth.

(y) vii 39–46, incipit ^{giš}šinig giš sikil "tamarisk tree, pure tree," no rubric: Sumerian incantation listing plants and minerals for use in ritual, unfinished.

No. 7 (Pls. XXI–XXVI) is another giant tablet. The upper two-fifths and bottom left corner have been lost and the surface of the lower obverse destroyed by flaking. The remaining surface yields the text of nineteen incantations: ten in Sumerian, eight in Akkadian and one in an unidentified language. All those whose conclusions are preserved end with the formula tu$_6$ én-é-nu-ru. The collection has no single theme: it begins with spells that protect from harm while away from home (a–d), goes on to demons (e), dogs (f) and the evil eye (g), and continues with incantations for use against gall (h–i) and other causes of stomach-ache (l–p), and wasting disease (q). This would seem a random compilation, but the presence of many of its incantations on another tablet, No. 8, in a different order (see Table 1), indicates that the association of these particular spells was not con-

fined to a single occasion. The contents are as follows:

(a) i 1′–7′, rubric ka-inim-ma bar-gub edin-na "incantation formula for one staying out in the steppe":[1] conclusion of Sumerian incantation, exorcism/apotropaion by Asalluḫe. Given what follows in (b) and probably (c), this may be an apotropaion for safe passage while travelling.[2]

(b) i 8′–18′, incipit ^{d}udug-ḫul ḫé-me-en "Be you an evil *udug*-demon," rubric ka-inim-ma e-sír gin-na-kam "incantation formula for going down the street": Sumerian incantation for protection from demons, entirely preserved. Edited in Part II.B.2.

(c) i 19′ ff., incipit *šārum time'ātim ūṣīma* "the wind went out (upon) the sea": beginning of an Akkadian incantation of uncertain function. Edited in Part II.J.3.

(d) ii 1′–6′, rubric ka-inim-ma bar-gub "incantation formula for staying outside": end of Sumerian incantation invoking divine authority, perhaps for protection while away from home; see (a).

(e) ii 7′–23′, incipit *ag-ma ša-ap-ta-šu ka-lu-um pa-nu-šu* "its lips are angry, its face is a skull-cup": beginning of an Akkadian incantation addressed to a demonic force injurious to health. The description of the demon in ii 14′–15′, *ma-ḫi-iṣ* ⸢*mu*⸣*-uḫ-ḫi-i*[*m*] *mu-bi-il li-*[*iq pi-i*]*m* "who smites the crown, who parches the palate," survives in the first-millennium incantation compendium *KAR* 88 frag. 4 i(?) 4 ("Gattung IV," ed. Ebeling 1953: 417), and in the incantation-incipit cited in a Lamaštu ritual (Thureau-Dangin 1921: 165 l. 26).

(f) iii 1′–20′, rubric ka-inim-ma ur-g[i$_7$] "incantation formula against dogs": major part of a Sumerian incantation, // No. 8b. Edited in Part II.D.6.

(g) iii 21′–24′, incipit *inūma īnum īḫuzu āḫizam* "when the Eye seized the 'seizer'": opening of an Akkadian incantation against the evil eye, // No. 8c. Edited in Part II.C.1.

(h) iv 1′–19′, rubric ka-inim-ma zé-[(kam)] "incantation formula against gall": Sumerian incantation to counter stomach-ache, // *VAS* XVII 24. Edited in Part II.E.3.

(i) iv 20′–v 11, incipit zé-àm ú-šim-gin$_7$ ki mu-un-dar "gall it was, it burst through the ground like a plant," rubric [ka-inim-ma] ⸢zé⸣ "incantation formula against gall": Sumerian incantation to counter stomach-ache, similar to Alster 1972a. Edited in Part II.E.4.

(j) v 12–25, incipit am-gin$_7$ si du$_7$-du$_7$ gìr-gin$_7$ gub-ba-mu "Goring like a wild bull, stuck in me like a knife(!)," rubric ka-inim-ma [zé?-k]am: Sumerian incantation to counter stomach-ache, variant of *VAS* X 202 and 203, // No. 8l. Edited in Part II.E.5.

(k) v 26–33, incipit ú-ši-ia za-[x (x)]-an, rubric ka-inim-ma [šà-gig?]: incantation in an unidentified language.

(l) v 34–37, incipit lú šà ab-gig "a man had a stomach ailment," rubric ka-inim-ma šà-gig-ga *ša-pa-ru-um* "incantation formula to relieve(!) stomach-ache": three-line Sumerian incantation, // No. 8e. Edited in Part II.E.6.

(m) v 38–48, incipit lú sag-ga-ak-ra-áš a-pu-ra (unidentified language), two short spells, the first én-é-nu-ru, the second [tu$_6$ é]n-é-nu-ru, then rubric [ka-inim-ma šà-gig

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[1] Taking bar-gub (also at ii 6′) as shorthand for bar-ta gub-ba (on bar-ta gub "to stay away from home" see *PSD* B 94). The rubric (ka-inim-ma) BAR.BAR (or MAS.MAS) $^{\text{e-di-na}}$edin-na in the first-millennium Exorcist's Manual, *KAR* 44 obv. 22, is perhaps related. New copy Geller 2000: 245, discussion on p. 254; Cavigneaux and Al-Rawi 2002: 12 translate this maš-maš edin-na as "l'exorciste dans la steppe"; similarly Jean 2006: 67 "Exorciste de la steppe."

[2] It would then be functionally comparable with incantations with the incipit or rubric (én/ka-inim-ma) edin dib-bé-da "(incantation formula) for crossing the steppe" (Geller 2000: 231 iv 11; 248: 23).

pašār]*u*[*m*] "incantation formula to [relieve] stomach-ache": Akkadian incantation, // No. 8f. Edited in Part II.E.7.

(n) vi 1–3, rubric [ka-inim-ma šà-gig-ga *pašā*]*rum* "incantation formula to [relieve] stomach-ache": tail end of Akkadian incantation, rest lost at the end of col. v. This may be a short version of the Heart Grass spell against internal pain, for ll. 1–2 [(. . .) *lu-ú tu-wa-aš*]-*šar*, [(. . .) én é-nu]-ru match *YOS* XI 12: 14–15 (ed. Veldhuis 1990: 29).

(o) vi 9–44, incipit and rubric lost: Akkadian incantation, long variant of the Heart Grass spell, // No. 8i. Edited in Part II.E.8.

(p) vii 1–7, rubric ka-inim-ma š[à-gig-ga] "incantation formula against stomach-[ache(?)]," end of Akkadian incantation, probably // No. 8j. Edited in Part II.E.9.

(q) vii 8–36, incipit ba-an-gi-eš-àm ba-an-gi-eš-àm "they are back, they are back," rubric ka-inim-ma [*šuḫḫuḫum*] "incantation formula against wasting away." Complete Sumerian incantation of the Asalluḫe-Enki type, // No 8k. Edited in Part II.J.1.

(r) viii 1–3: traces, probably of Akkadian.

(s) viii 19–36: passage from the middle of a Sumerian incantation, invoking Enki and Nunurra lugal nam-išib-ke$_4$ "lord of purification" in rites of ablution.

TABLE 1. CONCORDANCES BETWEEN COLLECTIVE TABLETS NOS. 7 AND 8

Topic	*No. 7*	*No. 8*
safe passage	(a) i 1'–7'	
safe passage	(b) i 8'–18'	
safe passage on boat?	(c) i 19' ff.	
sleeping out	(d) ii 1'–6'	
evil demon	(e) ii 7'–23'	
dogs	(f) iii 1'–18'	(b) i 6'–23'
evil eye	(g) iii 19'–22'	(c) i 24'–44'
gall	(h) iv 1'–19'	
gall	(i) iv 20'–v 11	
gall?	(j) v 12–25	(l) iv 20–31
stomach-ache?	(k) v 26–33	
stomach-ache	(l) v 34–37	(e) ii 17'–20'
stomach-ache	(m) v 38–48	(f) ii 21'–29'
stomach-ache	(n) vi 1–3	
stomach-ache	(o) vi 9–44	(i) ii 40'–iii 38
stomach-[ache(?)]	(p) vii 1–7	(j)? iii 39–47
wasting-sickness	(q) vii 8–36	(k) iv 1–19
?	(r) viii 1–3	
(ablution)	(s) viii 19–36	

Topic	*No. 8*	*No. 7*
dogs	(a) i 1'–5'	
dogs	(b) i 6'–23'	(f) iii 1'–18'
evil eye	(c) i 24'–44'	(g) iii 19'–22'
bloat	(d) i 45'–ii 16'	
stomach-ache	(e) ii 17'–20'	(l) v 34–37
stomach-ache	(f) ii 21'–29'	(m) v 38–48
stomach-[ache]	(g) ii 30'–32'	
stomach-[ache]	(h) ii 33'–39'	
stomach-ache	(i) ii 40'–iii 38	(o) vi 9–44
stomach-[ache(?)]	(j) iii 39–47	(p) vii 1–7
wasting-sickness	(k) iv 1–19	(q) vii 8–36
gall?	(l) iv 20–31	(j) v 12–25

No. 8 (Pls. XXVII–XXX) is a four-column tablet that lacks only the top edge and uppermost portion. It holds eleven incantations of mixed content, some Sumerian, others Akkadian. As already noted, its content has much in common with No. 7: at least eight incantations, partly in the same order (Table 1). Contents:

(a) i 1'–5', rubric [ka-inim-ma] ur-gi$_7$-ra "incantation formula against dogs": tail-end of incantation to counter mad dogs, uncertain language.

(b) i 6'–23', incipit [. . .]-ta idim-ma-àm "[The dog] from [. . .] is rabid," rubric ka-inim-ma ur-gi$_7$-ra "incantation formula against dogs": Sumerian incantation, // No. 7f. Edited in Part II.D.6.

(c) i 24'–44', incipit *inūma īnum īḫuzu āḫizam* "when the Eye seized the 'seizer'," rubric ka-inim-ma *īnum* "incantation formula against the (evil) eye": Akkadian incantation, // No. 7g. Edited in Part II.C.1.

(d) i 45'–ii 16', rubric ka-inim-ma gud udu-níta *emrum* "incantation formula for a distended ox or sheep": Akkadian incantation and therapeutic ritual. Edited in Part II.E.10.

(e) ii 17'–20', incipit lú šà ab-gig "a man had a stomach ailment," rubric ka-inim-ma šà-gig-ga "incantation formula for stomach-ache": short Sumerian incantation, // No. 7l. Edited in Part II.E.6.

(f) ii 21'–29', incipit lugal sag-ga-ak-ra-áš sa-pu-ra: Akkadian incantation against stomach-ache, two short spells, the first én-é-nu-ru, the second tu$_6$ én-[é-nu-ru] // No. 7m. Edited in Part II.E.7.

(g) ii 30'–32', incipit damaged, rubric [ka-inim]-ma šà-[gig-ga] "incantation formula against stomach-[ache]": two-line spell, language uncertain.

(h) ii 33'–39', incipit damaged, rubric ka-inim-ma šà-[gig-ga] "incantation formula against stomach-[ache]": short Akkadian incantation.

(i) ii 40'–iii 38, incipit [*šamm*]*um ša li*[*bbim*] "the 'heart-grass'," rubric [ka-inim-m]a ⌜šà⌝-[gig-ga] "incantation formula for stomach-[ache]: major portion of Akkadian incantation against stomach-ache, // No. 7 o. Edited in Part II.E.8.

(j) iii 39–47, traces of Akkadian incantation, probably // No. 7p. Edited in Part II.E.9.

(k) iv 1–19, rubric ka-inim-ma *šuḫḫuḫum* "incantation formula against wasting-sickness": latter part of Sumerian Asalluḫe-Enki-type incantation, // No. 7q. Edited in Part II.J.1.

(l) iv 20–31, incipit [am-gin$_7$ s]i du$_7$-du$_7$ gìr-gin$_7$ gub-ba-mu "Goring like a wild bull, stuck in me like a knife(!)," rubric lost: Sumerian incantation, // No. 7j. Edited in Part II.E.5.

No. 9 (Pls. XXXI–XXXIII) is a substantial fragment of an eight-column tablet, lacking large pieces from top and bottom, and is another collective tablet. Fourteen incantations are represented on the eight snatches of text, but only one of them is complete (k). The topics are mixed: the consecration of ritual items (razor, water source), the countering of field pests and demons, winning a woman's love, and the evil eye. The spelling is far from standard and the phrasing is irregular, with the consequence that many lines remain unintelligible.

(a) i 1'–6', rubric [ka-inim-m]a gír šu-i "incantation formula for the barber's razor": scant remains of the end of a Sumerian *Kultmittelbeschwörung*. Other razor incantations, from a first-millennium ritual in which a priest is inducted, end similarly (Borger 1973: 166–67).

(b) i 7'–ii 1': traces of one or more incantations, the first in Sumerian.

(c) ii 2'–14', incipit [. . .]-ku$_4$-ku$_4$, rubric ka-inim-ma *e-ru-bu*?-*um*? (overwritten by iii 19'): Sumerian incantation of the Asalluḫe-Enki type, én-é-nu-ri, function uncertain.

(d) ii 15', incipit [. . .]-gar: opening of Sumerian incantation, perhaps continuing as (e).

(e) iii 1'–14', rubric ka-inim-ma kar "incantation formula for the quay": end of Sumerian *Kultmittelbeschwörung*.

(f) iii 15'–25', incipit kar abzu "quay of Abzu": opening of Sumerian *Kultmittelbeschwörung* on the same topic as (e). Other incantations addressed to the quay as a source of water for ritual use are *VAS* X 187 ii 11' ff. and Part II.A.6 No. 6f and g.

(g) iv 1'–7', rubric damaged: badly spelled Sumerian incantation featuring the divine night watchman, Ḫendursanga (iv 2', 5': ^{d}ḫendur-NE-gá nimgir), his torch (iv 3: gi-izi!(tablet: TUM)-lá), and his nocturnal domain (iv 4': sila si-ga "the silent street"). Concludes with a zi—pàd formula.

(h) iv 8'–26', incipit [ma]š-maš-e edin gu in-{DIŠ}-⌜ak⌝ "The exorcist set snares in the steppe": opening portion of Sumerian incantation of the Asalluḫe-Enki type, duplicates No. 16 v 14'–23'. An incantation with the same opening passage survives on an Old Babylonian tablet from Nippur and two from Tell Haddad (all ed. Cavigneaux and Al-Rawi 2002: 16–56, incipit maš-maš edin gú i-ni-il-la // [g]u i-ni-in-lá). It is directed at field pests, and probably the function of (h) is the same.

(i) v 1'–22', incipit and rubric lacking: major portion of Sumerian incantation to counter demonic forces.

(j) vi 1'–4', rubric ka-inim-ma udug dúb "incantation formula to smite the *udug*-demon": tail end of Sumerian incantation.

(k) vi 5'–14', incipit ki-sikil sa$_6$-ga sila-a gub-ba "Pretty girl, standing in the street," rubric ka-inim-ma ki-ág "incantation formula for love": complete Sumerian incantation, similar to RSM 1909.405.2 etc. (Geller 2002), én-é-nu-ri. Edited in Part II.I.1.

(l) vi 15'–17', incipit ki-sikil ud-kù ud-dad[ag]-a "Pretty girl in the pure daylight, the bright daylight": beginning of Sumerian incantation, no doubt on the same topic as (k).

(m) vii 1'–16', incipit and rubric lost: latter part of Sumerian incantation, Asalluḫe-Enki formula and ritual instruction to cleanse

with river water, [én-é-nu]-⌜ri⌝. With vii 5'–7' compare *VAS* XVII 1 i 21', *CT* 17 26: 64, *Mīs pî* VI/VIII 44 (ed. Walker and Dick 2001: 219), etc.; parallels to vii 8'–13' are OB *Udug-ḫul* 354–57, 506–9, *YOS* XI 90: 25–29 (ed. Cavigneaux and Al-Rawi 1995b: 180), *PBS* I/2 122 rev. 34–40 (ed. Geller 1989: 198 ll. 72'–75'), *Udug-ḫul* IV 194'–97', *Šurpu* VII 82–87, etc.; vii 14'–15' can be restored from No. 10f vii 10'–11'.

(n) viii 1'–5', rubric [ka-ini]m-⌜ma⌝ igi dingir ⌜ḫul?⌝-kam "incantation formula against the eye of an evil god": end of Sumerian incantation.

No. 10 (Pls. XXXIV–XXXV) is two joining fragments from the middle of a large tablet, top and bottom missing but with a portion of the left edge remaining. The tablet's shape indicates that it originally held four columns of text on each side, but the loss of its right-hand portion means that parts of only six columns remain. The content is Sumerian incantations against demons and stomach-ache. None is complete, and understanding is also impaired by non-standard spelling. At least seven incantations are represented by nine passages of text, as follows:

(a) i, lacking incipit and rubric: the beginning of a Sumerian incantation about manifold evil forces, leading to an Asalluḫe-Enki formula. Similar to No. 11f and h, and OB and later parallels. Edited in Part II.A.15.

(b) ii, lacking incipit and rubric: from near the end of a Sumerian incantation against demons, includes Asalluḫe-Enki formula and ritual instructions featuring libation from a *saḫar*-pot (wr. ^{dug}UD.SAR-ra) provided by the divine potter Nunurra.

(c) iii, lacking incipit and rubric: from the middle of a Sumerian incantation, likening demons' attack to a raid on a dairy, as far as the Asalluḫe-Enki formula. The abandoned dairy is a much used literary topos.

(d) vi 1'–6', rubric ka-inim-ma šà-gig-[ga] "incantation formula against stomach-ache: tail end of Sumerian incantation, ⌜e-én⌝-é-nu-r[u]. Ll. 1'–4' quoted in Part II.E.4, textual note on No. 7i v 7–9.

(e) vi 7'–17', incipit ⌜én-é⌝-nu-r[u], gù lú-ùlu an-e ba-te "the man's shout drew nigh to heaven": opening portion of Sumerian incantation describing the destructive power of a shout; the passage ll. 8'–10' an-e ba-t[e] im nu šèg-šèg-[(e)] ki-a ba-te ú-šim nu-mú-[mú] "it drew nigh to heaven, and clouds did not drop rain, it drew nigh to earth, and plants did not grow," also occurs in an evil-eye incantation (Geller 2003: 129 l. 3). Function unknown, unless continuing as (f).

(f) vii 1'–12', rubric ka-inim-ma ì-giš lú-tur-ra šeš_4-šeš_4 "incantation formula for applying oil to a sick person" (i.e. lú-tu-ra): end of Sumerian incantation, perhaps the one beginning as (e), calling on the gods to restore the patient to health; Asalluḫe appears as ^{d}asar-nun-na (vii 10'), no doubt in error for Asaralimnunna (cf. ^{d}asar-a-nun-na in *YOS* XI 53: 15).

(g) vii 13'–18', incipit nin ki-en-gi_4-a ^{d}a-nun-⌜na-ke_4⌝-ni "lady, envoy (i.e. kin-gi_4-a) of the Anunna-gods": opening passage of Sumerian incantation against Lamaštu, a demon who attacked women in childbirth and the newborn; it perhaps continues as (h). The beginning runs parallel to text No. 22d and is edited in Part II.B.8.

(h) viii 1'–2', rubric lost: end of incantation, perhaps (g).

(i) viii 3'–18', incipit [imin-na-meš] imin-na-meš "seven are they, seven are they": Sumerian incantation against demons, similar to the first of two incantations with the same incipit included in the Old Babylonian compilation of *Udug-ḫul* incantations (Geller 1985: 42–44 ll. 400–19; later version in SB *Udug-ḫul* V 167–82, ed. Geller 2007: 125–26). The incipit imin-na-me imin-na-me in the Ur III ritual *PBS* XIII 35 (ed. Dick 2005: 273 l. 23) could refer to

any one of these incantations. Note viii 12': ⌜sí⌝-sí ḫur-sag-ta è-meš "they are horses coming from the uplands."

No. 11 (Pls. XXXVI–XXXIX) is the lower portion of a large six-column tablet, rebuilt from three pieces. It holds the text of perhaps as many as eleven Sumerian incantations against evil *udug*-demons and other harmful powers, but none of them is complete:

(a) i 1'–6', rubric [ka-inim-ma] ᵈudug-ḫul-a-kam "incantation formula against the evil *udug*-demon": tail end of a Sumerian incantation asking Enki's son, probably [Asaralimnunna], to restore a sufferer to health (parallel passages are cited in II.A.15 note on No. 11g iv 7'–8').

(b) i 7'–26', incipit (restored from i 21'–22') ku_6 an-na mu-un-zi ki-a ní/im mu-un-ri "Fish (i.e. the Fish star, *Piscis austrinus*?) arose in heaven, it caused terror on earth (*or* a wind blew over the earth)": major part of Sumerian incantation of the Asalluḫe-Enki type, probably continuing as (c). The beginning of Enki's therapy (i 25'–26') matches, in abbreviated form, lines in a childbirth incantation, *VAS* XVII 33: 16–17 (ed. van Dijk 1975: 63).

(c) ii 1'–8', rubric ka-inim-ma ᵈudug-ḫul-a "incantation formula against the evil *udug*-demon": end of Sumerian incantation giving ritual instructions, as from Enki to Asalluḫe, probably concluding from (b). Very similar to OB *Udug-ḫul* 352–57 (ed. Geller 1985: 40).

(d) ii 9'–25', incipit nam-tar é-tùr-re ⌜gi-a⌝ ᵈ⌜udug⌝-ḫul-e ri-a "A *namtar*-demon returning to the sheepfold, an evil *udug*-demon settling (there)": beginning of Sumerian incantation.

(e) iii 1'–8', rubric [k]a-inim-ma ᵈudug-ḫul-a-k[am] "incantation formula against the evil *udug*-demon": end of Sumerian incantation, perhaps concluding (d).

(f) iii 9'–20', incipit [i]m-ma kalam-ma ki-a mu-un-⌜gál⌝ "the stormwind of the land settled on the earth": Sumerian incantation, variant of (h), similar to No. 10a, probably continues as (g). Edited in Part II.A.15.

(g) iv 1'–9', rubric ⌜ka⌝-inim-ma ninda-⌜kam⌝ "incantation formula for bread": end of Sumerian incantation, probably continues from (f). Edited in Part II.A.15.

(h) iv 10'–23', incipit im-ma kalam-ma ki-a mu-un-g[ál] "the stormwind of the land settled on the earth": Sumerian incantation, variant of (f), preserved up to Asalluḫe-Enki formula. Edited in Part II.A.15.

(i) v 1–17, rubric [ka-inim-ma] níg-si[lag-g]á-[kam] "incantation formula for dough": end of Sumerian incantation that invokes the healing gods of Isin: Ninisinna, Damu, Gunura (kin-gal instead of usual dim-gal // dimgul kalam-ma, Bergmann 1964: 35) and Nintinugga. The surviving portion is a near duplicate of an evil-eye incantation known from OB tablets from Susa and Mê-Turan (Cavigneaux and Al-Rawi 1993:198–99 ll. 10–19) and from a later bilingual version (Schramm 2008 no. 8 ll. 41–60).

(j) v 18–32, incipit [x x x z]i-⌜ga⌝-àm "[. . .] was rampant": scant remains of a Sumerian incantation.

(k) vi 1–25: middle portion of Sumerian incantation of Asalluḫe-Enki type, directed against harmful forces. Enki advises sounding the holy drum "Hero of Heaven" to repel them. Variant of OB *Udug-ḫul* 646–90 (ed. Geller 1985: 56–63) // SB VII 1–26 (ed. Geller 2007: 135–36).

Nos. 12 and 13 are both collective tablets devoted to incantations against the demon Namtar "Fate," the Mesopotamian angel of death. This demon is uncommon as the main topic of incantations. For other Old Babylonian examples see Cavigneaux and Al-Rawi 1993:

176–95; eid. 1995b: 195–208. The two tablets published here do not share content. Perhaps they are two parts of a larger compendium.

No. 12 (Pls. XL–XLIII) is the bottom three-fifths of a six-column tablet. The surface is poor, especially on the obverse. It contains eight or more Sumerian incantations against Namtar, as follows:

(a) i 1'–25', rubric [k]a-inim-ma nam-tar-ra-kam "incantation formula against Namtar": preserved section is end of Asalluḫe-Enki formula and Enki's instructions to Asalluḫe. Edited with No. 46 in Part II.B.7.

(b) i 26'–30', incipit [n]am-tar sag an-ta e_{11}-[d]è-dè "Namtar, come down from heaven's heights," probably continuing as ii 1'–12', rubric ka-inim-ma nam-tar-ra-[kam] "incantation formula against Namtar": preserved sections are (i) opening five lines, and (ii) Enki's instructions to Asalluḫe, prescribing fumigants and holy water to return the demon whence it came (ii 10'): ᵈnam-tar ⌜sag⌝ an-na ḫa-ba-e_{11}-d[è] "may Namtar go up into heaven's heights."

(c) ii 13'–33', incipit (// ii 31') ⌜nam⌝-tar ⌜u_4-ḫuš?⌝ kalam-ma ri-a "Namtar, angry demon spawned in the land," perhaps continuing as iii 1'–21', rubric ka-inim-ma nam-tar-ra-kam "incantation formula against Namtar": preserved are (ii) description of problem, including the pillaged-sheepfold motif, and beginning of Asalluḫe-Enki formula, and (iii) exorcism, beginning with a zi—pàd section.

(d) iii 22'–34', incipit ᵈudug-ḫul su l[ú]-kam gál-⌜la⌝ "Evil *udug*-demon, residing in the man's body," rubric ka-inim-ma nam-tar-ra-kam "incantation formula against Namtar": entire text preserved, edited in Part II.B.5.

(e) iv 1–27, incipit (from iv 11) nam-tar ì-maḫ sag-e ⌜ba-te⌝ [. . .] "Namtar had grown huge, it afflicted the head," rubric ka-inim-ma [. . .]: includes Asalluḫe-Enki formula and brief cleansing ritual. The incipit recurs in the first of the Namtar incantations from Mê-Turan and an unpublished duplicate (see Part II.B.7), but the texts are otherwise different.

(f) iv 28–29, perhaps continuing as v 1–18, rubric ka-inim-ma ⌜nam⌝-tar-ra-kam "incantation formula against Namtar": traces only on iv, exorcism on v; v 1–18 are edited with No. 46 in Part II.B.7.

(g) v 19–37, incipit (// v 29) nam-kud-⌜da⌝-ni kin-gi_4-a [b]í-in-gi_4 "One he had cursed sent a messenger," rubric lost: preserved are a description of the demon's attack and the Asalluḫe-Enki formula. Duplicates *YOS* XI 70 iv 1–22, where the rubric is ka-inim-ma udug-ḫul-a-kam; edited in Part II.B.6.

(h) vi 1–34, rubric [ka-inim-ma . . .]-kam: preserved are the Asalluḫe-Enki formula and exorcism with holy water.

No. 13 (Pls. XLIV–XLVI) is the lower part of an eight-column tablet, surfaces badly damaged, containing a collection of at least nine Sumerian incantations against Namtar. The incantations are separated by blank spaces of between two and four lines depth. Only the obverse contains legible text. Decipherment is hampered by syllabic spelling, e.g. ii 20' ù-me-ni-da-da-ga for ù-me-ni-dadag.

(a) i 1'–4', incipit lost, [én-é]-nu-ru, rubric [ka-inim-ma ᵈ]⌜nam⌝-tar-ra-kam "incantation formula against Namtar": remnant of Sumerian incantation.

(b) i 5'–24', incipit damaged, rubric lost: opening lines of Sumerian incantation.

(c) ii 1'–30', incipit lost, rubric ka-inim-ma ᵈnam-tar-ra-kam "incantation formula against Namtar": latter part of Sumerian incantation in which Asalluḫe dumu dingir a-a-na (ii 10') "son of the god his father" (corrupt!) exorcises a sick patient.

(d) iii 1'–22', incipit lost, rubric ka-inim-ma nam-tar-ra-kam "incantation formula against Namtar": latter part of very damaged Sumerian incantation.

(e) iii 23'–31', incipit nam-tar gal ki-bi-a ba-ši-kéš-da "a big Namtar was tied in its place," rubric lost (unless at iv 3'): opening lines of Sumerian incantation.

(f) iv 1'–3', incipit lost (unless at iii 23'), rubric [ka-inim-m]a n[am-tar-ra-kam] "incantation formula against Namtar": traces of the end of a Sumerian incantation.

(g) iv 4'–15', incipit lost, rubric ka-inim-ma nam-tar-ra-k[am] "incantation formula against Namtar": remnant of a very damaged Sumerian incantation.

(h) iv 16'–26', incipit nam-tar ⌜x x⌝-bi ḫul-a "Namtar, its . . . is evil," rubric [ka-inim-ma] nam-tar-ra-k[e_4] "incantation formula against Namtar": short Sumerian incantation invoking Ninisinna's aid in curing the patient.

(i) iv 27'–37', incipit lost, rubric ka-[inim-ma . . .]: very damaged Sumerian incantation invoking Enki.

No. 14 (Pl. XLVII) is a fragment of a multi-column tablet from near the right edge. When acquired by the collection it was glued to MS 3105, in the angle where the two pieces of that tablet join. After baking it became apparent that the fragment does not join MS 3105 in that position, and may not even be part of the same tablet. The content is Sumerian incantations. That on the obverse follows the pattern of common descriptions of demons; parallels can be found in OB *Udug-ḫul* 473–78 (ed. Geller 1985: 46), *YOS* XI 70 ii, *VAS* XXIV 48 i (+) 46 obv. (new copy by M. J. Geller in George and Taniguchi 2010: 146, ed. Schramm 2008: 261), *CT* 4 4 rev. and later versions (ed. Schramm 2008: 162). The topic of the reverse cannot be determined from what little remains.

No. 15 (Pls. XLVIII–XLIX) is the larger part of a four-column tablet, rebuilt from four joining fragments. The surface is very poor, and the lower obverse and entire reverse are illegible. It holds at least seventeen short Sumerian exorcistic incantations separated by blank spaces. The incantations lack rubrics but many conclude zi an-na ḫé-pàd zi ki-a ḫé-pàd "be adjured by Sky, be adjured by Earth!" It seems to be unrelated to another Old Babylonian compendium of zi—pàd incantations, *CT* 44 32 (+) 33 and duplicates (Cunningham 1997: 135 no. 125).

No. 16 (Pls. L–LI) is a large fragment from the right-hand part of a six-column tablet, with part of the right edge preserved. The surviving surface is poor and difficult to read. The content is Sumerian incantations. On the obverse only lines of col. iii survive, providing a very damaged passage largely comprising zi—pàd formulae; noteworthy are the ancestors of Enlil: Enki and Ninki, Endašurimma and Nindašurimma, Endukuga and Nindukuga, summarized as (iii 8') ⌜ama⌝ a-[a ^{d}e]n-l[íl-lá-k]e_4-ne, followed by Enlil himself and other lesser deities. The topic is probably agricultural (note a-gàr-a-gàr-ra "fields" in iii 3'). The next preserved passage, on col. iv of the reverse, is directed against field pests and contains lines parallel to a short passage in another Old Babylonian compendium that includes incantations for farmers (iv 10'–12' // *VAS* XXIV 61: 4'–7', new copy by M. J. Geller in George and Taniguchi 2010: 145). The continuation consists, at least in part, of an enumeration of pests, headed by mul ^{d}nin-kilim "star(s) of Ninkilim," the god of vermin (iv 13'); cf. the similar list in a field-pest incantation from Tell Haddad, headed níg-gá-ka ni-in-gi-li-an-na-ak-ka (Cavigneaux and Al-Rawi 2002: 26 i 20); also *VAS* XXIV 50 rev. (Geller in George and Taniguchi 2010: 148).

Col. v contains:

(a) a Sumerian incantation with rubric ka-inim-ma zú $buru_5^{mušen}$ zi-zi-da-kam "incantation formula for making Locust Teeth depart," probably the end of the incantation on col. iv.

(b) the opening lines of another Sumerian incantation against field pests, incipit maš-maš edin-[na] gu bí-in-lá "the exorcist laid snares in the steppe," duplicates No. 9h, q.v.

For later incantations against field pests see Cavigneaux and Al-Rawi 2002: 12–14; George and Taniguchi 2010.

No. 17 (Pls. LII–LV) is a modest-size single-column tablet, whose top-left corner and bottom edge are missing; the reverse surface is in bad condition. The tablet contains three or four incantations with the common theme of purification. The last is identified by rubric as pertaining to máš-ḫul-dúb-ba "scapegoat," and it may be that the others are on the same or related topics. A bilingual incantation with the same rubric occupies the latter part of the SB *Asag-gig-ga* XI (*CT* 17 9–11); it is an Asalluḫe-Enki spell including a gory ritual procedure but unrelated to the present incantation. Three Sumerian máš-ḫul-dúb-ba incantations were included among the many inscribed on the Old Babylonian collective tablet *VAS* XXIV 45+52+61 (new copy by Geller in George and Taniguchi 2010: 144–45), but the meagre fragments of text that survive on that tablet do not match anything on the present tablet. On máš-ḫul-dúb-ba see further Cavigneaux 1995a, where are also edited two further Sumerian spells related to scapegoat rituals.

The contents of No. 17 are:

(a) obv. 1–22, [én]-é-nu-ru, incipit [munus?]-⸢e⸣ tùr-ra "[A woman(?)] in the cowpen": Sumerian incantation, purification. Edited in Part II.A.13.

(b) 23–25, incipit ^{d}en-⸢ki⸣-e-ne ^{d}nin-⸢ki⸣-e-ne "Enki-gods and Ninki-goddesses," rubric probably at rev. 1' ka-in[im-ma . . .]: scant remains of a Sumerian incantation, may be part of (a). Edited in Part II.A.13.

(c) rev. 2'–11', incipit ⸢ì⸣ áb kù-ga g[ára ^{áb}šilam-ma] "Butter of a pure cow, [cream of a milch-cow]," rubric damaged: Sumerian incantation, edited in Part II.A.14.

(d) 12'–24', incipit damaged, rubric [k]a-inim-ma máš-ḫul-dúb-kam "incantation formula of the Evil-Repelling Goat": very damaged Sumerian incantation, apparently to purify or consecrate a scapegoat for an apotropaic or exorcistic ritual.

No. 18 (Pls. LVI–LVII) is a single-column tablet with damage to the top right-hand corner and some loss of surface on the obverse. The script is poor and much is obscure in the text of six incantations, probably all of *Kultmittelbeschwörung* type:

(a) 1–5, incipit túg nam-nun x [. . .], rubric ka-[inim-m]a ⸢túg?⸣-suḫ-[kam]: Sumerian incantation to consecrate item of regalia(?).

(b) 6–14, incipit damaged, rubric ka-inim-ma ninda-a-kam "incantation formula for bread": very damaged Sumerian incantation to consecrate bread or dough.

(c) 15–28, incipit and rubric damaged: poorly preserved Sumerian incantation for ablution, features the gods Enlil, ^{d}nin-garaš^{sar} dumu abzu(DÉ)-ka[m] "Ningaraš, child of the Abzu" (as in *VAS* XVII 1 iv 9, zi—pàd against snakes), the herdsman Saman, wr. ^{d}BU(= SÙ).NUN.[ÉŠ].TU,[1] and Utu.

(d) 29–34, incipit é-gu$_{4}$-gin$_{7}$ "like an ox stall," rubric ka-inim-ma šu kéš-da-kam "incantation formula for fastening a bracelet(?): Sumerian incantation.

(e) 35–42, incipit ⸢^{d}li$_{9}$-si-na šà⸣ é-babbar-ra [è]-da-ni-ta "when Lisin went out from

[1] On Saman see further *An* I 238 (where he is also dumu an-na "son of An," as here), III 95, VI 230, *An* = *Anu ša amēli* 106, ed. Lambert 2013: 521; *Diri* V 152; and generally Krebernik 2008. The abbreviated spelling of saman "halter" with the sign-group SÙ.NUN.ÉŠ.TU instead of ÉŠ.SÙ.NUN.ÉŠ.TU also occurs in No. 6 v 35 and in *Angim* 158, ed. Cooper 1978: 86. A reading Samannur is reported by Lambert 1998: 154–55 sub 82. The source is BM 36393 iii 13', a LB manuscript of *An* I 238, where the name is glossed ⸢sa⸣-man-nu-⸢úr⸣; the fragment was copied and transliterated by him, and further compared with the pronunciation gloss on the river-name íd. ÉŠ.SUD.NUN.KU.TU in *Diri* III 201: [sa?-m]a?-nu-úr (Lambert Folios 1688, 6415, 6496, 7167).

inside E-babbarra," rubric ka-inim-ma šu kéš-da-kam (as d): Sumerian incantation.

(f) 43–49: damaged Sumerian incantation.

No. 19 (Pls. LVIII–LIX) is a complete single-column tablet rebuilt from two equal halves, inscribed on both surfaces and the bottom edge with four incantations. The incantations lack ka-inim-ma rubrics, but all terminate with the line ŠÁR×AŠ ŠÚ.MUL eridu^{ki} (in l. 10 with apparent *gunû* wedges on ŠÁR), which seems to be a bizarre variant of the phrase tu$_6$ én(ŠÚ.AN)-é-nu-ru. Decipherment is handicapped by other irregular spellings. One of them, a-na-ra-ab-ta-ḫe-(e) (ll. 21, 23) for a-na a-ra-ab-daḫ-e-en "what can I add for you?" in the Asalluḫe-Enki formula, also occurs—with minor variants a-na-ra-ta-ḫe and a-na a-ra-ab-ta-ḫe—in the incantations excavated at Tell Haddad (Cavigneaux and Al-Rawi 1995b: 218 s.v. ta-h). This suggests that the provenance of the present tablet might have been one of the Old Babylonian towns in the Diyala basin. The topic of three of the four spells is scorpion and snake:

(a) 1–10, incipit gud az á ḫuš-⸢šu?⸣ "A bull, a bear with angry paw": Sumerian incantation to avert a scorpion's sting, known also at Nippur and Mê-Turan. Edited in Part II.D.4.

(b) 11–31, incipit ⸢an? ki?⸣ ì-kéš ti a-⸢ab⸣-ba: Sumerian incantation with corrupt Asalluḫe-Enki formula, function uncertain.

(c) 32–49, incipit muš gud-gin$_7$ gù e-di "the snake bellowed like a bull": Sumerian incantation with several phrases in common with II.D.3 No. 41 and parallels. Note l. 33 šeg$_9$-bar-gin$_7$ ḫu-luḫ-ḫa (// No. 41: 2) and the motif of Ninazu's envoy in ll. 42–48: muš lugal-zu mu-ši-in-g[i$_4$] / ^{d}nin-a-zu lugal-zu mu-ši-⸢in⸣-gi$_4$ / ka-za mu$_7$(KA.LI)-e-dè / eme-zu ku-le-dè / giš-kéš-d[a x] ⸢x x⸣ nam-da-duḫ-àm / ⸢sa⸣-gi$_4$-[da x x x] x x x / gú im-⸢ma⸣-[lá] "O snake, your master sent me, your master Ninazu sent me! To charm your mouth, to ensnare (*gu lá-e-dè) your tongue, [I set] a trap that cannot be undone, I lay out a long net [. . .]"[1]

(d) 50–61, incipit gud si-bi šu-ri-na ⸢murgu⸣-bi kur "the bull's horn was a standard, its backbone a mountain": Sumerian incantation to avert a scorpion's sting, known also at Nippur, Mê-Turan and elsewhere. Edited in Part II.D.5.

No. 20 (Pls. LX–LXI) is another single-column tablet, top and left edge missing and reverse completely destroyed. The bare remains of at least seven incantations in Sumerian and Akkadian, as follows:

(a) 1'–3, rubric [tu$_6$ é]n-é-nu-ru k[a-inim-ma . . .]: traces of the end of an Akkadian incantation.

(b) 4'–11', incipit damaged, rubric [ka-inim]-ma muš-kam: "incantation formula to counter a snake": Sumerian incantation on the well-used theme of the seven-tongued snake. An unusual comment in Akkadian is appended (11') *ša ta-ad-du-⸢šum⸣-ma la* [*imât*?] "the one on whom you have cast (this spell) will not [die(?).]"

(c) 12'–13', rubric ka-inim-ma gír-tab ug$_7$-a-kam "incantation formula to kill a scorpion": Sumerian incantation.

(d) 14'–17', rubric ka-inim-ma *iṭ-ṭù-*[*um*] "incantation formula for bitumen": Akkadian incantation closely related to Sumerian incantation No. 43. Edited in Part II.J.2.

(e) 18'–24', probably continuing after a lacuna with 1''–3'': Akkadian.

(f) 4''–6'': Akkadian.

(g) 7''–8'': Sumerian?

No. 21 (Pls. LXII–LXV) is a single-column tablet of which the top and bottom have disintegrated by flaking. It contains incantations on

[1] Lines 42–45 match the passage quoted by Finkel 1999: 241 n. 19.

various topics—witchcraft, snakes, childbirth—in Sumerian, Akkadian, Elamite and an unidentified language. The script is very small and the surface poor, especially on the reverse, making decipherment particularly difficult.

(a) obv. 1'–22', rubric ka-inim-ma uš$_{11}$-zu níg-ak uš$_{11}$-ri níg-ḫul-dím-ma-kam! "incantation formula against malicious witchcraft, magic and sorcery": latter part of a well-attested Sumerian incantation of the Asalluḫe-Enki type, to counter black magic. The text was last edited, from three Old Babylonian tablets and a manuscript from Boğazköy, by Geller 1989. A new edition incorporating this additional source is expected from D. Schwemer.

(b) 23'–29', rubric ka-inim-ma munus ù-tu "incantation formula for a woman giving birth": incantation in Elamite (// *YOS* XI 5: 15–19), with Akkadian therapeutic ritual, edited in Part II.G.3.

(c) 30'–31', rubric damaged: incantation in an unidentified language.

(d) 32'–34': damaged, uncertain function

(e) 35': trace only

(f) rev. 1'–13', rubric ka-inim igi "incantation formula against the (evil) eye: Akkadian incantation, very damaged. The spell has phrases in common with other Akkadian evil-eye incantations, esp. 4' *ke-e-nu-na-am pu-⸢úḫ⸣-ḫu-ra-am ú-⸢sà⸣-a[p-pi-iḫ* "it dispersed the 'gathered hearth'" (see No. 31c iii 6–7, edited in Part II.C.2, and parallel cited there).

(g) 14', rubric ka-inim-ma muš zú búr-da-kam "incantation formula to dispel (the harm in) snake's tooth": syllabic Sumerian incantation against snake-bite.

(h) 15', rubric ka-inim-ma muš zú ⸢dab⸣-ba-kam "incantation formula to seize (= render inactive) snake's tooth": syllabic Sumerian incantation to prevent snake-bite.

(i) 16'–17', tu$_6$ én-⸢é⸣-nu-ru, rubric ka-inim-ma muš gur-ru-da-kam "incantation formula to turn a snake back": syllabic Sumerian incantation to drive a snake off. Note muš lugal-zu mu-e-ki ^{d}nin-a-zu "O snake, your master, Ninazu, sent me (*mu-e-gi$_4$)"; cf. II.D.3 No. 41: 5–6 and parallels noted there.

(j) 18'–19', rubric ka-inim-ma gír-tab dab! (tablet: si$_4$) "incantation formula to seize a scorpion": syllabic Sumerian incantation to prevent scorpion-sting.

(k) 20'–23', rubric ka-inim-ma igi lú-kam "incantation formula against a man's eye": Sumerian incantation to ward off the evil eye.

(l) 24'–35': very damaged Akkadian incantation, including an Akkadian version of part of the Asalluḫe-Enki formula (l. 28'): *ša a-na-ku i-du-ú at-ta ti-de* "what I know, you also know" (// *CT* 4 8: 30). The content, such as can be read, determines that it is a spell to counter the effects of scorpion-sting: see especially l. 31', in which Sîn is stung in his brickyard, quoted in Part II.D.9, introduction to No. 49. Thereafter is a *mannam lušpur* formula (32'–34'): ⸢*ma-an-na-am*⸣ *lu-uš-pu-ur a-na mārāt*(dumu-munus)^{meš} *anim*(an)^{nim} 7 *ù* 7 *ša-*⸢*ap*⸣ *me-e li-il-qé-a-nim* / [*ka-an-ni-ši-na*] *ša ḫu-ra-ṣi-im ka-ar-pa-ti-ši-na ša uq-ni-im el-li-im* / [*li-iš-ku-na-ma me*]*-e b/pu-ra-tim el-lu-tim li-iš-ti* "Whom should I send to the twice seven Daughters of Anu, so they bring their water flasks, [so they set up] their potstands of gold and pots of pure lapis lazuli, so (the victim) may drink pure water from the wells (*or* the Euphrates)." For the *mannam lušpur* formula in other Akkadian incantations, see the textual note on No. 48: 14–15 in Part II.D.7.

(m) 36'–38': uncertain content.

No. 22 (Pls. LVI–LVIII) is made up of two joining fragments from the middle of a six-column tablet, inscribed with incantations in Akkadian and Sumerian. On the obverse:

(a) i 1'–?, fragment of Akkadian incantation that contains lines parallel to an incantation against "all diseases," known in two Old Babylonian versions, *CT* 42 32 (ed. von Soden 1961), and LB 1000 (ed. Böhl 1934: 3–6; new editions of both by Geller and Wiggermann 2008), and in later versions embedded in the incantation series *Muššu'u* (Böck 2007: 150–58) and *Saggig* VII (so Geller and Wiggermann 2008: 153). It is uncertain whether the fragmentary lines of Akkadian at the bottom of col. i belong to the same incantation or are part of another.

(b) ii 1'–6', rubric ka-inim-ma munus x[. . .]: fragmentary incantation of uncertain function.

(c) ii 7'–13', incipit ^{d}kamad(DÌM)-me ⸢{me}⸣ mu d[umu an-na] "Kamadme is (her) name, [child of An]," no rubric: Sumerian incantation against Lamaštu, similar to *TIM* IX 63: 17'–23' // *OECT* V 55. Edited with No. 28c in Part II.B.8.

(d) ii 14'–25', incipit nin kin-gi$_4$-a [^{d}a-nun-na-ke$_4$-ne] "lady, envoy [of the Anunna-gods]": damaged Sumerian incantation against Lamaštu, edited in Part II.B.8.

(e) iii 1'–11': fragmentary remains of a Sumerian incantation, includes Asalluḫe-Enki formula.

The reverse surface of No. 22 is almost entirely destroyed; the remaining traces are undeciphered and have not been copied.

No. 23 (Pl. LIX) is a small, narrow single-column tablet that lacks only its bottom right-hand corner. Twenty-six lines of text in a careful hand are separated by two rulings into three short spells:

(a) 1–6, incipit a-ba ^{d}nanše-kam "the sea belongs to Nanše," rubric gìr-pad-rá "(incantation formula for) bones": Sumerian incantation, similar to *YOS* XI 76: 5–7. Edited in Part II.F.1.

(b) 7–16, incipit *assuḫ baštam* "I uprooted a thorn bush," no rubric: Akkadian love charm, edited in Part II.I.2.

(c) 17–27, incipit en bar udug mu [x], no rubric: Sumerian incantation against an unidentified problem; ll. 26–27 are quoted in the textual note on II.E.2 No. 1h x 2.

No. 24 (Pl. LXX) is a little tablet lacking its bottom right-hand corner and some of its reverse surface. The obverse contains an incantation against scorpions. The material on the reverse and edges is disorganized but also to do with scorpion-sting.

(a) obv. 1–8, incipit *nalban uqnîm* "brick mould of lapis lazuli," rubric *šipat zuqaqīpim* "incantation for scorpion": Akkadian incantation, edited in Part II.D.11.

(b) rev. 1'–6', edges 7'–9': Sumero-Akkadian mixed language text, edited in Part II. D.11.

No. 25 (Pl. LXXI) is a complete single-column tablet that has suffered a little damage to the right-hand edge only. Its obverse contains a mixed-language incantation to counter stomach upset. The reverse has a foreign-language incantation against snakes and a ritual in Akkadian.

(a) 1–14, incipit ú-a ab-gig "Woe! He was sick," rubric ⸢ka!⸣-inim-ma! šà-gig-ga "incantation formula for stomach-ache": incantation partly in Sumerian and partly in Akkadian, edited in Part II.E.6.

(b) 15–22, incipit su-pa-ni-ir mu-du-ḫi-a, rubric ka-inim-ma muš gar-[(x)] "incantation for 'placing' a snake": incantation in an unidentified language and therapeutic remedy in Akkadian, edited in Part II.D.14.

No. 26 (Pl. LXXII) has been cut down from a piece from the middle of a multi-column tablet and backed with new clay in order to make a squarish, bun-like "tablet" attractive to the antiquities' market. Parts of two obverse columns remain:

(a) i' 1'–13', rubric [ka-inim-ma munus ù-t]u-ud-da-kam "incantation formula for a woman giving birth": Akkadian incantation, variant of No. 28a and *YOS* XI 86: 1–28. Edited in Part II.G.2.

(b) i 14', end of incipit only preserved: . . .]x àm-tuš: Sumerian incantation?

(c) ii' 1'–15': Akkadian incantation against toothache, edited in Part II.E.13.

No. 27 (Pls. LXXIII–LXXV) has its lower part reconstructed with plaster of Paris. Most of the obverse is well preserved, but the reverse has sustained surface damage. The text is written in a fine, neat hand, and is divided by rulings into three sections.

(a) obv. 1–rev. 10', incipit *ētiq titurram ūṣi naṣābam* "It crossed a bridge, it came out of a drainpipe," [tu_6] én-⌜é⌝-nu-ru, rubric ka-inim-ma [m]u[š]-kam "incantation formula against snakes": Akkadian incantation, edited in Part II.D.8.

(b) rev. 11'–15', incipit [ab] ^{d}[na]nše-kam "the sea belongs to Nanše," rubric [ka-ini]m-ma ^{uzu}gìr-pad-rá "incantation formula for bones": damaged Sumerian incantation, edited in Part II.F.2.

(c) rev. 16'–25', incipit *[ina li]bbīya abnīka* "I formed you [inside] me," tu_6 én-é-nu-ru, rubric ka-inim-ma gír-tab "incantation against scorpions": complete Akkadian incantation, edited in Part II.D.8.

No. 28 (Pls. LXXVI–LXXVII) is a complete tablet with damage to the right edge. The text is written in a fine, calligraphic hand of the kind typical of Larsa scribes during the era of Rīm-Sîn. It is divided by rulings into three sections:

(a) 1–19, incipit *ina mê nâkim ibbani* "it was formed from the waters of intercourse," rubric ka-inim-ma *[ālit]tum* "incantation formula, woman in labor": Akkadian incantation, similar to No. 26a and *YOS* XI 86: 1–28. Edited in Part II.G.1.

(b) 20–27, incipit la-la ḫu-ma, rubric damaged: incantation in an unidentified language, function uncertain.

(c) 28–35, no rubric, incipit ^{d}ka-ma!-⌜ad⌝-ge-⌜en⌝ mu dumu a[n-na] "K. is (her) name, child [of An]": Sumerian incantation against Lamaštu, related to *TIM* IX 63: 17'–23' // *OECT* V 55. Edited with No. 22c in Part II.B.8.

No. 29 (Pls. LXXVIII–LXXIX) is a large narrow tablet lacking the left edge and bottom left-hand corner. The reverse is not inscribed. The obverse holds four sections of text, written in a clear, neat hand and divided by rulings. The rubrics of the first three sections are written in smaller characters, on top of the rulings, and were probably added afterwards.

(a) 1–10a, incipit [x x] *Šamaš rabîm dannim* "[. . .] of Šamaš, great and mighty," rubric ka-inim-ma ur-gi_7-ra "incantation formula against dogs": incantation in Akkadian, Sumerian (l. 7) and an unidentified language.

(b) 11–16a, rubric as (a): Akkadian recipe for a poultice, therapeutic remedy to go with (a), quoted in Part II.F.3

(c) 17–19a, incipit [x]-bi i-gi-te-li-a, rubric as (a): rhyming incantation in an unidentified language, possibly referring to the monoculus *igitelûm* (George 2012).

(d) 20–30, incipit *[kār pu]šqim iktala eleppī* "[A quay of] danger has detained my boat," rubric [ka-inim-ma munu]s-ù-tu "incantation formula for a woman in childbirth": damaged Akkadian incantation and one-word therapy, kìd-kìd-bi ì-giš "its ritual: oil." This incantation will be included in Ulrike Steinert's forthcoming study of Mesopotamian gynaecology.

The blank space at the bottom of the obverse contains a line, presumably of colophon, but it remains obscure.

No. 30 (Pls. LXXX–LXXXIII) is the top portion of a four-column tablet containing a majority of Akkadian incantations written in a large, clear hand.

(a) i 1–10, incipit lost, rubric ka-inim-ma libiš$_x$ "incantation formula for the gut": Akkadian incantation, edited in Part II. E.11.

(b) i 11–16, incipit *iṣum ša ilim* "wood belongs to god," ⸢tu$_6$ én⸣-é-nu-ru, rubric ka-inim-ma libiš$_x$ "incantation formula for the gut": Akkadian incantation, edited in Part II. E.11.

(c) i 17–26, incipit damaged, [tu$_6$] én ⸢é-nu⸣-ru, rubric ka-inim-ma gír-tab "incantation formula against a scorpion": damaged Akkadian incantation, followed by therapy beginning: [dù-d]ù-bi *a-na me-e* [*li*]-*ša-am ta-ma-*[*ḫa-a*]*ḫ-ma* "its ritual: you moisten dough in water."

(d) ii 1–27, incipit *nalban uqnîm* "brick mould of lapis lazuli," rubric ka-inim-ma gír-[tab] "incantation formula against a scorpion": Akkadian incantation, edited in Part II.D.10.

(e) ii 28: trace, uncertain genre, probably continues to damaged rubric at iii 1'.

(f) iii 2'–19', incipit damaged, rubric ka-inim-ma ^{uzu}gìr-pad-rá "incantation formula for bones": unintelligible incantation, tu$_6$ én-é-[nu]-r[u], followed by Akkadian legitimation formula. Edited in Part II.F.3.

(g) iii 20'–25', instructions in Akkadian to make a poultice (cf. No. 29b), presumably as therapy for (f). Edited in Part II.F.3.

(h) iv 1'–2': Sumerian?

(i) 3'–6': bilingual passage of uncertain function

No. 31 (Pls. LXXXIV–LXXXVII) is the lower portion of a four-column tablet. The obverse is in very poor shape, with little inscribed surface remaining, but the reverse is well preserved and displays a fine, regular script. The contents are at least four incantations in Akkadian, three to counter evil eye and one to quiet a crying baby:

(a) i: traces only, possibly continuing as (b).

(b) ii 1'–19', rubric [ka-inim-m]a igi-ḫul-a-[kam] "incantation formula against the evil eye": very damaged Akkadian incantation.

(c) ii 20'–iii 21, incipit lost, rubric [ka-inim-m]a igi-ḫul-a-[kam] "incantation formula against the evil eye": Akkadian incantation, edited in Part II.C.2.

(d) iii 22–26, continued as iv 1–7, incipit *īnum lemnet* "the eye was evil," rubric ka-inim-ma igi ⸢ḫul⸣-a-kam "incantation formula against the evil eye": beginning and end of an Akkadian incantation, edited in Part II.C.2.

(e) iv 8–24, incipit *ibki ṣeḫrum iddalip abāšu* "the baby cried, it kept its father awake": first part of an Akkadian incantation, edited in Part II.H.2.

No. 32 (Pls. LXXXVIII–XCI) is an almost complete single-column tablet, perhaps the bottom one-fifth being lost. The surviving text is divided by two double rulings, so that three incantations are represented. None has a generic rubric, but all end in *tu en-ni-nu-ri*. The content reveals that the topic is *namzītum* "brewing jar," a metaphor for the stomach and digestive tract:

(a) obv. 1–19: complete Akkadian incantation, incipit damaged, edited in Part II.E.12.

(b) obv. 20–rev. 5': beginning and end of Akkadian incantation, incipit damaged, edited in Part II.E.12.

(c) rev. 6'–16', incipit *eṭlum ayyānum tallakam* "Young fellow, whence do you come?": complete Akkadian incantation, edited in Part II.E.12.

Smaller Old Babylonian Incantation Tablets

Three single-column tablets bear Sumerian incantations designed to activate and consecrate cultic objects for use in religious or medical ritual. **No.** 33 (Pls. XCII–XCIII) holds two short spells, separated by a blank line but neither

blessed with a rubric. It uses some irregular spelling. The first incantation (a), incipit gìr-dub ge-en íl-la-mu, is concerned with an item that I cannot identify. The second (b), incipit ^{giš}šinig gi_6 íl ḫur-sa-ge_6 ga-mu-gu, deals with the tamarisk plant. Other Sumerian incantations about the tamarisk are extant, from the Early Dynastic and Ur III periods (Krebernik 1984: 226–32), the Old Babylonian period (Nos. 5h, 5m, 6p and 6y above), and in *Šurpu* IX (Reiner 1958: 45) and *Mīs pî* I/2 (Walker and Dick 2001: 97), but none is related to the present example. **No. 34** (Pls. XCIV–XCV) bears an incantation for the reed torch, incipit damaged, rubric gi-izi-lá. It joins quite a well-populated Old Babylonian corpus of Sumerian incantations that consecrate this cultic tool (*OECT* V 21–22; *VAS* XVII 19, ed. Cavigneaux 1995a: 63; *YOS* XI 53 and dupls., ed. Michalowski 1993; *YOS* XI 59; CBS 1384, CDLI P258717). None of these offers much help in reading the very difficult text on No. 34, but compare l. 5: ⌜^{d}nin⌝-èš-gal simug an-na-ke_4 with *YOS* X 53: 4 ⌜^{d}⌝$gibil_6$ èš-gal èš(*or* simug?)-gal an-n[a-ke_4]; both lines seem to be corrupted by knowledge of "Ninagal, the (great) smith of An" (as in No. 35: 5 ⌜^{d}nin-á-gal⌝ simug-gal an-⌜na⌝-k[e_4]). **No. 35** (Pls. XCVI–XCVII) is a badly damaged tablet on which enough of the rubric survives to identify the text as an incantation from the "mouth-opening" ritual in which divine statues were consecrated and animated (rev. 11): ka-inim-ma alam kù-ge ⌜x x⌝ / ⌜sag⌝-ta x[x x] "incantation formula to consecrate a statue . . ." The statue's mouth is opened (l. 21 gál-[tag_4]) so that it may eat (30 ninda gu_7-dè). The divine cast features the smith Ninagal (5), and mother goddess Aruru (8), alongside Enki and Asalluḫe. The text does not appear to be a precursor to any extant incantation of the late *Mīs pî* ritual (Walker and Dick 2001).

Five of the small tablets, Nos. 36–40, contain Sumerian incantations that feature exorcism by divine oath, usually known as zi—pàd incantations (see briefly Cunningham 1997: 117). **No. 36** (Pls. XCVIII–XCIX) is the middle portion of an incantation against ^{d}kamad(DÌM)-me (Lamaštu; ll. 6', 9'), seemingly quite corrupt; ll. 18'–19' are quoted in the textual note on No. 37: 11 (II.B.9). **No. 37** (Pl. C), also against Lamaštu but complete, contains two spells without rubric, but both introduced by what is probably a variant of the *Enenuru* formula. The spells' incipits are (a) ḫé-da-da ^{d}en-líl ^{d}nin-líl and (b) éš bar-ra-ta ninda nu-gu_7-a. The former is a version of a well-known spell, the latter not; both are edited in Part II.B.9. The incantation on **No. 38** (Pl. CI) is nearly complete, but written in syllabic Sumerian: note the legitimation formula in ll. 4–5, di di-mi-ir-en-ne-kam a-ga-aš-ki-pi me-en for *di dingir-e-ne-kam a-ga-aš-gi_4-bi me-en "it is the gods' judgement, I am (merely) their inferior"; ll. 6–9, ḫé-pa-am instead of ḫé-pàd; l. 12, tu-en-en-nu-[ri]. The incipit perhaps suggests this is an incantation against Lamaštu, who "rose up against the earth" (ka-ma ki-še mi-zi for *^{d}kamad(DÌM) ki-šè mi-ni-zi?). The text inscribed on **No. 39** (Pls. CII–CIII), incipit broken, is a spell to exorcise demonic powers, edited in Part II.B.4. **No. 40** (Pls. CIV–CV), incipit én-nu-ri, in-nin me-en "I am the queen," no rubric, also targets a range of demons; it is edited in Part II.B.3.

The collection houses four further Old Babylonian tablets of Sumerian incantations but these have no common denominator. **No. 41** (Pl. CVI) is a tablet formerly in the possession of a Mr J. Greathead and previously published (Finkel 1999: 241 and fig. 17). It bears a snake incantation, incipit muš sag-min eme-min zú ⌜an-na⌝ "O snake with two heads, two tongues and fangs aloft," ti-e-ni-in-nu-ri, and, unusually, a short colophon, on neatly ruled lines. It is edited anew in Part II.D.3. **No. 42** (Pl. CVII) is a tablet complete in profile, but missing much surface from its obverse. What remains are traces of a Sumerian incantation on the Asalluḫe-Enki model and an Akkadian therapeutic ritual, incipit broken, rubric *šipat ṣeḫrim ša ibakkûma inuḫḫu* "incantation for a baby that is crying but

will quieten." It is edited in Part II.H.1. **No. 43** (Pl. CVIII) presents a third version of a well-known but difficult spell, incipit [unu]g^{ki} ba-ku$_4$ úrim^{k}[^{i} ba-ku$_4$] "He entered Uruk, [entered] Ur." It is edited in Part II.J.2, alongside an Akkadian version, No. 20d. **No. 44** (Pl. CIX) is the bottom portion of a tablet whose reverse is entirely destroyed. The rubric on its left edge identifies its text as an incantation, but its function is not identifiable. The spell features Dumuzi's sister, the goddess Geštinanna (obv. 4').

Tablets Nos. 45–47 are Old Babylonian Sumerian texts from the realm of *āšipūtum* but not identified as regular incantations by rubric or formal structure. The text of **No. 45** (Pls. CX–CXI), lacking beginning and end, is beset by abbreviated lines which render its content difficult and its function uncertain, but the presence of Asalluḫe (obv. 16', rev. 20' wr. ^{d}asal-lú) and demons (rev. 12: udug-ḫul gal$_5$-lá ḫul) identify it as exorcism-related. The text features a narrative of physical suffering that includes the motif of the malady that defies experts (obv. 9'–13'): ensi-šè ì-du-un ensi nu-mu-na-búr / máš-šu-gíd-gíd / šim-mú igi-ni in-bar tu-ra-ni nu-um-zu / íd / ma-mú igi-duḫ-bi ma-mú-bi lul-la "He(!) went(!) to the dream-interpreter, the dream-interpreter could not interpret (his dream) for him, the diviner (could not discover the problem), the herbalist examined him but did not recognize his illness, the river (god could not determine the matter), those dreams that he saw were misleading dreams." This motif recurs in well-known Babylonian wisdom texts (*Ludlul* II and the analogue from Ugarit, see Cohen 2013: 166–67), but also in a Sumero-Akkadian penitential psalm, IV *R*^{2} 22 no. 2: 41–48 (ed. Langdon 1927: 44 ll. 8–15). Mention of Asalluḫe at this point (16') is followed by an instruction for the sufferer to leave town (17': ⸢lú-bi⸣ an-edin-na ù-mu-e-ni-gen "after you have made that man go into the country"); evidently this is in preparation for a ritual of exorcism. The reverse continues the ritual instructions, which include the fashioning of figurines to act as the sufferer's substitute and take on his malady (rev. 6–11). A line, ruled off, invites the sufferer to acknowledge his divine rescuers (13: [lú-b]i ^{d}en-ki ^{d}namma me-téš ḫé-MIN-i "let that [man] then praise Enki and Namma"). The content thus far follows in essence a standard narrative pattern of incantations: a problem is described, noticed by Asalluḫe (obv. 16'), and a ritual of divine origin is recommended to counter the problem, leading to the patient's recovery and, in this case, grateful worship. A further scenario of demonic attack follows the ruled-off line, which thus appears to be a second incantation (b). Its incipit is [ki-si]kil? lú-ra ká im-da-an-gub "a Maid-demon(?) stood waiting for the man (in) the gateway," but it is broken away after eight lines (rev. 14–21).

If No. 45 describes the undiagnosed problems of a sufferer, the text on tablet **No. 46** (Pls. CXII–CXIII) belongs to a later stage in the exorcist's encounter with his patient. The composition, which has no rubric, consists only of Enki's instructions to Asalluḫe, beginning with the incipit ninda sag-gá-na u$_4$-me-ri-⸢su⸣-ub "rub bread dough on his head." The bottom three or four lines of the tablet are missing, leaving a short gap in a text of about forty lines that is otherwise not much damaged. With the help of parallels, much of it can be understood. It is edited in Part II.B.7. **No. 47** (Pl. CXIV) is an oblong tablet inscribed on one side only in a large hand. The text is an excerpt of the Sumerian composition known as the Incantation to Utu. It is edited in Part II.K.1.

The number of the collection's Old Babylonian single-text incantation tablets in Akkadian is four, fewer than its Sumerian counterparts, as expected. All four are on the related topics of snake and scorpion (Nos. 48–51). **No. 48** (Pls. CXV–CXVI) is an almost complete single-column tablet, lacking only the bottom left-hand corner. The script is compact and highly distinctive. The reverse is inscribed with only two lines; below them traces of erased signs indicate that the tablet has been reused.

The incantation's rubric is *rapšā būdāšu* "wide are its shoulders"; there is no rubric, except for the formula [tu_6]-en-[n]u-ri, but content and similarities with existing incantations show that the topic is snakes. The text is edited in Part II.D.7. **No. 49** (Pls. CXVII–CXVIII) has sustained damage to its right edge and to the surface of the reverse. The text is inscribed in a single column covering the whole of the two main surfaces. The incantation begins with a rhyme, *waruq ša ṣētim ṣalim ša bītim* "yellow in the open, black at home." A rubric was written on the upper edge, but its keyword is now lost. Content determines that this is a spell against scorpions. The text is edited in Part II.D.9.

No. 50 (Pl. CXXIX) is a small oblong tablet, lacking the left edge, with a short spell set out on neatly ruled lines on each side:

(a) 1–5, incipit [*lu*]*līmu šipassu* "a stag is his spell," rubric ka-inim-ma gír-tab "incantation formula against scorpions": Akkadian incantation, edited in Part II.D.12.

(b) 6–12, incipit [*li*]*riria itila* (language unknown), rubric ka-inim-ma ni-im-bu "incantation formula against wasps(?)": mainly Akkadian incantation, variant of No. 51. It is edited in Part II.D.13.

No. 51 (Pl. CXX) is a single-column tablet inscribed only on the obverse with a mainly Akkadian incantation, incipit *liria itila* (language unknown), variant of No. 50b, edited in Part II.D.13. A circle is impressed on the reverse surface.

Nos. 52 and 53 are small tablets that contain single incantations in a language or languages other than Sumerian and Akkadian. **No. 52** (Pl. CXXI) is well preserved on the obverse, but much of the reverse surface has been destroyed. The incantation on the obverse, incipit *ḫe-ḫe-en pa-la-gi*, is thus whole, but the Akkadian ritual that followed is lost apart from line beginnings, and the keyword of the rubric, *šipat* x[. . .], is also missing. **No. 53** (Pl. CXXII) is a slim, non-rectangular tablet, inscribed with a repetitious text of thirteen lines, incipit ⌜*ku*⌝-*zi ḫa-pa*-⌜*an-ra*⌝. There is no formal indication that this is an incantation, but exorcism is the most probable context for a text of this kind on an Old Babylonian tablet.

Related Texts on Old Babylonian Tablets

No. 54 (Pl. CXXIII) is a small oblong school tablet, unruled, with Sumerian on the obverse and Akkadian on the reverse. The tablet turns on its vertical axis, not horizontal. Edited in Part II.K.4.

Nos. 55–58 (Pls. CXXIV–CXXIX) are four Old Babylonian tablets in the range MS 3323–3388 that seem to fall into a distinctive group. One has been published before (No. 58 = Alster 2007: 52–54). In format, three of the four are rounded oblong tablets with long side on the left-right axis; the other (No. 56) is a more conventional, angular shape, but also in landscape format. Two are inscribed on the obverse only (Nos. 57 and 58). On all four the text is ruled off into short sections and the content is bilingual. The first language is sometimes recognizably Sumerian but more often gibberish. I have chosen to call it "pseudo-Sumerian." The Akkadian text is couched in the first-person and consists of a boastful narrative. On one tablet the speaker identifies himself as Ningirsu's weapon. The text of the tablets is edited in Part II.K.5.

No. 59 (Pls. CXXX–CXXXI) is actually two fragments, one large and one small, embedded in plaster of Paris as if parts of the same tablet. The smaller piece, at the top-left corner, is from an Ur III ledger and does not belong to the larger. The larger piece is from the middle of the obverse of an Old Babylonian tablet of at least six columns. Parts of three columns of text in Akkadian survive: the middle and end of lines in the left-hand column (i'), lines of full width in the middle column (ii'), and the beginnings of lines in the right-hand column (iii'). No incipit or rubric survives, and damage hampers the text's identification. Transliterated in Part II.K.2.

No. 60 (*MSCT* IV pl. LXIII) is a rough oblong tablet ruled into eight lines and containing an Akkadian text with incipit *qaqqadam ula īšu* "it has no head," previously published in George 2009: 156 no. 19. The text shares phrases with a spell against scorpions but is not certainly itself an incantation. It is re-edited in Part II.K.6.

No. 61. Neo-Assyrian Apotropaic Tablet in Amulet Form

No. 61 (Pls. CXXXII–CXXXVI) is a clay amulet tablet, provided at the top with the customary rectangular projection pierced for suspension, and inscribed with forty-nine lines of Neo-Assyrian cuneiform. The text is an incantation-prayer addressed to Ea, Šamaš and Asalluḫe for the protection of a man named Nabû-zēru-iddina. It joins a small corpus of tablets of this kind, excavated at Aššur and provincial Neo-Assyrian cities, described by Stefan Maul (1994: 175–90). It is edited in Part II.K.3.

Nos. 62–71. Apotropaic Amulets in Stone and Clay

Lamaštu Plaques

The Schøyen Collection's four Lamaštu amulets add to a large corpus of such objects (see Wiggermann 2000: 219 n. 11; Götting 2009: 438; Farber 2014: 30). **No. 62** (Pl. CXXXVII) is a black stone plaque with an oblong lug pierced for suspension. A winged demon is depicted on one face, very different from the demon as conventionally depicted (e.g. on No. 63) and in form similar to the image on VA Ass. 998 (*KAR* 87), 992 and 999 (Klengel 1960: 341–42), all from Aššur. According to Wiggermann (2000: 222), this figure is not a representation of Lamaštu but an associate of Adad, Nergal and Ninurta with apotropaic function. A six-line inscription is incised in Assyrian cuneiform on the other face. The text is a well-known Lamaštu incantation in Sumerian, incipit ᵈkamad(DÌM)-me dumu an-na "Kamadme, daughter of An," edited in Part II.B.10. The presence of this particular incantation on the amulet suggests a date before the first millennium (Wiggermann 2000: 224 n. 37, 242).

No. 63 (Pl. CXXXVIII) is a tablet in a beautiful red and white stone, with an oblong lug pierced for suspension. A photograph was published in an auction catalogue for a sale conducted on 22 April 1999 (Bonhams 1999: 149 no. 542). The tablet has the same relief and incantation as a fragmentary exemplar now in the British Museum (80-7-19, 319, drawn to my attention by Strahil Panayotov). This is part of a consignment excavated in 1880 by Hormuzd Rassam's workmen at Nineveh, probably in the South-West Palace (Reade 2000: 422). The relief on both amulets is conventional: a Lamaštu scene is depicted on one face, showing in the upper register a healing scene around a patient in bed and in the lower the demon standing on her donkey, grasping a snake in each hand and suckling a piglet and a puppy. On each side of her is a pair of figures apparently locked in combat: each pair consists of a regular man and a lion-man (*ugallu*). Probably they have an apotropaic function, guarding the bedroom.[1] On the other face a two-line ownership label is incised on the lug, below it is a scene around a divine standard, and below that an eleven-line inscription.

The ownership label on No. 63 is damaged but enough remains for it to show that this amulet was the property of a Sargonid king of Assyria, probably Esarhaddon or Ashurbanipal: *ekal*(kur) ᵐ[RN] / *šar*(man) ⸢*kiššati*(šú)⸣ [*šar māt Aššur*] "Palace-(property)] of [RN,] king of the world, [king of Assyria.]" The amulet is likely once to have hung around the royal neck or in a palace bed-chamber at Nineveh. It was said at auction to have been found in Iran, but this is not verified. Nevertheless, an Iranian prove-

[1] Compare pairs of figurines described in the late ritual series *bīt mēseri* as maš-maš lú-érim-ma // *ma-a-ši mu-un-da-aḫ-ṣi* "fighting twins," for burial right and left in doorways to repel evil (Meier 1941–44: 150 ll. 215–19). Each of the human twins fights one of the lion-men twins.

nance would raise the possibility that the amulet was removed from Nineveh when the city was sacked by the Medes in 612 BC. The damage to the lug completely removed the royal name and may have been a defacement deliberately made in order to dishonor the king's name and memory. Given the secure provenance of the fragmentary exemplar in Nineveh, it may have had the same ownership label, but the lug is broken off. The incantation on both exemplars is a common spell listing Lamaštu's names in Akkadian, incipit *Lamaštu mārat Anim šumša ištēn* "Lamaštu: Daughter of Anu is her first name." Edited in Part II.B.10.

Nos. 64–65 are further tablets in black stone. **No. 64** (Pl. CXXXIX) has an oblong lug pierced for suspension. On one face is a bas-relief rendering of Lamaštu depicted in conventional fashion, standing on her donkey, giving suck to piglet and puppy, a snake in each hand. A photograph of this face was previously published in an auction catalogue (Sotheby's sale LN7381 *Antiquities including Western Asiatic Cylinder Seals and Antiquities from the Erlenmeyer Collection* (Part II), 12 June 1997). The other face is ruled in nine blank lines for an inscription that was never accomplished. On this side of the lug is another scene in relief, depicting three human figures walking in file. **No. 65** (Pl. CXXXIX) has an unusual triangular lug pierced for suspension. On one face is a badly fashioned linear Lamaštu-figure with a bird's head, accompanied by her symbols, a comb and spindle. On the other is an imitation of a cuneiform inscription, a feature of some Lamaštu amulets that Wiggermann calls a "pseudo-inscription." There is no doubt that No. 65 is an attempt to replicate a Lamaštu amulet, only as to whether it was made in antiquity or more recently.

Other Stone Amulets with Inscriptions

No. 66 (Pl. CXL) is a head of the demon Pazuzu in white chalcedony, with pierced lug for suspension. A ten-line inscription in Assyrian cuneiform is incised on the flat face, above a winged solar disk. The text, in Akkadian, is spell no. 17 in the compendium of amulet incantations collected in the apotropaic series *Ḫulbazizi*, incipit én *Sîn šarru bēl agê linīḫka* (*KAR* 88 frag. 3 rev. ii' 6'–9' // *STT* 215 i 60–64 // *Uruk* III 82 i 36–38 // K 255+ ii 1–4, etc., ed. Finkel 1976: 92–93). Drawings of the two faces of MS 2447, made by Tessa Rickards from the Schøyen Collection's website in 2001, were published by Nils Heeßel in his study of Pazuzu (Heeßel 2002: 243 no. 163), along with a description (p. 169) and edition of the text (pp. 112–13). Autopsy of the piece itself confirms his readings, so a translation only is given here: "May king Sîn, lord of the crown, calm you! May Ninurta, lord of the weapon, break your weapon! May Nergal, supreme deity of the netherworld, detain you in a grave! May Ea and Asalluḫe keep your poison away! Depart! Incantation spell." According to Heeßel, this is the only amulet known to bear this particular *Ḫulbazizi*-incantation.

No. 67 (Pl. CXL) is a pearl-grey chalcedony bead, profile shaped like a barrel cylinder, pierced lengthways, with an eight-line inscription in Babylonian lapidary script. The text is a Sumerian incantation from the apotropaic series *Ḫulbazizi*, incipit én-é-nu-ru, sil$_7$ lú-érim-ma "Be gone, evil one!," followed by the name of the bead's owner. It is edited in Part II.B.11. **No. 68** (Pl. CXLI) is a carnelian bead shaped like a tiny six-faced barrel cylinder, pierced lengthways with a fragment of silver wire still attached, and bearing an inscription in Assyrian cuneiform on four faces. The text is Akkadian: ^{na_4}gug / gazi^{sar} / ^{na_4}*su*!-*u* / *ana amēli*(na) *là teṭeḫḫe*(te) "Carnelian! Dodder! *Sû*-stone! Do not approach the man!" The message, to malevolent beings, is that the individual wearing the bead is protected by the substances named and they should not interfere with him.

Clay Amulets

Nos. 68–69 are minute clay cylinders, pierced lengthways for suspension. **No. 69** (Pl. CXLI) is the larger of the two, and is inscribed with eight

lines of Neo-Assyrian cuneiform. The text is a version of a mixed-language (Akkadian, then Sumerian) incantation for personal protection from sickness, incipit én *šukūdu šumšu* "Spell. 'Arrow-star' is its name." It is no. 18 in the compendium *Ḫulbazizi*, addressed to the star Sirius, the astral manifestation of the warrior god Ninurta. **No. 70** (Pl. CXLI) is a miniscule example, pierced lengthways for suspension, inscribed with twelve lines of tiny Neo-Assyrian cuneiform. The text is barely legible, but appears again to be *Ḫulbazizi* no. 18. Both are edited in Part II.B.12.

No. 71 (Pl. CXLII) is a miniature clay tongue, inscribed in Neo-Assyrian cuneiform with the following three signs: an ẓa ra. As an object, it is likely to be magic-related, but its exact function is uncertain.

Nos. 72–74. Medical Tablets

No. 72 (Pl. CXLII) is a small square of clay that shows signs of having been used before. It is inscribed with an Old Babylonian magico-medical remedy for the treatment of a scorpion's sting, edited in Part II.L.1. **No. 73** (Pls. CXLIII–CXLV) is a complete tablet in landscape format, inscribed in Old Babylonian and containing twenty-two paragraphs of text, mostly medical prescriptions. A synopsis of its contents is given in Part II.L.2. **No. 74** (Pl. CXLVI) is a complete Neo- or Late Babylonian tablet of thirty-one lines divided by rulings into seven sections. Each holds the text of a prescription, but the last is unfinished. A synopsis is given in Part II.L.3.

Nos. 75–76. Hemerological Tablets

No. 75 (Pl. CXLVII) is a remarkable tablet of black stone, restored from two joining fragments. The tablet is ornamented on the left edge with the figure of a recumbent lion, pierced from mouth to anus. Presumably this acted as a lug through which, for example, a cord could be passed in order to suspend the tablet from a peg or other protrusion. The two faces and right edge of the tablet bear a text of twelve lines in Babylonian cuneiform. Stone scripts are difficult to date on the evidence of ductus alone, for they are often archaizing. Probably the tablet is no older than the late second millennium BC. Translated in Part II.M.1.

No. 76 (Pls. CXLVIII–CXLIX) is a fragment of a beautifully written Neo-Assyrian library tablet, inscribed with hemerological tables and a colophon. As can be seen from the composite photograph on Pl. CXLIX, it forms a good join with K 98 in the British Museum, excavated by Layard at Nineveh in 1850 and published long ago by the Rev. A. H. Sayce (1887: 333–35). The line at No. 76 obv. 9' continues without a lacuna on K 78 obv. 9'. The latter is numbered l. 10' on Sayce's copy because he (or his typesetter) inserted a false l. 8 and omitted two lines after his l. 13. The text of No. 76 + K 98 is edited in Part II.M.2.

No. 77 A Stray Babylonian Literary Text

No. 77 (Pls. CL–CLI) is the lower part of an Old Babylonian tablet inscribed with Akkadian text in a single column. The tablet entered the Schøyen Collection as part of the "Magician's Archive" (MS 3056–3105), described on pp. 29–30, and its text remained unidentified until work began on these tablets in 2012. Accordingly it missed its proper place in *Babylonian Literary Texts in the Schøyen Collection* (*MSCT* IV, George 2009), and is published here instead, along with most of the other tablets in the range MS 3056–3105. The obverse is very poorly preserved. The text of the reverse is legible but difficult. It is divided by rulings into three sections. The first section is given the Sumerian rubric giš-gi$_4$-gál-bi "its refrain," which marks the text out as hymnic in genre. The second section has an unusual Akkadian subscript, *wa-ar-di im-gu-ur* "my servant obeyed." The poetic style, vocabulary and content of the fragment are reminiscent of the Old Babylonian Agušaya song about the goddess Ištar (see Groneberg 1997: 55–93). She duly appears in l. 12 of the reverse.

Editions of Selected Texts

II.A. INCANTATIONS TO ACCOMPANY CONSECRATION

These are incantations of the type called *Weihungstyp* by Falkenstein in his pioneering analysis of the literary form of incantations (1931: 76–82). They are more frequently known as *Kultmittelbeschwörungen*. This kind of incantation was believed to activate latent power in a material or object and render it suitable, effective and free from taint ("consecrate it") prior to its use in ritual or therapy (see Abusch 2003: 2–4). This was achieved by asserting the object's mythical role in establishing and maintaining what has been called the "pristine purity of Heaven and Earth" (van Binsbergen and Wiggermann 1999: 26).

II.A.1. No. 4 (Pl. VIII)

This is an Ur III (or early Isin) period incantation pertaining to $^{\text{giš}}$kišig(Ú.GÍR-*gunû*, Akkadian *ašāgu*), a thorny bush that is probably *Prosopis farcta*, i.e. Syrian mesquite or false carob (Civil 1987b: 52; Powell 1992: 102). It is commonly found in Babylonian medicine as an ingredient in fumigation and healing therapies (Thompson 1949: 182–84). The use of the root (*arina*) and leafy twigs (*pa*) of $^{\text{giš}}$kišig in Ur III-period medicine is substantiated by their appearance as ingredients in external medications recorded on the earliest surviving tablet of ancient Mesopotamian medical therapy, which dates to the era (Civil 1960: 61–62 ll. 47, 129 pa $^{\text{giš}}$GÍR-*gunû*, 117 e-ri$_8$-na $^{\text{giš}}$GÍR-*gunû*; see discussion on p. 67). The present incantation would thus have been employed in a medical-related ritual.

The incantation addresses the archetypal $^{\text{giš}}$kišig, contrasting the pureness of the its upland origin (l. 3) with the dirt in which, implicitly, other plants grow (l. 4); the reference is presumably to barley and other cereals, which, in addition, are noted to be subject to mundane accounting (l. 5) and harvesting, even in that mythical time when the gods themselves toiled in the fields (l. 6). The thorn had a close connection with the netherworld (l. 7). Enki, god of magic, ordained for its root and leaves a special role under his command (ll. 8–14). The archetypal $^{\text{giš}}$kišig thereby gained the magic properties that the incantation now seeks to activate in its mundane counterpart.

Administrative documents of the period show that $^{\text{giš}}$kišig was in fact a weed that had to be cleared from arable land by male laborers hired for that purpose (Civil 1987b: 52; Molina and Such-Gutiérrez 2004: 10). Clearly this was no easy work. The agricultural context contrasts with its characterization in the incantation as an upland plant. The paradox can be resolved by supposing that the phrases refer to the plant's mythical ideal or archetype, whose properties were held to survive in the lowly weed that shared a muddy habitat with barley, awaiting activation by this magic spell.

The language used in l. 7 goes beyond the common trope of a plant whose roots reached down to the netherworld. That the $^{\text{giš}}$kišig was nè iri$_{11}$ ki-gal-la, however one translates it, and á-gál gidim-ma, a more or less synonymous

expression, indicates a special association of the plant with Irigal, the subterranean city of the dead. These expressive phrases may reflect a folk-belief that the roots of the ^{giš}kišig were held down by the shades of the dead, or perhaps even that plant was an extension of the arms of the dead, reaching up through the earth. Such beliefs would suit the plant's gnarled and thorny appearance and the evident fact that its roots were lodged so firmly in the ground that fully grown men were required to uproot it.

obv.

1 en-ni-nu-⸢uru$_{12}$(ÙR)⸣
2 ^{giš}kišig(Ú.GÍR-*gunû*) giš-zi
3 ú-sikil ú-kur-ra
4 im-ma nu-mu-gál-en
5 ⸢šudum⸣-ma nu-mu-un-/-šid-en
6 dingir-re-ne nu-⸢mu-ku?⸣-/-de-[en]
7 [K]IŠ/[n]è(-)iri$_{11}$^{ki}-gal-⸢la⸣ / á-gál ⸢gidim⸣-ma me-⸢en⸣

rev.

8 ^{giš}kišig [g]iš-zi
9 en-e ⸢mu-un-ši⸣-/-[in-gi-en]
10 úr-za mi-n[i-kud-dè-en]
11 nun-gal ^{d}en-ki-k[e$_4$] / mu-ši-in-gi-[en]
12 pa-za mi-ni-kud-dè-en
13 ^{d}en-ki-ke$_4$ abzu eridug^{ki}-/-ta
14 á-zu mu-da-na-⸢ág⸣
15 en-ni-⸢nu-uru$_{12}$⸣

1–7 *Enninuru*-spell. O thorn-bush, upright bush, pure plant, plant of the uplands: you did not grow in mud, you were not reckoned up in stocktaking, the gods did not reap(?) [you,] you were Nergal's (*or* a power in Irigal), mighty among the ghosts. 8–12 O thorn-bush, upright bush: the lord [sent you] here, he [took cuttings] from your roots; the great prince Enki sent [you] here, he took cuttings from your branches. 13–15 From the Abzu in Eridu, Enki has given you a task. *Enninuru*-spell.

Notes

1, 15. This spelling of the enigmatic *Enenuru* formula appears to be unique (see the many variants of én-é-nu-ru collected by Krebernik 1984: 198–99 and supplemented by van Dijk 1985: 4–5); closely comparable is en-nun-ùr-re on an Old Babylonian Lamaštu-incantation tablet now in Leiden, LB 1005: 1 (Böhl 1934: 9, Tonietti 1979: 309: en-nun-ùr-re; van Dijk 1982 [1987]: 102: én-nun-ùr-ri).

5. The first sign of the line compares well with the penultimate. Of the values of ŠID given in Proto-*Ea* 552–62, only šudum matches the resumptive -ma. The sign ŠID probably occurs with this value instead of regular šutum or šútum "storehouse" in the Nippur Lament 5 (Tinney 1996: 96 and discussion on pp. 131–32), but here, coupled with the verb šid "to count," it is more probably the homophone meaning "reckoning" (e.g. OB Nippur *Lu* 52: dub-sar šudum-ma "tally clerk"; see further Ludwig 1990: 179–80). Two Old Babylonian letters, *AbB* III 38: 32 and VIII 152: 37, use the logogram šudum(ŠID)-ma instead of more usual níg-ka$_9$(ŠID) to write *nikkassum* in the expression *nikkassī epēšum* "to reckon up the accounts" (see Cagni 1980: 98 n. g); others have suggested that the logogram ŠID-ma stands for *minûtum* "counting" (Borger 2004: 340), but *minûtam epēšum* is not nearly so common as *nikkassī epēšum*.

In the present line an alternative translation "you were countless in number" (E. Bennett) is perhaps not ruled out; a line of *Udug-ḫul* would then be lexically comparable (SB XIII–XV 8, ed. Geller 2007: 166): šid-dè an-ki-a la-ba-an-šid-a-meš // *ina minât šamê u erṣeti ul immannû* "they (the Seven) cannot be counted in the reckoning of heaven and earth."

6. ku-de-en syllabic for ku$_5$(d/r)-en, in l. 12 written more conventionally kud-dè-en (see note below).

7. Damage makes it uncertain whether the first sign is KIŠ or nè(PIRIG). The lack of divine determinative before it perhaps undermines the reading of the line as a reference to the netherworld deity Nergal (at this period normally ^{d}KIŠ-iri$_{11}$-gal), but the provision of the topographic determinative after the second

sign (iri$_{11}$^{ki}) is attested in Ur III documents (Wiggermann 1999: 216, ^{d}KIS.UNU^{ki}.GAL). Both interpretations, with KIŠ and nè, provide neat semantic and syntactic parallels with á-gál gidim-ma.

9, 11. gi syllabic for gi$_4$. Compare a similar statement in an Ur III incantation from Nippur (van Dijk and Geller 2003: 63 no. 18: 23) ud$_5$ en-né mu-ši-gi$_4$ "the lord (Enki) sent a goat."

10, 12. kud-dè-en < ku$_5$(d/r)-en. For references to cutting ^{giš}kišig in Ur III documents see Molina and Such-Gutiérrez 2004: 10 with n. 54: "always ku$_5$-(r)."

II.A.2. *No. 5b (Pl. X)*

This incantation of twenty-nine lines is the second on a giant Old Babylonian collective tablet of *Kultmittelbeschwörungen* (No. 5 i 11'–39'). The topic is the *saḫar*-pot (^{dug}sáḫar-ra, Akkadian *šaḫarrum*), a porous vessel that features in many exorcistic rituals as a container for water (Sallaberger 1996: 47 n. 217). The incantation begins with a short narrative describing the manufacture by the gods of the archetypal *saḫar*-pot in mythical time: the exorcist-god Asalluḫe (here called Asarre) took clay from where prince Enki had stored it in Abzu, his cosmic realm, and his mother, Damgalnunna, looked after it for him (i 12'–17'). Kusu, the divine purification-priest, cleansed the clay, and the potter-god Nunurra (here called Ninurra) fashioned it into a pot and fired it (18'–27'). Asalluḫe (this time called Asaralimnunna) gave it magic power so that it became an agent of purification for use in medicine and temple rituals (28'–36'). The retelling of this primordial act creates an identity between this archetypal pot, divinely fabricated and made potent by Asalluḫe's spell in mythical time, and a mundane vessel in the exorcist's hands. The exorcist's pot acquires through this identity a purifying force that is communicated to the cleansing water it contains. The incantation concludes with the standard injunction for evil to withdraw and a rubric describing its function (37'–39').

col. i

11' én-é-nu-ru
12' im abzu-ta
13' nun-e mu-un-ni-im-gar
14' ^{d}asar-e abzu-a
15' im-mi-in-è
16' ^{d}dam-gal-nun-na-ke$_4$
17' mí um-ma-ni-in-dug$_4$
18' ^{d}kù-sù sánga-maḫ
19' ^{d}en-líl-lá-ke$_4$
20' im-ma šu um-mi-ti
21' ^{d}nín-ur$_4$-ra
22' báḫar nun-na-ke$_4$
23' dug ù-me-ni-dím
24' šu-na im-mi-in-gar
25' gir$_4$ kù gir$_4$ sikil-la
26' gir$_4$ šen-šen-na
27' šà-ba um-mi-ni-in-šeg$_6$
28' ^{d}asar-alim-nun-na
29' dumu abzu-ke$_4$
30' ^{dug}sáḫar-ra šu um-me-ti
31' nam-šub ka-inim-ma
32' mi-ni-in-gar
33' dug-bi ⌜lú-ùlu⌝ pap-ḫal!-la
34' mi-ni-in-sikil
35' é dingir-re-e-⌜ne⌝
36' mi-ni-in-dadag
37' inim ḫul-gál
38' bar-šè ḫé-em-ta-gub!
39' ka-inim-ma $^{dug!}$sáḫar-ra šu te-gá-/-da-kam

i 11'–15' *Enenuru*-spell. The prince provided clay from the Abzu, Asarre took it out of the Abzu. 16'–24' Damgalnunna having nurtured it, Kusu, the chief purification priest of Enlil, took up the clay, Nunurra, the prince's potter, having made a pot, placed it in his hands. 25'–32' Having fired it inside a holy kiln, a pure kiln, a clean kiln, Asaralimnunna, the son of Abzu, having taken up the *saḫar*-pot, cast an incantation spell on it. 33'–38' That pot purified the sufferer, it cleansed the gods' houses. May evil speech stand aside!

39' Incantation formula for handling a *saḫar*-pot.

Notes

21'. ^{d}nín-ur$_4$-ra is an unusual spelling of the potter-god Nunurra, on whom see Cavigneaux and Krebernik 2001, Lambert 2013: 155–56.

33'–36'. Less probably Asaralimnunna is the subject: "He purified that pot (for) the sufferer, he cleansed it (in) the gods' house." The translations of pap-ḫal-la as "sufferer" and (elsewhere in this book) "victim" arise from the many contexts in which it refers to a sick person for whom an incantation is recited (see already Geller 1985: 87–88). Alongside the well-known equivalence in bilingual incantations, pap-ḫal = *muttalliku*, lit. "restless, always in motion," note also the more neutral entry pap-ḫal = *a-mi-lu* in *Lu* I 18, as one of fourteen Sumerian words that could be translated simply "man."

II.A.3. No. 5g (Pl. X)

The sixth incantation preserved on the giant tablet of *Kultmittelbeschwörungen* tells how when in mythical time he introduced the first purification priest (išib) in Sumer, prince Enki used rainwater for cleansing the locations where the new priest sat, stood and made offerings. The incantation calls for him to deploy the same water in the present, in order to make clean a human being. Though the rubric is missing, along with the end of the incantation itself, the spell was clearly intended for use in the ablution of participants in ritual ceremony.

col. iii

32' én-é-nu-ru
33' nun-e abzu-ta
34' è-a-ni
35' išib ke-en-gi-ra
36' pa! (tablet: bar) è-⸢da⸣-a-ni
37' dúr-gar-ra ki-gub-[b]a-ni
38' a-tu$_5$-tu$_5$-ni
39' {te} unu$_6$ kù-ga
40' a-tu$_5$-a-ni
41' sìla-gar-ra za-gìn-duru$_5$
42' na-de$_5$-ga-ni
43' ^{d}en-ki-ke$_4$ en nam-tar-tar-re-dè
44' a im-šèg an-na
45' šu im-ma-ni-in-dab$_5$
46' a-bi ^{d}iškur sikil-dè
47' a-bi ki sikil dadag-ge-dè
48' a-bi é dingir-re-e-ne
49' šen-šen-e-dè
50' a-bi lú-ùlu dumu dingir-[r]e-e-ne
51' mi-ni-in-sikil-e-⸢dè⸣
gap

iii 32'–45' *Enenuru*-spell. When the prince came forth from Abzu, when he made an *išib*-priest appear in Sumer, when he washed his seat (and) standing place, when he washed the holy dining hall, when he consecrated the litre-jars of lapis lazuli, Enki, lord who determines destinies, used (*lit.* took in hand) rainwater from the sky. 46'–51' That water, which is for Iškur to purify, that water, which is for cleansing the holy places, that water, which is for cleaning the houses of the gods—(with) that water he (Enki) is (now) to purify a man, son of his god (! tablet: the gods) . . . *Remainder lost.*

The incantation may have continued as far as the trace of rubric at iv 1'. However, a parallel may be observed between the end of this incantation (iii 44'–51') and the penultimate sentence of the preceding incantation:

col. iii

20' a-bi a kù a dadag
21' a šen-šen! a sikil-la
22' šu-luḫ dingir-re-e-ne
23' pa-è
24' é dingir-re-e-ne
25' dadag-ga-e-dè
26' é lugal-la-ke$_4$
27' sikil-la-e-dè
28' lú-ùlu dumu dingir-ra-na
29' mi-ni-ib-kù-ge-e-dè
30' inim ḫul-gál bar-šè ḫé-em-ta-gub

No. 5f (Pl. X) iii 20'–30'

iii 20'–29' That water—holy water, clean water, sacred water, pure water, which made possible the ablution rites of the gods, which is for cleansing the houses of the gods (and) for purifying the palace of the king—(with that water) he (Asalluḫe) is (now) to consecrate a man, son of his god. 30' May evil speech stand aside!

If No. 5g follows the same pattern as No. 5f, then all that is missing of it is the standard injunction inim ḫul-gál bar-šè ḫé-em-ta-gub and a rubric.

Note

iii 41'. There is an allusion here to the mythological narrative poem Enki and the World Order 399, where Enki bestows the sìla-gar-ra ^{na_4}za-gìn-duru$_5$ on the birth-goddess Nintu as one of the tools of her trade. A proposed etymology < sìla = *silītum* "amniotic sac" was soon rejected by Falkenstein (1964: 90). Whether or not its role in EWO is as a bowl for the afterbirth (so still *ePSD*), such a function is not expected here. The present context recalls how in mythical time Enki set up the temple rites that ensured the care and feeding of the gods. As a result he earned the epithet "one who fashioned the true sìla-gar vessels," applied to him in Old Babylonian incantations to consecrate the ritual censer (*YOS* XI 49: 10 and 18: sìla-gar zi dím-dím-ma, *pace* van Dijk). The use of a sìla-gar in an exorcistic ritual is substantiated in a damaged Ur III incantation, where Enki instructs Asalluḫe to do something with one (van Dijk and Geller 2003: 37 no. 8 ii 8'). These contexts require an etymology unrelated to afterbirths. So too does another passage in which sìla-gar appears in a ceremonial context: a line of the composition Samsuiluna and Inanna, where during the goddess's blessing of the king participants in the ceremony apparently "have fun (amid) golden sìla-gar vessels" (read sìla-gar kù-sig$_{17}$ e-ne im-da-e-ne: copy by Farber-Flügge 1976: 181 l. 23, correct ETCSL sìla ga).

The obvious etymology of sìla-gar-(ra) is from the capacity unit sìla "litre," and this is clearly the case in the lexical list OB *Urra* Nippur II 315–16, which lists among other pots (*SLT* 32 rev. iii 12'–13'): dug-sìla-gar, dug-sìla-gaz. There the latter is literally "half-litre clay pot" (gaz = *ḫepûm* "to divide by two"), so the former is by default a clay pot of fully one *sìla* volume. Other pots named after their capacity of one *sìla* are dug-sìla-bur, a clay bowl of one-litre capacity in the third millennium (Salonen 1966: 82; Sallaberger 1996: 98), and dug-sìla-bur-zi "one-litre offering jar," for smashing in a Sumerian evil-eye incantation (*TCL* XVI 89: 17, ed. Thomsen 1992: 31).

II.A.4. No. 5i (Pl. XI)

The ninth incantation on the giant tablet of *Kultmittelbeschwörungen* is a spell to imbue with magic power water into which has been thrown twigs of *innuš* (Akkadian *maštakal*), a soapwort considered to have purifying properties. A related but fragmentary incantation is *MVN* V 302 v 12'–18'.[1] They are Old Babylonian counterparts of the incantation én ú-in-nu-uš ú-sikil abzu-ta mú-a "Soapwort, pure plant grown up from Abzu" in *Šurpu* IX 9–16 (ed. Reiner 1958: 45). In all three incantations the plant is addressed in terms that locate it in cosmic geography, branch reaching to the sky, root embedded in the subterranean waters or netherworld. This is very conventional religious imagery, commonly applied to plants in incantations (for example to the tamarisk in the preceding incantation, No. 5h iv 3'–8', and in II.A.9 No. 6p, and to the *kišig*-thorn in II.A.1 No. 4). It is already current in Old Sumerian analogues, where the tamarisk mediates between An in the sky and the ancestral pair Enki and Ninki in the netherworld (Krebernik 1984 nos. 18–20).[2]

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[1] én-[é-nu-ru], ú-in-[(nu)-us ú sikil?], ki sik[il-la mú-a?], úr-zu [an-šè?], pa-zu [ki-šè?], an-na [...], x x[...]

[2] Note also Ur-Nanše 49 i 5–ii 4, addressed to the reed: úr-zu$_5$ ^{d}en-ki ki-bùru gál pa-zu$_5$ UD ŠÙD mu-DU "Your roots are set deep in the Earth (with) Enki, your branches grow far (into) the Sky." Cooper 1986: 32 translates the latter clause as "made you bear foliage perpetually," similarly Cunningham 1997: 29. Like them I take ŠÙD as the adjective sù(d/r), but I differ in interpreting UD as UD.GAL.NUN orthography (exceptional in the corpus) for an "sky," for reading so maintains both the expected cosmic contrast and the compositional balance between the four members, "your roots" and "your branches," "deep Earth" and "distant Sky." A very different reading of the whole passage is given by Jacobsen 1985: 67.

The imagery is much used in reference especially to temples, where the mundane and divine met (e.g. Edzard 1987; the parallel has already been drawn by Cunningham 1997: 27).

The incantation edited here goes on to relate how the plant's archetype was nurtured in a pure environment by the ancestral gods and other deities of the Abzu, giving it the power to purify whatever it touched, even sky and earth. Enki found a use for it in purifying the place where a man stood. This is surely a clue to one of the functions of *innuš*-plant solution, that it was used to cleanse areas on which participants in a ritual stood. It is known, for example, that the king's standing place in ritual could be a special slab, made of a stone thought have the property of improving communication between god and man and thus making prayer more effective (*elallu*, see George 1986: 145–46). Such standing places were carefully cleansed in preparation for ritual activity (see already II.A.3 No. 5g iii 37'). The incantation ends in standard fashion, with an injunction to avert contagion with evil, and a rubric.

Lines 12'–15' appear to lack signs at the end of the lines and to be written incomplete; ll. 8'–11' may also have suffered from lack of completion, but damage to the surface makes this uncertain. The lines in question have either been deliberately abbreviated, for the reader to restore from prior knowledge, or left blank and the text unrestored because the master copy had suffered damage at that point. The right-hand columns of tablet No. 6, obverse and reverse, are similarly marred by blank and partly blank lines, in a pattern that suggests damage to the master copy.

col. v

7' én-é-nu-[ru]
8' ú ki-sikil-e mú-[a]
9' a abzu-ta pa [è-(a)]
10' ú-in-⌜uš⌝ ú [sikil-(la)?]
11' úr-zu <ki> sikil-[la . . .]
12' pa-zu <an kù-ga . . .>
13' ⌜úr-zu ^{d}en-ki⌝-<da>
14' ki kù-ga mu-un-<da-gál>
15' pa-zu im-šèg <an>-na-<da>
16' mu-un-da-an-gál
17' ^{d}en-ki ^{d}nin-ki
18' ^{d}en-ul ^{d}nin-ul
19' ^{d}a-nun-na du$_6$-kù-ga-ke$_4$-e-ne
20' la-ḫa-ma abzu eridu^{ki}-ga
21' ⌜ḫal⌝-ḫal-la ama ḫur-sag-gá-ke$_4$
22' šu dadag-ga-ni
23' mí um-ma-ni-in-dug$_4$
24' ú-in-uš an im-ta
25' an im-sikil
26' ki im-tag ki im-dadag
27' an im-tag an im-sikil-la
28' ki im-tag ki im-dadag {zu}
29' ^{d}en-ki lugal abzu-ke$_4$
30' lú-ùlu dumu dingir-ra-a-ni
31' ki-gub-ba-bi
32' mi-ni-in-sikil
33' mi-ni-in-dadag
34' in[im ḫ]ul-gál
35' bar-šè ⌜ḫé⌝-em-ta-gub
36' ka-inim-ma ú-in-uš / a-tu$_5$-⌜kam⌝

v 7'–16' *Enenuru*-spell. O plant grown in a pure place, sprouting from the water of Abzu! O soapwort, [pure(?)] plant: your roots [grew in] pure [Earth,] your branches [reached holy Sky(?);] your roots [grew] in a holy place [with] Enki, your branches grew [with] the rain in the sky. 17'–23' Enki and Ninki, Enul and Ninul, the Anunna-gods of the Holy Mound, the Abzu sea-monsters of Eridu, (and) Ḫalḫalla, mother of mountains, nurtured it (with) her clean hands. 24'–26' The soapwort touched Sky, it purified Sky. It touched Earth, it cleansed Earth. 27'–33' (With the plant that) touched Sky, that purified Sky, (that) touched Earth, that cleansed Earth, Enki, lord of Abzu, (will now) purify and cleanse the place where stands a man, son of his god. 34'–35' May evil speech stand aside!

36' Incantation formula for washing with soapwort.

Notes

17'–18'. On the divine ancestors of Enlil, effectively defunct and resident in the netherworld but commonly invoked in incantations, see the main introduction to this book.

19'. The du_6-kù is the Anunna-gods' cosmic home at the mountain of the sunrise, the *šad naqbī* "mountain of the Deep"; see most recently Woods 2009: 203–4; George 2013: 8.

20'. On the la-ḫa-ma sea-monsters of the Abzu, fifty servants of Enki, see Wiggermann 1981–82: 95; Heimpel 1998: 134–37; Lambert 2013: 230. Note also the *laḫmus*' role as marine messengers of Ea (Enki) in the Babylonian poem of Atraḫasīs (George and Al-Rawi 1996: 183 SB V 74–96).

21'. The divine river Ḫalḫalla is the last in a sequence of four divine entities who share a connection with Enki's cosmic domain: the ancestral gods dwell there, the Anunna-gods' home is the "mountain of the Deep," the fifty *laḫama* serve its master, and Ḫalḫalla was held to spring from the waters of the Abzu, like all rivers. More particularly the river Ḫalḫalla was identified with the Tigris (*Antagal* G 301, *Malku* II 48, etc.; Cohen 1973: 55), and the Tigris was, according to another Sumerian ablution incantation, *VAS* XVII 15: 4 (ka-inim-ma a-gúb-ba-kam): ama dumu nun-na mí-dug_4-ga "the mother who cared for the prince's son," i.e. the nurse who bathed the baby Asalluḫe. The role of the four groups of deities in the present passage was apparently to care for the archetypal *innuš*-plant by ensuring that it was supplied with holy water from Enki's Abzu, so that it in due course it grew to join heaven and earth.

The river Ḫalḫalla has the epithet ama ḫur-sag-gá "mother of mountains" in at least three other Old Babylonian Sumerian incantations used to consecrate water for rites of ablution: (a) II.A.8 No. 6i iv 31, where it is paired with the Euphrates and its identity with the Tigris is confirmed, (b) *YOS* XI 48: 5 (ka-inim-ma a-gúb-ba-kam "incantation formula for a holy-water basin"), and (c) *UET* VI 665 rev. 4 (incipit a kur-ra kù-ga-ta a ḫur-sag sikil-la-ta "water from the holy mountain, water from the pure mountain range"). The epithet also occurs in (d) Lugalbanda in the Mountain Cave 266, and later in (e) a bilingual incantation from *Mīs pî*, where the epithet is translated *um-mi šadî*(kur)^{i} (IV 25, ed. Walker and Dick 2001: 163; see already Wilcke 1969: 162 comm. on l. 99). The phrase alludes to the Tigris' mythical involvement in the formation of the Zagros range, as described in *Lugale* (see also below, the introduction to II.K.5).

24'. im-ta syllabic for im-tag (see l. 26').

24'–28'. A close parallel occurs in 5 NT 48, an Old Babylonian incantation from Nippur for the consecration of juniper (Conti 1997: 258 obv. ii 8'–9'): li an-né im-tag an im!-sikil ki im-tag ki im-sikil "juniper touched Sky, it purified Sky. It touched Earth, it purified Earth."

28'. im-dadag-ga was surely intended.

32'–33'. The verbs are ostensibly *ḫamṭu*, but are interpreted as referring to current time, following the parallel passages of the preceding incantations, edited in II.A.3: Nos. 5f (iii 29') and 5g (iii 51').

II.A.5. No. 6c (Pls. XVI–XVII)

The first incantation that is completely preserved on the Old Babylonian collective tablet No. 6 is the third (No. 6c, ii 9–iii 8). The topographical context of this incantation is a river bank whence water is drawn for a ritual. The incantation addresses the river bank as a cosmic location, the bank of the Abzu, the subterranean domain of Enki (ii 9–11). It then presents a narrative which describes an episode in mythical time that culminated in the purification of the cosmic quay with holy water (ii 12–iii 2). There follows a short prayer that asks for the holy water again to purify a quay (3–7). The rationale is much the same as in II.A.3 No. 5g: water and quay are made holy by their identification with the archetypal water that the gods used when

themselves conducting rituals of ablution, and with the quay of Abzu where those rituals took place.

As understood here, the mythical narrative is unusual in that the chief actor seems to be neither Enki nor Asalluḫe but the goddess Damgalnunna—Enki's wife and Asalluḫe's mother. It is she who summons the "Seven [Sons] of Abzu" to the quay. These are the *apkallu*, archetypal beings, part man, part fish, with whom Babylonian exorcists identified themselves (see the main introduction, on the Seven Sons of Abzu). Someone then gives a group of ancestral deities, the Enki-gods and Ninki-goddesses, refuge in the Abzu. Because the verb is singular in form, I assume that Damgalnunna is again the subject, and that the presence of the Seven Sages is necessary to accomplish this action; but it is possible that the Seven Sages, acting as one, are the agent. One of the sages then provides water from an irrigation ditch for someone, presumably Damgalnunna.

There follows an obscure passage in which it appears that Damgalnunna (less likely the sage) rearranges a mountain landscape so that its interior is exposed and thereby makes a place for two deities, one of whom controls the source of holy water. From what happens later it seems that the goddess thereby opens up mountain springs that will provide the rivers with water, a mythologem also used in *Lugale* and text No. 56 in this volume (II.K.5). Then Enki strikes the river bank, for what purpose we are not told, but perhaps to set the waters in motion. Another pair of deities appears, in much the same circumstances as the first set: these are Enlil and Ninlil. What the gods of Nippur would be doing at the quay of Abzu is uncertain; it may be that by this phrase is meant not Enlil and Ninlil themselves, but the entire dynasty of theogonic pairs sometimes referred to as the "mothers of Ninlil and fathers of Enlil" (Lambert 2013: 405–12). In this case they would be dead gods who sought refuge from the world by entering the subterranean Abzu.

A river scene is then evoked, in which Inanna's lover, the *en* Dumuzi, comes riding along the river in a ceremonial barge. It is not clear how this detail fits into the narrative; perhaps it serves to show that the newly made river is fulfilling its function. Next someone, presumably Damgalnunna, washes gemstones with holy water and so consecrates the quay whence the water is drawn. The same stones occur in similar ritual context in II.A.6 No. 6e iii 16, where they are the symbolic price paid to the river for its water. The holy water, thus purchased, is then pressed into service with added cleansing agents to recreate in the present the same ritual purity for ugu-zu "the crown of your head." This phrase, addressed to the quay invoked at the outset of the incantation, is presumed to be the top of the river bank.

col. ii

9 kar ^{d}asar kar abzu-ke$_4$
10 kar má-gur$_8$-ra kar ^{d}en-ki-ke$_4$
11 ^{d}en-ki ⸢si-sá?-éš⸣ nam dùg mi-ni-/-⸢ib⸣-tar-re
12 kar abz[u] kar ⸢^{d}en-ki-ga-ke$_4$⸣
13 <ur-sag dumu> abzu-ke$_4$-⸢ne⸣ imin-na-ne-ne
14 ama ^{d}asar ^{d}⸢dam-gal⸣-nun-na
15 zi-dè-eš ḫé-e[m-p]àd-dè
16 eridu^{ki} ḫur-sag-gin$_7$ ki sikil-e mú-a
17 kar abzu kar eridu^{ki}-ga
18 um-ma-{ras.?}-kar-ra
19 ^{d}en-ki-ne ^{d}nin-ki-ne
20 abzu mu-ni-in-gar
21 abgal-e a pa$_4$ gál-tag$_4$-a-ba
22 a mu-un-na-ni-in-dé
23 šà kur-ra kur-šà nam-è
24 ^{d}nin-DA dam? ki-ág-gá-ke$_4$
25 ^{d}nin-bára nin a-gub-ba-ke$_4$
26 šà-ba mu-ni-gub
27 ^{d}en-ki kar íd-da
28 ḫu-mu-un-na-ab-ra-ra
29 ^{d}dam-gal-nun-na nin abzu-/-ke$_4$
30 ^{d}en-líl ^{d}nin-líl kar má-gur$_8$-/-ra-ke$_4$
31 kar ^{d}en-ki-ke$_4$ um-m[a-k]ar-ra
32 íd maḫ-a an-ta gù-maḫ-/-di

33 im-u$_{18}$-lu sag-bi zi-ga-a
34 en ^{d}innin má-gur$_{8}$ bíl-⸢ga⸣ / ⸢u$_{5}$⸣
35 en gi$_{6}$-par$_{4}$ má-gur$_{8}$ bíl-ga ⸢u$_{5}$⸣
36 má sag-gá-ta kun$_{4}$ / [(x)] ni ⸢ra?⸣ bi
37 kar [(abzu kar)] ^{d}en-ki-ke$_{4}$
38 na$_{4}$-nir$_{4}$! gug za-gìn-na
39 a-gúb-ba kar sikil-e-dè
40 a ù-⸢mu-un-ni⸣-in-⸢luḫ⸣
41 ^{giš}⸢eren⸣ š[u-úr-mì]n za-ba-lum

col. iii

1 [šu? dagal?] mu-⸢un⸣-tag-tag
2 [a? š]à-tù[r] kur-ra-ke$_{4}$
3 mu-un-na-⸢ri?⸣ a kù-ga-bi
4 ^{giš}šinig ⸢^{ú}⸣in-nu-uš
5 ugu-zu ḫé-em-kù-ge
6 kar ⸢mu-un-sikil⸣ kar mu-un-dadag
7 eme ḫul-gál bar-šè ḫé-em-ta-gub
8 ka-inim-ma

$^{ii\,9–11}$ O quay of Asarre, quay of Abzu, quay of the *magur*-boat, quay of Enki, (where) Enki fairly determines favorable destinies! $^{12–15}$ To the quay of Abzu, quay of Enki, Damgalnunna, mother of Asarre, steadfastly summons the Seven [(heroes), Sons] of Abzu. $^{16–20}$ (In) Eridu, grown tall like a mountain on pure Earth, (at) the quay of Abzu, quay of Eridu, after they had fled, she placed the Enki-gods and Ninki-goddesses there (in) Abzu. $^{21–22}$ After a sage had opened up a water-channel, he poured out water for her there. ^{23} In the midst of the mountain, she made the mountain-midst come forth. $^{24–26}$ She stationed inside it Nin-DA, the beloved spouse, (and) Ninbara, the lady of the holy-water vessel. $^{27–28}$ Enki did strike for her the river bank. $^{29–31}$ Damgalnunna, queen of Abzu, after Enlil (and) Ninlil had fled (to) the quay of the *magur*-boat, the quay of Enki, $^{32–36}$ on the great river that murmured sublimely on high, with the south wind rising up (to) its fore, the *en*-priest of Inanna riding (on) the *bilga*-barge, the *en*-priest of the Gipar riding on the *bilga*-barge, from the foremost boat . . . $^{37–40}$ At the quay [of Abzu, quay] of Enki, after she had washed chalcedony, carnelian (and) lapis lazuli in water (from) the holy-water vessel to purify the quay, $^{41–iii\,1}$ she decorated(?) [it lavishly] (with sprigs of) cedar, cypress, pine. $^{2–3}$ She poured out(?) [water(?)] from the womb of the mountain. $^{3–5}$ "May that holy water, (with) tamarisk and soapwort, make holy the crown of your head!" $^{6–7}$ It purified the quay, it cleansed the quay. May evil speech stand aside!

^{8} Incantation formula.

Notes

ii 13. Defective text: comparison with two later incantations on this tablet (II.A.6 Nos. 6f iii 31, 39; 6g iv 2) shows that dumu "son" is certainly omitted by lipography, and probably also ur-sag "hero."

18–20. The topic recurs in ii 30–31, where the subject is the ancestral deities summed up as Enlil and Ninlil.

24. Perhaps ^{d}nin-dar-(a) or ^{d}nin-ìmma was intended. Both belong to Enki's court: the former was husband of his daughter Nanše (see II.F.2 No. 27b), the latter wife of the divine silversmith Kusigbanda.

25. Note a-gub-ba for a-gúb-ba. The "lady of the *agubba*" is elsewhere an epithet of Ningirimma, but also of Enki's mother Namma (Lambert 2013: 428–32; add No. 5h iv 41: ⸢^{d}⸣namma nin a-gúb-ba), and perhaps even of his daughter Nanše (No. 5j vi 15, DN damaged). On the various deities written ^{d}nin-BÁRA see Cavigneaux and Krebernik 2000b. None of them is a plausible goddess of ablution, and the text may be corrupt.

32. With gù–di of water compare two inscriptions of Anam (Frayne 1990: 475 nos. 4: 9–10 a nígin-na-ba gu-nu-un-di-dàm, 5: 10 a gù-nun-di-dam), and an entry in the later group vocabulary V *R* 16 iv 40: [g]ù-nun-di = *ḫa-bi-bu* "murmuring (of water), hubbub (of mankind)."

II.A.6. No. 6e–g (Pls. XVI–XVII)

The next three incantations on the collective tablet No. 6 (iii 11–iv 6) attend to the matter of drawing river water for use in a ritual. The first is addressed to Enki's mother, the water-deity Namma, who controls the cosmic gates whence flow the rivers (iii 11–15). She is offered precious metals and gemstones in return for her water (16). Water is then drawn, as if by the client's god and by Enki himself (17–18). Then the ancient cosmic beings are entreated to consecrate this water: sky, earth and the primeval deities in the netherworld (19–22). The second spell eulogizes the river-bank as if it were the cosmic quay of the Abzu, Enki's subterranean domain (24–27). From it the Seven Sons of Abzu once took water so pure it could clean even Enki's body (28–38). These same sages will now act to make the water pure once more (39–42). The third incantation is a version of the second: the quay is eulogized with cosmic epithets (44–46), someone once took water from it so pure it was good enough to serve the great gods An and Enlil (47–iv 1) and the Seven Sons of Abzu are asked to make the water pure as before (2–4).

No. 6e

col. iii

11 ^{d}namma ama ^{d}en-ki-ga-ke$_4$
12 lú si-gar šu-duḫ-a
13 a-maḫ e a-gi$_6$ lugal-la
14 ùri-gal íd-gal-e-ne
15 za-da [n]u-me-a íd-da a nu-/-mu-un-šúm-mu
16 kù-sig$_{17}$ kù!(tablet: IGI)-babbar na$_4$-nir$_4$ gug za-gìn
17 dingir lú-ùlu a mu-ši-in-sa$_{10}$-sa$_{10}$
18 ^{d}en-ki-ke$_4$ a mu-ši-in-sa$_{10}$-sa$_{10}$
19 an-e ḫé-em-kù-ge
20 ki-e ḫé-em-sikil-ge
21 níg-nam-bi a-a ^{d}en-líl-lá-ke$_4$
22 ḫé-em-dadag-ge
23 ka-inim-ma a-sa$_{10}$-sa$_{10}$

No. 6f

24 kar si-sá kar abzu
25 kar abzu kar ^{d}en-ki-ke$_4$
26 kar za-gìn kar kù-sig$_{17}$
27 šà-bi-ta a im-ma-ra-an-de$_6$
28 naga im-ma-ra-an-sikil
29 a-bi-⸢ta⸣ bar-⸢kù ^{d}en⸣-ki-ke$_4$
30 im!-ma-sikil-l[a]-àm
31 ur-sag dumu abzu im[in]-na-ne-ne
32 kar si-sá kar abzu-ke$_4$ ì-me-a-/-gin$_7$
33 kar kù kar ⸢^{d}⸣en-ki ì-me-a-/-⸢gin$_7$⸣
34 kar za-gìn kar kù-sig$_{17}$ ì-me-a-gin$_7$
35 šà-bi-ta a im-ma-ra-an-de$_6$!
36 naga im-ma-ra-sikil-la
37 a-bi-ta bar-kù ^{d}en-ki-ke$_4$
38 im-ma-ra-ab-sikil-la-àm
39 u[r-sa]g dumu abzu imin-na-ne-ne
40 a m[u-u]n-kù-ge
41 a mu-[u]n-sikil-e
42 a mu-un-dadag-ge
43 ka-inim-ma kar si-a-⸢kam⸣

No. 6g

44 ⸢kar⸣ si-sá kar abzu
45 [ka]r kù kar ⸢^{d}en-ki⸣-ke$_4$
46 [k]ar za-gìn ⸢kar⸣ babbar
47 [ka]r kù-sig$_{17}$ [ka]r kù-babbar
48 [x] x x [x] x x lú-ùlu
49 [šà-bi-ta] ⸢a⸣ im-ma-[ra]-an-de$_6$
50 naga im-m[a-r]a-ab-sikil
51 a-a-ni an-⸢na⸣-ra

col. iv

1 ^{d}en-líl-ra mu-ni-in-sikil
2 dumu abzu imin-na-ne-ne
3 ḫé-em-kù ḫé-em-sikil
4 ḫé-em-dadag
5 eme ḫul-gál bar-šè ḫé-em-/-ta-gub
6 ka-inim-ma

iii 11–15 O Namma, mother of Enki, the one who undoes the bolt, sending forth the mighty waters, the flood-wave of the king, (gate) post of the great rivers: without you no river gives up its water. 16 (Here are) gold, silver(!), chalcedony, carnelian, lapis lazuli! 17–18 The man's god bought (i.e. drew) water, Enki

bought (i.e. drew) water. [19–22] May Sky make it holy, may Earth make it pure! In every respect may the ancestors of Enlil make it clean!

[23] Incantation formula for buying (i.e. drawing) water.

[24–30] The fair quay, quay of Abzu, holy(!) quay (tablet: quay of Abzu), quay of Enki, quay of lapis lazuli, quay of gold: from its midst they brought water and cleansed with soap, with its water they cleansed even the holy skin of Enki. [31–38] The heroes, the Seven Sons of Abzu, as if it was (from) the fair quay, the quay of Abzu, as if it was (from) the holy quay, the quay of Enki, as if it was (from) the quay of lapis lazuli, the quay of gold, from whose midst they brought water and cleansed with soap, with whose water they cleansed even the holy skin of Enki—[39–42] (these same) seven heroes, sons of Abzu, will make the water holy, make the water pure, make the water clean.

[43] Incantation formula for filling (a pail at) the river bank.

[44–50] The fair quay, quay of Abzu, the holy quay, quay of Enki, quay of lapis lazuli, shining quay, quay of gold, quay of silver, . . . a man, [from its midst] he brought water and cleansed with soap. [51–iv 1] For his father An, for Enlil, he cleansed there. [2–4] The Seven Sons of Abzu: may they make it holy, make it pure, make it clean. [5] May evil speech stand aside!

[6] Incantation formula.

Other Old Babylonian incantations addressed to the quay as a source of holy water are No. 9f (iii 15'–25') and *VAS* X 187 ii 11' ff. (Cunningham 1997: 141 no. 203). As far as it is preserved, the latter is a condensed version of our No. 6f:

kar si-sá kar abzu
kar kù kar ^{d}en-ki-ga
šà-bi-ta a im-ma-ra-[d]e$_6$
naga im-ma-ra-[si]kil
kar si-sá kar abzu [ì]-me-a-⌜gin$_7$⌝
kar kù kar ^{d}en-ki-ga ì-me-a-g[in$_7$]
šà-⌜bi⌝-ta a im-ma-ra-[de$_6$]
[naga i]m-m[a-ra-sikil]

VAS X 187 ii 11'–18'

In the first millennium, an incantation addressed to the quay was recited as part of the *mīs pî* rituals, during the consecration of divine statues. Its incipit is reminiscent of Nos. 6f and g: én kar abzu kar kù-ga-àm "The quay of Abzu is a holy quay" (Walker and Dick 2001: 54 l. 20, 74 l. 14, 118 l. 43'); but its contents differ.

Notes

iii 12. The "bolt" is a mechanism to lock the cosmic gates that control the flow of waters under the earth, as in Atram-ḫasīs (Lambert and Millard 1969: 166; Horowitz 1998: 326–27; George 2009: 20 ii 10–11).

13. e for è.

14. For the $^{(gi)}$ùri-gal in the function of gate post, see Wiggermann 1992: 70–72; Sallaberger 2005–6.

16. The practice of recompensing the divine powers of a natural resource for removing some of that resource is also found elsewhere in the record. First-millennium rituals for consecrating a deposit of good-quality clay stipulate the placing of gifts in the deposit before removing some to make a magic figurine or a scribal apprentice's first votive tablet (George 2010b: 277). The practice could be described in terms of a purchase (e.g. Abusch and Schwemer 2011: 77 ll. 41"–44"). Here gemstones are offered in return for water.

17, 18, 23: a sa$_{10}$-sa$_{10}$ (with terminative case infix) is literally "to buy water," for the usage is informed by the practice cited in the note on the previous line, that water is obtained from its source by barter. The rubric of iii 23 also occurs in Old Babylonian incantations at *VAS* X 187 ii 9': ka-inim-ma a kar sa$_{10}$-sa$_{10}$-da-kam; XVII 14: 21: ka-inim-ma a sa$_{10}$-sa$_{10}$-d[a-kam]; No. 5f iii 31': ka-inim-ma a-sa$_{10}$-sa$_{10}$-kam; later in *Mīs pî*: *KAR* 229 obv. 2': [ka-inim-ma] a sa$_{10}$-s[a$_{10}$-d]a-kam (ed. Walker and Dick 2001: 113), rev. 18: [ka-inim-ma]

a sa$_{10}$-sa$_{10}$-da-[kam] // *STT* 199 rev. 42': [ka-in]im-ma *mê*(a)^{meš} [*sa-a-bi?*] (cf. Walker and Dick 2001: 118). On the meaning of the verbal phrase a sa$_{10}$-sa$_{10}$, which so puzzled van Dijk (1971: 11 on no. 14), see further *PSD* A/I 15: 3.3.3, Conti 1997: 258 and Walker and Dick 2001: 108 n. 94 commenting on *Mīs pî* I/2 67. That line can be reconstructed as (K 2761+ rev. 1 // *STT* 208 obv. 2'–3'): ^{d}en-gú-íd-da a sikil-[la mu-un-sa$_{10}$]-sa$_{10}$ // ^{d}MIN *mê*(a)^{meš} *ellūti*(kù)^{meš} *i-sa-ab* "Enguidda (Lord of the River Bank) drew some pure water"; syllabic version (*CT* 58 76: 2): en-gu-i-da e si-ki-il am-mu-⸢us-sa?⸣. The bilingual passage of *Mīs pî* VI cited in *PSD*, in which the instruction a ù-me-ni-⸢sám⸣ is translated *me-e sa-am-ma* (var. *sa-a-b*[*a-m*]*a*) "draw (me) some water," is now edited in Walker and Dick 2001: 215 l. 32. As they and Conti note, the translation of sa$_{10}$-sa$_{10}$ with *sâbu* is supported by the lexical entries *Nabnītu* XIV 215–16: sám (sa$_{10}$) = *sa-a-bu*, si = MIN, and *Aa* VII/1 20: [$^{sa-am}$sám] = *sa-a-bu šá* [*mê*] "to draw, of [water]."

20. Final -ge is dittography from the line above, and an obvious error for -e.

39, iv 2. For the Seven Sons of Abzu, i.e. the sages, see the main introduction to this volume.

43. For si "to fill" a vessel with water, see *Nabnītu* XIV 216, quoted in the note on iii 17, and *Aa* III/4 151: [$^{si-i}$si] = *sa-a-bu*.

II.A.7. No. 6h (Pls. XVI–XVII)

According to its rubric, this Old Babylonian incantation is intended for use when "washing a god," that is, when cleansing a divine statue with water. The text addresses river water, recalling its origin in the pure environment of the mountains, where it was allotted its destiny as a force for purity (iv 7–10). This destiny is reiterated by the water's encounter with various entities, some of which are features of the mountain landscape, in so far as they are understood (11–17). The water, in mythical time, cleansed whatever it touched: wood, reed and the goddess of the mountain region (18–20). This statement is repeated when some subordination might have been expected: "just as you did then, do again now!" (21–23). The final statement is an instruction for the water to purify, in like manner but in the present, what must, given the rubric, be a divine statue (24–27).

The text is very similar in structure and vocabulary to the incantation *YOS* XI 44, incipit a kur-ta nam-tar-ra (ed. van Dijk *et al.* 1985: 34; see further Emilianov 1998: 47 [unavailable to me]). That spell, to consecrate the holy-water vessel (ka-inim-ma a-gúb-ba-kam), is clearly a version adapted for the ablution of the king, for it ends with a different instruction to the river water: kar kù-ga lugal-e dumu dingir-ra-na ù-me-sikil ù-me-dadag "at the holy quay, purify and cleanse the king, son of his god!" Its incipit appears as one of four *Kultmittelbeschwörungen* for holy water in the Ur III ritual *PBS* XIII 35 (ed. Dick 2005: 273 l. 16).

col. iv

7 a-⸢e⸣ kur-ra nam-tar-ra-àm
8 a-gi$_6$-a kur-⸢ra nam⸣-tar-ra-àm
9 kur-ra kur šà-ga nam-tar-ra-àm
10 ḫur-sag ki-sikil-ta ⸢nam-tar-ra⸣-àm
11 giš-ḫur babbar-ta ⸢nam⸣-tar-ra-àm
12 giš-ḫur gi$_6$-ta ⸢nam-tar⸣-ra-àm
13 giš-gada? an-bi-ta nam-tar-ra-àm
14 dàra si-mùš-bi nam-tar-ra-àm
15 šeg$_9$!(BAR.NAGA)-bar si-muš-ba ⸢nam⸣-tar-ra-àm
16 nu-gig bar-ra-ta nam-tar-ra-àm
17 nu-bar-ra bar-ra-na nam-tar-ra-àm
18 a-e giš! im-tag ⸢giš⸣ im-sikil
19 ⸢gi⸣ im-tag gi im-dadag-ge
20 amalu$_x$(^{d}INANNA.AMA) ḫur-sag-gá mu-ni-/-in-sikil
21 a-e giš im-tag giš im-sikil
22 gi im-tag gi im-dadag-ge
23 amalu$_x$(^{d}INANNA.AMA) ḫur-sag-gá mu-ni-/-in-sikil
24 dingir é-e-unu$_6$-ke$_4$-e
25 an-gin$_7$ ḫé-em-kù-ge

26 ki-gin$_7$ ḫé-em-sikil-e
27 šà-an-gin$_7$ ḫé-em-dadag-ge
28 ka-inim-ma a-tu$_5$!(ŠU.AK) dingir

[iv 7–17] The water was given its function in the uplands! The flood-wave was given its function in the uplands! Given its function in the uplands, the heart of the uplands! Given its function in the mountains, a pure place! Given its function by the white "outline"! Given its function by the black "outline"! Given its function by the . . . tree! Given its function by the mountain goat (in) its splendour! Given its function by the wild ram in its spendour! Given its function by the harlot outside! Given its function by the courtesan outside! [18–23] The water touched wood, it purified wood; it touched reed, it cleansed reed; it purified the goddess of the mountains. The water touched wood, it purified wood; it touched reed, it cleansed reed; it purified the goddess of the mountains. [24–27] May it make the god of the temple(?) holy as Sky, pure as Earth, clean as Sky's midst!

[28] Incantation formula for washing a god.

Note

ii 11–12. In rituals of purification giš-ḫur "outlines" would normally refer to the arrangements that mark off the ritual space, including a circle of flour and a cordon of reed posts decorated with colored wool (see No. 6 in Part 1). Reed posts adorned with cords of black and white yarn (Akk. *ulinnu*) are explicitly mentioned in several late rituals (see *CAD* U s.v.), and it might be that such embellishments could be described as black and white "outlines." The present context, however, is not the place of water's employment in ritual, but the place of its origin in the mountains. There is a possibility that giš-ḫur in both lines derives from a corruption of ḫur-sag "mountain range." "Black and white mountain ranges" are agents of purification in a late bilingual zi—pàd incantation (Borger 1969: 13 §XXV 254): ḫur-sag gi$_6$-ga ḫur-sag babbar-ra // *šá-du-ú* ⌜*ṣal-mu*⌝-[*ti*] ⌜*šá-du-ú*⌝ *pe-ṣu-ti*.

II.A.8. No. 6i (Pl. XVII)

This is good example of an incantation that seems to be badly corrupted. The text begins with an address to water, identified with water from the Euphrates and Tigris, charged by Enki with the task of making things pure (iv 29–32). It then recalls that the primordial ancestors of Enlil and Ninlil, acting with (or as) the sages of Eridu, cleansed the hands of the gods (33–36). The following statement, about Enki's feet, lacks a verb and is probably truncated (37). So far the incantation fits a context of ritual ablution, like those that precede it. However, the remaining lines belong in vocabulary and phrasing to exorcism: some agent is urged to expel some unidentified evil from inside a patient's body, and kind spirits are requested to guard him against that evil's return (38–42). Minor corruptions and spelling errors are rife, and there is no rubric.

col. iv

29 a íd-da kù-ge-dè
30 a ^{id}buranun-na sikil-e-dè
31 a ḫal-ḫal-la ama ḫur-sag-gá-ke$_4$
32 a nam-tar-ra ^{d}en-ki-ga-⌜ke$_4$⌝
33 ^{d}en-ki-ne ^{d}nin-ki-ne
34 abgal NUN.ME.DU eridu^{ki}-ga-ke$_4$
35 dingir-re-e-ne šu mu-ša
36 šu-sikil naga!(ḪI+DÙ) mu-ša gìri-sikil
37 ^{d}en-ki-ga sikil-e-dè
38 níg-šà-ga-a-ni ḫé-em-ma-ra-/-è
39 a sìg-ga-ni-gin$_7$ su lú-ùlu
40 gada-gin$_7$ ḫé-eb-re ⌜ḫé⌝-em-ma-/-ra-è
41 ^{d}KÙ.GÁ? sa$_6$-ga ^{d}UNUG? sa$_6$-/-ga
42 ⌜ḫu!(tablet: en)⌝-mu-un-da-su$_8$-su$_8$-ge-eš

[iv 29–32] O river water for consecration, Euphrates water for purification, Ḫalḫalla (Tigris) water, mother of the mountains, water given its function by Enki! [33–36] The Enki-gods and Ninki-goddesses, the sages of Eridu, wiped(?) the gods' hands, wiped(?) clean (their) hands with soap(!). [37] To purify the pure feet of Enki.

[38–40] May he drive forth that which is inside him! Like water splashed on him, may he unfold over the man's body like a linen sheet, may he drive it forth! [41–42] May a kind *udug*(!) and a kind *lamma*(!) stand alongside him!

Notes

iv 31. For the river Ḫalḫalla see II.A.4 No. 5i v 21' and note.

35–36. mu-ša: syllabic for mu-su-ub/sub$_6$? For naga su-ub "to apply soap" in the context of washing see the references collected by Deller and Watanabe 1981: 224, and add van Dijk and Geller 2003: 110 i 9: naga-sub$_6$-gin$_7$ a-e ḫé-ba-ab-[t]ùm "may (the demon) be carried off by water like soap suds" (Ur III).

40. The image gada-gin$_7$ búr "spread over like a sheet" is a stock expression, so ḫé-eb-re is for ḫé-búr-re. The expression is usually, if not always, preceded by túg-gin$_7$ dul "cover like a blanket," to form a pair of images that is well known as typical of literary texts (e.g. Alster 1972b: 120). In literary compositions the two images describe such things as the shade of a tree (Lugalbanda and Anzu 33), the radiant aura of Uruk (Enmerkar and Ensuḫgiranna 13), the noise of a storm (Eridu Lament 5–6, Lamentation over Ur 203), the screams of unhappy goddesses (Gilgameš and the Bull of Heaven Nk 4, Dumuzi's Dream 241, *šumunda*-plant 61 = Kramer 1980: 93), and the human voice (Gilgameš and Ḫuwawa A 85 KiA); the topic in another text (*CT* 42 36 [+58 45] obv. 7) is uncertain. In incantations the images occur first in another uncertain context (van Dijk and Geller 2003: 21 obv. 7, Ur III), but then describe the screams of a woman in labor (*VAS* XVII 33, ed. van Dijk 1975: 62 ll. 10–11). The absence of túg-gin$_7$ dul from the present passage is further reason for thinking that the text is in disorder, but note gada-gin$_7$ búr also without túg-gin$_7$ dul in II.E.3 No. 7h iv 6', describing the debilitating effect of an attack by "gall."

41. We expect ^{d}udug sa$_6$-ga ^{d}lamma sa$_6$-ga.

42. The emendation seems straightforward, but note x-en-na ḫé-em-da-⸢su$_8$⸣-su$_8$-ge-eš in II.B.7 No. 12f v 17.

II.A.9. No. 6p (Pl. XVIII)

This incantation is incompletely written, for the opening lines are left unfinished, no doubt as a consequence of damage on the master copy. Fortunately the beginning of the text finds a parallel in the opening lines of a short Ur III incantation on the same topic (*PBS* I/2 123 // *ISET* I 217 Ni 4176 obv. 7–12), and restorations are offered accordingly. The incantation praises the tamarisk as a mediator between heaven and earth (as in No. 5h iv 3'–8' and like the soapwort in II.A.4 No. 5i). Its roots and foliage have the properties of *eren* and *ḫašur*, the great evergreen trees that grow where the sun rises. Accordingly the tamarisk has cosmic functions, both below the earth and in the sky where the sun makes its daily passage, and the gods use it to clean themselves. The incantation asks for the tamarisk to put its purifying properties to use.

col. vi

15 ^{giš}šinig (blank, restore <giš zi>)
16 giš an giš an (blank, see note)
17 úr-zu ^{giš}eren (blank, restore <duru$_5$>)
18 ⸢pa-zu⸣ ḫa-šu-úr-ra (restore <àm>)
19 ⸢úr-zu-ta!⸣ ^{d}en-ki-ke$_4$ a im-ta-dé!-dé!
20 ⸢pa-zu-ta ^{d}⸣utu [nam]-tar in-kud!-dè
21 pa-⸢zu⸣-ta ^{d}a-nun-na dingir gal-gal-e-ne
22 an-ta sikil-e-dè-eš
23 ^{giš}šinig giš! sikil ḫé-em-kù-ge
24 ⸢ḫé⸣-em-sikil-e ḫé-em-dadag-ge
25 ka-inim-ma $^{giš!}$šinig!

[vi 15–18] O tamarisk, [upright tree,] tree of Sky, tree of [Enki(?),] your roots [are sappy] cedar, your branches [are] (a canopy) of *ḫašur*-tree! [19–22] At your roots Enki pours out water, in your branches Utu determines destinies. With your branches the great Anunna-gods become pure in the sky. [23–24] May tamarisk, the pure tree, make holy, make pure, make clean!

[25] Incantation formula for tamarisk.

Notes

vi 16. This is the only place where the Old Babylonian text, as it stands, is incompatible with the Ur III sources (below). Possibly the repetition of giš an is a simple dittography and the line should be restored <ki sikil mú-a>, but one may also wonder whether the master copy held a different line, giš an giš $^{\text{d}}$[x (. . .)] "tree of An, tree of DN$_2$" (note the tamarisk as giš an-na "tree of Sky/An" in No. 5h iv 4'). As the cosmic counterpart of Sky, Earth might be expected, but the divine determinative excludes Ki, and Enki of the subterranean Abzu is the most likely alternative.

17–18. The tamarisk's relationship to the cosmic cedars, *eren* and *ḫašur*, is stated in different terms in another Old Babylonian incantation (*VAS* XVII 28: 16): su-bi $^{\text{giš}}$eren-na bar-bi $^{\text{giš}}$ḫa-šu-úr-r[a] "its flesh is cedar, its bark is *ḫašur*."

The Ur III incantation that provides a parallel has been quoted in discussions of the history of *Kultmittelbeschwörungen* on the tamarisk (e.g. van Dijk 1971: 10 sub 13–19; Krebernik 1984: 226–32; cf. Cunningham 1997: 96 no. 54), but it seems never to have been presented as a whole text, so its sources are given in full here:

én é-nu-ru	⌜én é⌝-[nu]-r[u!?]
$^{\text{giš}}$šinig giš zi!(tablet: gi)	[. . .]
giš an ki sikil-le mú-a	giš [an (. . .)] ki sikil-l[e mú-a]
úr-kù-zu-šè eren duru$_5$	[úr-zu-šè . . .]
pa-zu-šè ḫa-šu-úr	⌜pa-zu-šè $^{\text{giš}}$ḫa⌝-šu-úr
a-gúb-ba/ $^{\text{d}}$nin-girim$_x$(A.BU.ḪA!./NI.DU)-ke$_4$	a-gúb-ba $^{\text{d}}$nin-girim$_x$(A.BU.ḪA.DU)-gin$_7$
abgal-e šu sikil-la-ni ì-de$_6$	abgal-e šu sikil-la-ni ì-d[e$_6$]
PBS I/2 123	*ISET* I 217 Ni 4176 obv. 7–12

O tamarisk, upright tree, tree grown up pure in Sky and Earth, as to your roots (you are) a sappy cedar, as to your branches a (canopy of) *ḫašur*-tree. To (*var.* like) the holy-water vessel of Ningirimma, the sage brought (you here with) his pure hands.

Note also the probable appearance of the incantation's incipit in the Ur III ritual *PBS* XIII 35 (ed. Dick 2005: 272 l. 10).

II.A.10. No. 6r (Pl. XIX)

The incantations in this section seek to impart purity to persons, objects and materials so that they can play a part in ritual. Inherent in this procedure was the elimination of impurity before the ritual act commenced. There also had to be a method for its elimination when encountered during the ritual act. A small number of incantations serve this purpose. A bilingual example of the Asalluḫe-Enki type concluded the late text that prescribed the ritual to consecrate divine statues (*Mīs pî* VI/VIII, ed. Walker and Dick 2001: 210–25). In it the god Asalluḫe was walking in the street and observed an exorcist accidentally polluted by treading in dirty water or encountering people unclean of hands or impure of body. Enki prescribes purification with holy water.

The present example, embedded in the Old Babylonian collective tablet No. 6 amid a succession of *Kultmittelbeschwörungen*, is for use in a similar case, when a participant in a ritual inadvertently steps on something that compromises his purity. The impurity cited is spit, which was probably not an uncommon sight on the Babylonian street. The opening lines of the incantation consist of words spoken when a person discovers he has trodden on spittle (vi 35–38). The accident was observed by the sun-god (39),

who perhaps himself calls on Asalluḫe to restore purity to the situation by eliminating the spittle (40–42). The incantation is concluded by a standard formula for expelling impurity and the rubric (43–44).

col. vi

35 níg-e níg-e níg-nu-gar-ra gìri ba-ús
36 uz-ga-me-en dib-dib-bé-da-mu-dè
37 níg-nu-gar-ra gìri ba-ús
38 a ka kìri sum$_4$(KA×SA)-ma ḫúb i-ni-in-si
39 ^{d}utu mùš-kù-ke$_4$ igi mu-un-pàd
40 ^{d}asal-lú-ḫe dumu eridu^{ki}-ga-ka
41 uš mu-un-kù-ge uš mu-un-sikil-e
42 uš mu-dadag-ge
43 inim ḫul-gál bar-šè ḫé-em-ta-gub
44 ka-inim-ma gìri ús-sa

[35–38] A thing, a thing, I have trodden on a nasty thing. I am unclean! As I walk along, I have trodden on a nasty thing. I put the sole of my foot in fluid spat (from) mouth or nose. [39–43] Utu, he of the shining face, caught sight of it. Asalluḫe, son of Eridu, will make the spittle holy, make the spittle pure, make the spittle clean! May evil speech stand aside!
[44] Incantation formula for treading (in something).

Notes

vi 35. níg-nu-gar-ra is usually rendered with Akk. *nullâtu* "improper talk," but note also, heading a list of problems in a late zi—pàd incantation (Borger 1969: 4 §IV 18): níg-nu-gar-ra // *la na-ṭa-a-tú* "unseemly things." For other examples of the compound verb gìri—ús "to step on something," see Karahashi 2000: 93.

36. uz-ga is syllabic for the word *uzug* "unclean person," usually written ú-zúg(KA) or ú-zùg (SAG) (*Diri* IV 44–45, = *usukku*; see further Lieberman 1977: 400–1 no. 490). The typical *uzug* is a menstruating woman or a sexually unclean man (see Jacobsen 1970: 356), but the present instance shows that impure status could arise from contact with body fluids otherwise encountered.

38. The compound sign is either KA×KÁR or KA×SA. The former is usually deployed in the value bù as a spelling of bu(r) "to eradicate," but in the present instance the following -ma appears to rule that out. The only value of KA×KÁR that can be resumed with -ma is b/pum, which is empty of semantic content and in any case doubtful (see Krebernik 1991: 136 sub BÙ). The sign KA×SA is the logogram for sum$_4$ "beard" (Proto-*Ea* 319: $^{sú-um}$KA×SA). It is assumed here to be an error for SUM, a forgivable mistake in succession to the words ka "mouth" and kìri "nose." For the verb šúm(SUM) "to give" in the context of spitting noxious fluid, see *Kagal* D 9: 12': uš$_{11}$ šúm-mu = *i*[*m-tam nadû*?] "to spit venom," and a line of an Ur III snake incantation (*VAS* X 193: 3, coll. Veldhuis 1994): uš-bi mu-na-ab-šúm-m[a] "it spat its venom at him." For ḫúb "sole" see most recently an entry in an excerpt from bilingual OB *Ugumu* (Civil 2010: 151 l. 44): ḫúb-ḫúb-gìri-mu = *šu-ḫur-ra-at še-pi-ia* "the soles of my feet"; also *Ea* VII 51 (Civil 2010: 9): $^{ḫu-u}$[^{b}]ḫúb = *še-e-pu*. ḫúb—si is perhaps a compound verb like ḫúb—sar "to run," and si syllabic for sì "put down."

39. pàd instead of bad "open." The line thus alludes to the almost unavoidable reflex of someone who has stepped in something disgusting: he raises his foot behind him to get a glimpse of his sole over his shoulder and, as he does so, exposes the soiled skin (or sandal) to full view of the sun.

41–42. uš syllabic for uš$_7$ "spittle," as often (e.g. van Dijk and Geller 2003: 104 index).

II.A.11. No. 6s (Pl. XIX)

Another ablution incantation from the Old Babylonian collective tablet No. 6, this short spell is a variant of *VAS* XVII 15: 9–15, which has the same rubric (ed. Conti 1988: 117). It addresses the holy water provided by the "prince," Enki in Abzu (vi 45–47), and instructs it to pass on its purity to whatever it comes into contact with during the ritual (48). Other Old Babylo-

nian incantations with this exact rubric, but with different content, are *YOS* XI 44 (see above under II.A.7) and 48 (ed. Conti 1988: 124), and YBC 9891 (on which see Hallo 1999: 276 n. 12).[1]

col. vi

45 a kù-ga a sikil-la a dadag-ga
46 a nun ri-na-ke$_4$-ne
47 inim kù-ga-ni-ta na-⸢de$_5$-ga⸣
48 ḫé-em-kù-ge ḫe-em-sikil-e [ḫé-em-dadag-ge]
49 ka-inim-ma a-gúb-ba-k[am]

45–48 Holy water, pure water, clean water, water that the prince clarified(?), consecrated by his holy command, may it make holy, pure [and clean!]

49 Incantation formula for the holy-water vessel.

Note

vi 46. According to van Dijk's copy, *VAS* XVII 15: 11 has similarly: a nun ri-na-ke$_4$. Conti 1988: 117 read a-agrun-na-ke$_4$ ("come l'acqua dell'Abisso"). The present line urges another decipherment; ri-na is perhaps abbreviated for girin+a. The adjective /girin/ is used of a liquid in Šulgi E 61 (quoted by Ludwig 1990: 44): èš-èš kaš gi-rin a-gin$_7$ su$_{13}$-su$_{13}$-da-bi "at its regular festivals, when clear beer was splashed about like water." The final /ak-ene/, however, suggests contamination of the line as a whole with a-nun-na-ke$_4$-ne "Anunna-gods."

II.A.12. No. 6t (Pl. XVIII)

This badly damaged incantation is intended to consecrate a ceremonial garment at the time of someone's investiture. It is similar in content and structure to an incantation for the same purpose that survives in the ritual for the consecration of priests of Enlil, as handed down among first-millennium scholars in Assyria and Babylonia (see below). Both passages narrate an episode in mythical time, populated by the spider goddess Uttu and the unmarried Inanna. In it an old expert weaver-woman (Uttu), helped by a young girl (Inanna), fashions textile by spinning thread. The present text takes the origin of this mytheme back to the early second millennium. It is clear from what remains that the episode was couched in different terms at that time, but damage hampers the reconstruction of l. 2'.

col. vii

1 gu ^{d}uttu kin-na ba-ni-in-šub
2 [x] ⸢x x x⸣ ^{d}uttu KU ba-x-sá
3 [munus dím]-ma túg dím-⸢ma⸣ ba-ni-in-gar
4 [^{d}asal-lú-ḫe] ⸢dumu eridu^{ki}⸣-ga-ke$_4$
5 [ḫé-em-kù-g]e ḫé-em-sikil-⸢e ḫé-em-dadag⸣-g[e]
6 [k]a-in[im-m]a túg-ba$_{13}$-kam

vii 1–5 Uttu cast a thread in her work, [. . .] Uttu . . . [The clever woman] put in place the worked cloth. May [Asalluḫe,] son of Eridu, make it holy, make it pure, make it clean!

6 Incantation formula for a cloak.

The relevant part of the first-millennium text was incomplete when edited by Rykle Borger (1973), but the discovery of a duplicate from Nimrud (*CTN* IV 93; Löhnert 2010: 186–87) and comparison with present incantation enable the passage to be reconstructed entire:

[é]n gu ^{d}uttu šu-na ba-ši-[in-šub/si/gar]
  ^{d}MIN *qû*(gu)^{ú} *ana qa-ti-šú ú-mál-[li]*
^{d}inanna gu ^{d}uttu-da si ba-an-[sá]
  ^{d}*iš-tar qé-e* ^{d}MIN *uš-te-te-[šir]*
munus dím-ma tùn(*var.* úr)-bi ba-ni-in-[gar]
  sin-niš-ti ṭe-mi su-un-šá ú-ṣab-b[i]
um-ma dím-ma si ba-an-[sá]
  pur-šum-ti ṭe-mi uš-te-t[e-šir]
^{d}asal-lú-ḫe nam-šub ba-[an-sì]
  ^{d}*marūduk*(amar-utu) *šip-tú [id-di]*
ḫé-en-kù-ga ḫé-en-sikil-la ḫé-[en-dadag-ga]
eme ḫul-gál bar-šè ḫ[é-em-ta-gub]

[1] I am indebted to Steve Tinney for knowledge of this text.

ka-inim-ma 7 túg kù-ga-[kam]

Borger 1973: 167–68 ii 41–52
//*CTN* IV 93: 1'–10'

Spell. Uttu [took] thread in hand, Inanna [held] Uttu's thread straight. The clever woman [completed] that cloth, the clever old woman [made] it right. Asalluḫe [cast] a spell: "May it be holy, may it be pure, may [it be clean!] May evil speech [stand] aside!"

Incantation formula (of) seven (lines), to consecrate a garment.

As noted by Borger, the first three lines of this incantation find a parallel in *Šurpu* V, the opening of an incantation to undo an oath, where the item woven is not a garment but a magic web of thread that Asalluḫe will destroy to release the oath's victim:

én g[u ^{d}uttu šu-n]a ba-ni-in-[gar]
a-na qé-[*e* ^{d}MIN *qāt*]*-su iš-ta-k*[*an*]
^{d}inanna-ke$_4$ g[u ^{d}uttu-da s]i ba-ni-in-s[á]
$^{d⌈}$*iš*$^{⌉}$*-t*[*ar qé-e* ^{d}MIN] *uš-te-eš-šir*
munus dím-m[a . . . ba]-ni-in-tuš
sin-niš-tú x[. . . *qer-b*]*iš ú-še-šib*

Šurpu V 144–49 (coll., *pace* Reiner 1958: 34)

Spell. [Uttu took] thread in [hand,] Inanna held [Uttu's] thread straight. The clever woman made [. . .] sit down inside.

See further Geller 1980: 30 ll. 138'–42'; 41.

II.A.13. No. 17a–b (Pls. LII–LV)

The obverse of a single-column Old Babylonian collective tablet holds two passages of text, separated by a double ruling, but without any rubric intervening. They are designated (a) and (b) here, but may be parts of a single spell. The damaged rubric on the reverse may belong, but it adds nothing.

In (a) the matter at hand is purification. Some standard clauses are omitted and the beginning is suspected of multiple corruptions. As far as it can be understood, the incantation begins with a historiola, in which a woman (or goddess) cleaned out some animal pens. Just as her efforts were successful in mythical time, so it is expected that the present cleansing ritual, to be achieved by ablution with the holy water of Enki and Ningirimma, will have the desired effect.

In (b) the incipit's "Enki-gods and Ninki-goddesses" are the well-known ancestors of Enlil. Other Old Babylonian incipits invoking their names are *VAS* XVII 19 (scapegoat, ed. Cavigneaux 1995a: 63), and *Udug-ḫul* 56 // SB III 79. The latter is closely related, for it continues, like (b), by associating Enlil's ancestors with Adapa, the first sage.

No. 17a
obv.
1 [én] é-nu-ru
2 [munus?]-⌈e⌉ tùr-ra
3 [ki? sar?]-ra amaš sikil sá-a
4 [kisal? l]uḫ-ḫa amaš-àm
5 [amaš?] sá-a tùr-ta sá-a
6 [ni]n? gen-èn-na
7 [ama]š si-sá-a-ni
8 [a?] giš ⌈igi⌉-ta giš im-^{si}sikil
9 [gi] im-ta gi im-ta-sikil-gin$_7$
10 [x]x dub-sag-gá-ka
11 [mu-n]i-ib-sikil mu-ni-ib-ta-gin$_7$
12 [x x] im-sikil ì-gin$_7$ im-sikil-la-gin$_7$
13 [gi im]-ta gi im-sikil-la-gin$_7$
14 ⌈x x x⌉ {sikil ras.} dub-ság-gá-⌈ke$_4$⌉
15 mu-ni-ib-sikil mu-ni-ib-ta-g[i]n$_7$
16 a na-de$_5$-ga ^{d}en-ki-ga-ke$_4$
17 a-gúb-ba ^{d}nin-girim$_x$(ḪA.TAR.A.DU)-ke$_4$
18 lú-ùlu pap-ḫal-⌈la⌉ dumu dingir-ra-[(na)]-ke$_4$ <ḫé-em-kù ḫé-em-sikil ḫé-em-dadag>
19 ^{d}udug ḫul gal$_5$-lá ḫul
20 bar-šè ḫé-em-ta-gub
21 ^{d}udug sa$_6$-ga ^{d}lamma sa$_6$-g[a]
22 ḫé-em-da-su$_8$-su$_8$-ge-eš

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obv. 1–5 *Enenuru*-spell. [A woman(?) was sweeping the floor(?)] in the cowpen, was putting the pure sheepfold in order. A swept [courtyard] was the sheepfold, [the sheepfold(?)] was in good order, the cowpen was in good order.

[6–7] When the mistress came by, when she put the sheepfold in good order, [8–11] [the water(?)] touched(!) wood and purified wood. Just as it touched [reed] and purified reed, [. . .] of the foremost it purified. Just as it touched it, [12–15] it purified [. . .] Just as it made it pure as oil, it touched [reed]. Just as it made reed pure, . . . of the foremost it purified. Just as it touched it, [16–18] with the consecrated water of Enki, with the holy-water vessel of Ningirimma, [may] the suffering man, son of his god, [become holy, pure and clean!] [19–22] May evil *udug*-demon and evil *galla*-demon stand aside! May a good *udug* and a good *lamma* be present!

No. 17b

23 ᵈen-⌜ki⌝-e-ne ᵈnin-⌜ki⌝-e-ne
24 a-ta-⌜a⌝-ba eridu^{ki}-k[e$_4$]-e-ne
25 ⌜x⌝ [x x x]x-⌜ga?⌝ an lu[gal]-⌜x x x⌝-ka
26–27 traces
gap

rev.

1' ka-in[im-ma . . .]

[23–24] The Enki-gods, the Ninki-goddesses, the *Adapas* (i.e. sages) of Eridu, . . ., An, king of . . . [. . .]
[rev. 1'] Incantation-[formula . . .]

Notes

2. The incipit munus-e tùr-ra is suggested by the OB childbirth incantation *VAS* XVII 33: 1 (ed. van Dijk 1975: 62): munus-e é-tùr amaš kù-ga, though the contexts are very different.

3, 5. Assuming sá-a is for si-sá-a; cf. l. 7.

6. The sign sequence DU LI NA is presumed to represent g̃en-ani-(ta/šè), a phrase occasionally deployed in historiolae to mark the arrival of a deity on the scene.

8. Water is restored because it functions as the purifier in ll. 16–17.

8–15. These lines hold a corrupt version of a standard motif, in which the pattern tag . . . sikil is deployed to describe purification by contact. Other examples in this book are II.A.4 No. 5i v 24'–28' (sky and earth) and II.A.7 No. 6h iv 18–19 (wood and reed, as here). A very elaborate but completely regular example occurs in a compendium of *Kultmittelbeschwörungen* now in Dublin (after Geller 2001: 227 ll. 20–21): giš im-tag giš im-sikil gi im-tag gi im-sikil giš im-tag giš im-sikil-la-gin$_7$ gi im-tag gi im-sikil-la-gin$_7$ lugal-e níg-kìd-kìd-da-ni ḫé-em-dadag-ge "It (i.e. dairy fat) touched wood, made the wood pure; it touched reed, made the reed pure. Just as it touched wood, made the wood pure, and just as it touched reed, made the reed pure, (so) may the king make clean his ritual (materials)." Geller read im-tag as im-sub$_6$ "he polished," but im-ta and mu-ni-ib-ta-gin$_7$ in the present text provide contrary evidence.

24. The intimate relationship between the Enki-gods and Ninki-goddesses and the sages of Eridu (explored in the introduction to this book) suggests that a-ta-a-ba is here a syllabic spelling of the name of the first sage, Adapa (usually written a-da-pà), deployed as a generic name for the seven sages of myth. Alternatively the line is a garbled account of the exorcist's self-legitimation, a-da-pà abgal eridu^{ki}-ga me-en "I am Adapa, sage of Eridu" (e.g. OB *Udug-ḫul* 59 // SB III 81).

II.A.14. No. 17c (Pl. LV)

This short Sumerian incantation is the third inscribed on the Old Babylonian collective tablet No. 17. The opening two lines are restored after lines of a love incantation, but the purpose of the present spell is to aid ritual purity. It describes how once butter and cream made sky and earth clean, a topos that is found with other ritual agents in *Kultmittel* incantations (e.g. with oil in Geller 2001: 231 ll. 48–50). Next the spell incites the divine exorcist Asalluḫe to reproduce that purity in the here and now. No doubt the incantation was used to activate the latent purifying power in dairy fats, prior to their application in therapeutic rituals.

rev.

2' ⸢ì⸣ áb kù-ga g[ára ^ábšilam-ma]
3' [ì áb]-ba [ì áb babbar-ra]
4' ⸢an ì⸣-sikil [ki ì-dadag?]
5' ki ⸢ì⸣-sikil a[n ì-dadag?]
6' an im-sikil ki i[m-dadag?]
7' ì ḫe-⸢nun⸣-na x x[x x x]
8' ^dasal-lú-ḫe dumu eridu[^ki-ga-ke₄]
9' ḫé-em-kù-ge ḫé-e[m-sikil-le ḫé-em-dadag-ge]
10' eme ḫul-g[ál bar-šè ḫé-em-ta-gub]

11' ka-i[nim-m]a x[x x x]

rev. 2'–7' Butter of a pure cow, [cream of a milch-cow, butter] of a [cow, butter of a white cow,] made Sky pure, [made Earth clean,] made Earth pure, [made] Sky [clean:] Sky became pure, Earth became [clean.] Oil of plenty . . . [. . .] 8'–10' May Asalluḫe, child of Eridu, make holy, [pure and clean! May] evil speech [stand aside!]

11' Incantation-formula for [. . .]

Note

rev. 2'–3'. Two Old Babylonian texts can be enlisted to restore this passage: (a) two lines that are embedded in a Sumerian love incantation but describe dairy fat in an archetypal way (ed. Geller 2002: 136 ll. 27–28): ì áb kù-ga ga ^ábšilam-ma / ì áb-a (*var.* -ba) ì áb babbar-ra; and (b) the incipit of a Sumerian incantation to consecrate ghee (ì-nun; Geller 2001: 227 l. 19): ì áb kù-ga! tùr-ta dé-a "butter of a pure cow, poured out in the cowpen." Our l. 3' finds no match in (b) so (a) has been preferred.

II.A.15. No. 10a (Pl. XXXV) and No. 11f–h (Pls. XXXVII, XXXIX)

Two Sumerian incantations on the Old Babylonian collective tablet No. 11, (f) and (h), have the same incipit and are very similar in content, describing how what is probably to be understood as a "stormwind" brought various ailments to the land in mythical time. The evils thus propagated were noticed by Asalluḫe, who sought advice from his father, Enki. Unfortunately, Enki's reply is lost in both (f) and (h). The two passages can be taken as variant versions of the same incantation, presented one after the other on this tablet. The passage that intervenes between them, (g), probably provides the end of the first incantation, which is a prayer to the gods for the recovery of the afflicted person. Its rubric identifies it as a spell used to consecrate bread dough, no doubt for use in magico-medical therapy included in the healing rituals (as in II.B.7). A similar rubric is appended to incantation (i), and because collective tablets often bring together related material, it is possible that (h) had the same function as (f–g) and (i). An incantation that opens another collective tablet, No. 10a, lacks both incipit and rubric but is closely related to Nos. 11f and 11h in content and probably represents a further version of the same text.

Because the two rubrics identify the incantations' functions as consecration, they are included in this section. However, their content is very different from the incantations presented above. While the latter have been concerned with deploying in the present the purifying power of archetypal ritual materials of mythical time, the present incantations invoke the appearance of sickness in mythical time and seek to re-enact the gods' response in order to purify the sufferer and cure his sickness in the present. In form they belong to the style of incantation entitled Marduk-Ea type by Falkenstein (1931: 44–76), but better known as Asalluḫe-Enki in recognition of their origin as Sumerian texts. They share content with incantations that were used to exorcise demons, and thus form an appropriate transition from this section to the next.

Other Old Babylonian versions of the incantation have survived: a fragment from Nippur holds the opening of the incantation only (N 4109, copy Cavigneaux and Al-Rawi 1993: 176), but a complete text survives on two collective tablets from Mê-Turan (Cavigneaux and

Al-Rawi 1995b: 184–95). Another version occurs on an unpublished tablet in Baghdad, IM 160651.[1] Later the incantation became embedded in a compendium (Schramm 2008 no. 12), and copies of it are extant from first-millennium Assyria (Nineveh, Nimrud and Sultantepe). The versions of the incantation from Mê-Turan and Assyria run parallel to those edited here only in regard to the first part of the text, in which are described the evils brought by the stormwind and Asalluḫe's observation of them. The advice offered by Enki in those sources matches neither (g) nor (i). Instead it provides a prescription for rubbing the sufferer with a lump of clay from the river bank. A rubric is given by the Assyrian tablets only: ka-[inim]-ma (*ša*) níg-kur$_4$ im-ke$_4$ "spell for (applying) lumps of clay" (Schramm 2008: 160 l. 21). This therapy, in which the evil present in the sick man is transferred by contagion to a malleable material and destroyed, is functionally identical to the rubbing with bread dough that is suggested by the rubrics of Nos. 11g and i.

No. 10a
col. i
1' [sag-gig i-im-de$_6$ igi-gig i-im]-⸢de$_6$⸣
2' [šà-gi]g i-im-⸢de$_6$ libiš⸣-g[ig] ⸢i-im-de$_6$⸣
3' [sa-g]ig i-im-de$_6$ zú-[gig i]-i[m-de$_6$]
4' ⸢tur-ra⸣ nu-du$_{10}$-du$_{10}$-ga ⸢i⸣-[im-de$_6$]
5' gìri-ta imin bùlug-g[á i]-im-⸢de$_6$⸣
6' sag gub-bu-da im šà-ga ⸢i⸣-im-de$_6$
7' ur-gi$_7$ i-im-de$_6$
8' ^{d}kamad(DÌM)-me i-im-de$_6$
9' ^{d}kamad(DÌM)-duru$_5$ i-im-de$_6$
10' ^{d}kamad(DÌM)-ḪAL i-im-de$_6$
11' nun-zu-nun nun-bar i-im-de$_6$
12' lú-ùlu pap-ḫal-la di-me ér! gig-ga / ba-an-ku$_4$
13' lú-ùlu-bi šu si-ga ba-ni-in-dab
14' ⸢x⸣ kù síki!(NUN+x)-àka-a-ni im-mi-ti
15' [á-š]u-gì[ri-n]i šà-bi ⸢ba⸣-an-dab

[1] Photograph, copy and edition in Ali Murad 2015 I 298–302, II 171–72.

16' ⸢^{d}⸣[asal-lú]-ḫe igi im-ma-an-sig$_7$!
17' [a-a-ni ^{d}en-ki-ra] ⸢é-šè⸣ [ba-ši-in-k]u$_4$
18' [gù mu-un-na-dé-e]

No. 11f
col. iii
9' [i]m-ma kalam-ma ki-a mu-un-⸢gál⸣
10' s[a]g gig i-im-d[e$_6$]
11' igi gig i-im-d[e$_6$]
12' š[à] gig i-im-d[e$_6$]
13' lib[iš] gig i-im-de$_6$
14' zú! [g]ig i-im-de$_6$
15' tu ⸢nu-du$_{10}$⸣-du$_{10}$-ga i-im-de$_6$
16' ⸢gìri imin bùlug-gá⸣ i-im-de$_6$
17' ⸢izi⸣ [gub-bu-da im š]à-ga i-⸢im⸣-de$_6$
18' [nu-un-zu nu-un-bar] ⸢i⸣-[im-d]e$_6$
19' [lú-ùlu pap-ḫal-la di-me ér gig-ga ba-an-k]u$_4$
20' [. . . . . . gù mu-un-na-dé]-⸢e⸣
gap

No. 11g
rev. col. iv
1' traces
2' [giš-ge-en-ge-na]-bi ⸢ki⸣-bi-š[è ù-me-gi$_4$]
3' [^{d}en-ki en] dumu an-⸢na⸣-k[e$_4$ ḫé-ti]
4' [^{d}utu sag-kal] dingir-re-e-[ne-ke$_4$]
5' [šu sa$_6$-ga zab]ar kù-[ga]
6' [šu dingir-ra-n]i-šè ḫé-em-ši-gi$_4$-[gi$_4$]
7' [^{d}asar-ali]m-nun-na dumu-sag ^{d}en-⸢ki⸣-[ke$_4$]
8' [sa$_6$-g]a zíl-zíl-bi za-a-k[am]
9' ⸢ka⸣-inim-ma ninda-⸢kam⸣
(blank space)

No. 11h
10' im-ma kalam-ma ki-a mu-un-g[ál]
11' sag gig im-de$_6$! igi gi[g] im-d[e$_6$]
12' šà g[i]g im-de$_6$ kuš gig im-de$_6$
13' tu-ra [n]u-du$_{10}$-ga i-im-de$_6$
14' ḫa-aš-⸢x⸣ imin ⸢bùlug-gá⸣ i-im-de$_6$
15' izi gub-bu-⸢da izi šà-ga⸣ i-im-de$_6$
16' nu-un-zu nu-un-bar i-im-de$_6$
17' lú-ùlu pap-[ḫal-l]a ⸢di-me ér⸣ gi[g]-⸢ga ba⸣-an-⸢dab⸣
18' áš gig níg-g[i]g dingir-ra kuš-a-ni ⸢ba⸣-

an-bar
19' ^{d}asal-l[ú-ḫe] igi im-⌜ma⌝-an-s[ì?]
20' a-a-ni ^{d}[en-ki-r]a ⌜é⌝-e ba-ši-in-⌜ku_4⌝
21' ⌜gù mu⌝-[un-na]-dé-⌜e⌝
22' [a-a-mu im-ma kalam-ma] ⌜ki⌝-a mu-un-[gál]
23' . . .]x ù-[ub-dug_4?]

No. 10a

i 1'–3' [The stormwind of the land settled on the earth. It brought head ailments, it] brought [eye ailments,] it brought [stomach] ailments, it brought gut ailments, it brought [muscle] ailments, it [brought] tooth [ailments,] 4'–11' it [brought] unpleasant diseases, [it] brought "seven-grown" feet, it brought "standing head," wind of the insides, it brought dogs, it brought the demon Kamadme, it brought the demon Kamadru, it brought the demon Kamad-ḪAL, it brought *nunzunun* and *nunbar.* 12'–15' A grievous wailing entered the victim, that man was seized in silence. The shining . . . (of) the locks of hair on his head came to an end. The insides of his limbs were seized. 16'–17' Asalluḫe saw and went home [to his father Enki, saying to him . . .]

No. 11f–g

iii 9'–14' The stormwind of the land settled on the earth. It brought head ailments, it brought eye ailments, it brought stomach ailments, it brought gut ailments, it brought tooth ailments, 15'–18' it brought unpleasant diseases, it brought "seven-grown" feet, it brought "[standing] fire," [wind of] the insides, it brought [*nunzu* and *nunbar.* 19'–20' A grievous wailing] entered [the victim. Asalluḫe saw and went home to his father Enki, saying to him . . .

iv 1'–3' . . . Restore] his(!) [limbs] to their former health, [so the lord Enki], son of An, [may revive him.] 4'–8' May [Utu, vanguard of] the gods, [kind hand (and)] pure [bronze,] return him (the victim) to the [care of] his [god. O] Asaralimnunna, foremost son of Enki, [treating him with kindness] and favor is in your power.

9' Incantation formula for (applying) bread (dough).

No. 11h

iv 10'–12' The stormwind of the land settled on the earth. It brought head ailments, it brought eye ailments, it brought stomach ailments, it brought skin ailments, 13'–16' it brought unpleasant diseases, it brought "seven-grown" thigh, it brought "standing fire," fever of the insides, it brought *nunzu* and *nunbar.* 17'–18' A grievous wailing seized the victim. A grievous curse, abomination of the gods, peeled his skin. 19'–22' Asalluḫe saw and went home to his father [Enki,] saying to him: "[O my father, the stormwind of the land settled] on the earth."] 23' After [he had said a second time, "I do not know what I should do! How does one react?", Enki answered his son Asalluḫe, "O my son, what don't you know, what can I add? Asalluḫe, what don't you know, what can I add? What I know, you know too. Go, my son, . . . (*ritual prescription followed*)"

Notes

Nos. 10a i 5' // 11f iii 16' // 11h iv 14'. The syllabic spelling ḫa-aš-x in No. 11h suggests that where other sources have gìri-(ta) "foot" another version had the similar sign ḫáš "thigh." The phrase imin bùlug-gá (or imin dim_4-mà) in all three lines is no doubt corrupt; other versions have very different text.

No. 10a i 8'–10'. For the reading kamad(DÌM) see George forthcoming b. The third name compounded with this sign is probably the fourth of the five demons listed in An = *Anu ša amēli* (*CT* 24 44: 146): [^{d}MIN-t]ab ^{d}kamad(DÌM)-tab = *bi-bi-tu*, var. *be-be-nu* (Litke 1998: pl. 47 l. 78). The sign tab is easily corrupted into ḫal.

No. 10a i 11' // 11f iii 18' // 11h iv 16'. The Mê-Turan tablets have nu-zu-nu nu-bar, which Cavigneaux and Al-Rawi translate "la hiérodule, l'oblate" (1995b: 187, with discussion on pp. 193–94). Given the presence of izi "fire, fever" in the preceding line of our text,

a connection might rather be sought with nun-bar in epithets of the fire-god Girra (see Michalowski 1993: 154).

No. 10a i 14'. For síki-àka(ŠID) see the entry síki-àk(a)-mu = *i-ti-iq pi-ir-ti-ia* "a lock of the hair on my head" in a bilingual OB version of *Ugumu* (Civil 2012: 154 2:1). Otherwise, ŠID alone can be read dilib "hair."

No. 10a i 16'. sig$_7$ for SUM = sig$_{10}$ or sì, as also in II.D.6 No. 8b i 16', II.E.3 No. 7h iv 9', II.E.4 No. 7i iv 32', II.J.1 No. 7q vii 15, 25, II.J.1 No. 8k iv 8. Another syllabic spelling for this verbal base is ši (Nos. 9c ii 8', 9h iv 20!).

No. 11f iii 19'–20'. Several lines corresponding to No. 10a i 13'–17' and No. 11h iv 18'–20' appear to have dropped out.

No. 11g iv 2'. Restored after II.B.7 No. 12f v 10; also at Mê-Turan, giš-gin$_7$-gi-na-an-ne ki-bi um-me-gi (Cavigneaux and Al-Rawi 1993: 181 MA 62).

No. 11g iv 4'–6'. Restored from No. 10f vii 7'–9': ^{d}utu sag-kal dingir-re-e-ne-ke$_4$ šu sa$_6$-ga zabar kù-ga šu dingir-ra-ni ḫé-em-ši-gi$_4$. This is a version of a standard clause that occurs earlier in this tablet, No. 11c ii 7': ^{d}utu sag-kal dingir-re-e-ne-ke$_4$ šu sa$_6$-ga din[gir-ra-na-šè] ḫé-em-ši-in-gi$_4$-[gi$_4$] "May Utu, vanguard of the gods, return him into the kindly care of his god." Other OB variants of the clause occur in another dough incantation, *YOS* XI 90: 28–29, ed. Cavigneaux and Al-Rawi 1995b: 180; in *Udug-ḫul* incantations, Geller 1985 ll. 357, 689; in witchcraft incantations, *PBS* I/2 122 rev. 39–40, ed. Geller 1989: 198 l. 75'; and in *CT* 58 79 and dupls., ed. Cavigneaux and Al-Rawi 1995a: 28, where the source from Ur has zabar-gin$_7$ "like (a utensil of) bronze," clearly the origin of zabar kù-ga in our passage and No. 10f. Later bilinguals: *Šurpu* VII 86, // *Šamaš ašarēd ilī šalmussu ana qātī damqāti ša ilī[šu] lipqissu* "May Šamaš, vanguard of the gods, safely entrust him to the kindly care of [his] god"; and, less well translated, SB *Udug-ḫul* IV 197', // *ana Šamaš ašarēd ilī šalmussu ana qātī damqāti ša ilīšu lippaqid* "May he be entrusted to Šamaš, vanguard of the gods, safely into the kindly care of his god."

No. 11g iv 7'–8'. Restored from No. 10f vii 10'–11': ^{d}asar-<alim>-nun-na dumu-sag ^{d}en-ki-ke$_4$ sa$_6$-ga zíl-zíl-bi za-kam. The clause recurs with Enki's son at the close of No. 11a i 4'–5' (*Udug-ḫul*): [^{d}asar-alim-nun-na dumu]-sag ^{d}en-ki-ke$_4$ [sa$_6$-ga zíl-zí]l-bi za-a-kam, and with Enki himself at the end of the OB incantation MAH 16003: 23, ed. Cavigneaux and Al-Rawi 1995b: 182: [s]a$_6$-sa$_6$-ge zíl-zíl-bi za-a-kam. For instances of this closing prayer in later bilingual incantations (// *bunnû dummuqu kûmma* "to make fine and lovely are yours"), where the addressee is very often ^{d}asar-alim-nun-na dumu-sag abzu-ke$_4$ "Asaralimnunna, firstborn son of the Abzu," see the references collected in *CAD* D 61, and SB *Udug-ḫul* II 30, IV 65, XII 152, XV 120, XVI 212', ed. Geller 2007; Borger 1969: 15 §XXVIII 275–76; Geller 1980: 28 l. 49'; etc.

No. 11h iv 16'. See above, on No. 10a i 11'.

No. 11h iv 23'. A variant of the standard line a-rá mìn-kam-ma-aš ù-ub-dug$_4$ must be expected.

II.B. INCANTATIONS TO EXORCISE AND PROTECT AGAINST DEMONS

In the Babylonians' understanding of the world, sickness and other disorders and troubles in an individual were very often attributed to affliction and possession by supernatural agents. These beings are collectively referred to in the secondary literature as demons. The human response to such demons was manipulation by magic means, both to expel them from the sufferer's body (exorcism) and to thwart their attempts to possess it in the first place (apotropaism). Incantations to serve both purposes are very well represented in Babylonia. Falkenstein (1931) identified three different literary forms, which he characterized respectively by formulaic expressions of legitimation, prophylaxis and divinely authorized remedy. His source material was chiefly the bilingual incantation series of the first millennium. The emergence since he wrote of pre-Sargonic incantations from Fara and Ebla, and of vastly more Old Babylonian material, has revealed a greater variety of forms, and led to different perspectives of study (e.g. Cunningham 1997). The strategies inherent in Falkenstein's formal classification inform many of the incantations presented in this and the following sections, but I have organized the material by theme rather than form.

II.B.1. No. 1c (Pl. II)

The third incantation on the better-preserved Early Dynastic collective tablet has no generic rubric but its contents identify it as a prophylactic spell that enlists divine aid in avoiding the attentions of various agents of evil. It gives for the first time in an incantation of this period an extended list, four in number, of evil demonic forces (iv 1–4; cf. only the last two of the four in Krebernik 1984 no. 24). The latter part of the incantation calls on the warrior-god Nergal, with his seven mighty battle axes (iii 11–12), to repulse them (iv 5). The opening lines seem to evoke nightfall, when it can be imagined that Nergal's planet, Mars, dominates a sky newly vacated by the sun.

Because of the many difficulties presented by Early Dynastic writing, the transliteration and translation given here and in the editions of other incantations on tablet No. 1 are necessarily provisional.

col. iii
8 én-é-nu-ru
9 èš gar dingir šú
10 SUG SAG AN DIŠ = šà dingir sag-dili?
11 ^{d}KIŠ-UNU aga-silig-ga
12 zag-gá lá-mu
13 ^{d}KIŠ-UNU gen-an-ni
14 ur! 7 aga-silig
col. iv
1 ⸢igi ḫul⸣
2 lú ḫul
3 udug! ḫul
4 dingir ḫul
5 zag-ta gi$_4$-ma-ta
6 KA×UD ^{d}nin-girim$_x$(A.BU.ḪA.DU)

iii 8–iv 5 *Enenuru*-spell. The house is in place, the (sun)-god is set. O one unique among the gods, Nergal, hang an *agasilig*-axe at my side! O Nergal, come! O champion with seven *agasilig*-axes: the evil eye, the evil man, the evil *udug*-demon, the evil god — repulse (them) for me from my side.

6 Incantation formula of Ningirimma.

Notes

iii 9–10. The translation is highly provisional. SUG is an UD.GAL.NUN writing for šag$_4$; sag-DIŠ suggests sag-dili "lone."

11. For ^{d}KIŠ.UNU as the writing of the divine name Nergal at Fara and Abu Salabikh, see Steinkeller 1987: 164.

iv 3–4. Note this pair in a Sumerian incantation known from two tablets from Ebla (Krebernik 1984 no. 24): e iii 3–4 udug ḫul din-gi-li ḫul // l viii 2–3 udug ḫul dingir ḫul.

udug!-ḫul occurs again in tablet No. 3 xiii' 2, where the form of udug matches the form here.

II.B.2. No. 7b (Pl. XXII)

This incantation, the first to survive complete on the Old Babylonian collective tablet No. 7, is a short prophylactic spell addressed to any harmful influences that might beset a man intending to go outside. The malign beings that might cause harm are addressed in list fashion (8'–12'). What is then said to them consists of a vocative and what must be a command (13'–14'). The words of command exhibit the assonance and rhyme typical of "foreign-language" spells; they are either taken from a real but unidentified foreign language or, more likely, from an abracadabra vocabulary invented especially for communication with demonic forces. Two further lines refer respectively to Enki's subterranean abode and the "lamentation-house of the Mountain," by which must be meant kur "mountain" as the realm of the dead (15'–16'). There is no explicit connection with what precedes, and the text may be abbreviated or corrupt. The Abzu and the netherworld are perhaps cited as haunts to which the lurking demons must return.

col. i

8' ⌜$^{\mathrm{d}}$⌝udug-ḫul ḫ[é]-me-en
9' [$^{\mathrm{d}}$]⌜gidim-ḫul ḫé-me⌝-en
10' [ga]l$_5$-la [ḫu]l ḫé-me-en
11' lú níg-ḫul ḫé-me-⌜en⌝
12' lú níg-ḫul dím-ma ḫé-me-⌜en⌝
13' lú níg-ḫu!-luḫ! dìm-ma-mu
14' *du-nu-um-ma-ḫi ú-nu-ma-ḫi*
15' níg-kud abzu-àm
16' ⌜é⌝ a-nir kur-ra
17' tu$_6$ én-é-nu-ru

18' ka-inim-ma e-sír gen-na-kam

i 8'–12' Be you an evil *udug*-demon, be you an evil ghost, be you an evil *galla*-demon, be you an evil man, be you a person who does evil: 13'–14' O one who would do things to frighten me, *dunummaḫi unumaḫi*. 15'–17' It is the toll (of) the Abzu, the lamentation-house of the Mountain. *Tu-Enenuru*-spell.

18' Incantation-formula for going down the street.

II.B.3. No. 40 (Pl. CV)

This Old Babylonian incantation in Sumerian is a prophylactic spell to counter demonic powers, in which the first-person voice of the spell legitimates his authority as exorcist by identifying himself first with the goddesses Nanše and Inanna, and then with the divine night watchman, Ḫendursanga (ll. 1–4). The next part of the incantation seems to relate how once Ḫendursanga was aided by the moon-god in lighting the path of the speaker as he walked the streets at night (5–9). Since the speaker assumes the role of Asalluḫe, the divine exorcist, this episode can be reckoned to have taken place when the gods walked the earth, i.e. in mythical time. The likely function of the incantation is to protect from harm a person going out after dark. Other such spells are extant from the Old Babylonian period. One that also features moonlight, Ḫendursanga and his torch is *TIM* IX 74 obv. (ed. George 2015a: 6). Damage in the present text intervenes to deny us knowledge of all the measures taken by the gods to secure the walker's safety (10–19).

The latter part of the incantation comprises three sections, as determined by their contents. The first is a set of three commands addressed in turn to Nergal, an evil-doer and a raven, who appear to constitute threats to well-being from sky, road and marshes respectively (20–24). Then the incantation invokes Ḫendursanga and Nergal together, apparently as allies in defence against demonic forces, conventionally listed collectively: the two gods are asked to keep close to the walker (25–29). Finally there is an exorcism by zi—pàd formula, which places any malign forces under oath in the name of the gods (30–37). There is much new in this incantation, and much that may be open to other interpretations.

obv.

1 én-nu-ri ⸢in⸣-nin me-en
2 ^{d}nanše me-en
3 in-nin ^{d}inanna-ka dumu ^{d}suen-na me-en
4 nimgir-e ^{d}ḫendur-sag-gá me-en
5 lú ^{d}nanna lú nu-de me-en
6 zag-šú ^{d}nanna zag-gá i-íb-šú
7 dingir gàkkul-lá ugu-gá i-íb-šú
8 ⸢ki⸣ e-sír-ra gìri na-mu-ni-in-gíd
9 e-sír-ra ì-ku$_{5}$ ⸢izi⸣ ba-an-lá
10 giš-⸢x⸣ [x] ⸢x⸣ dingir-ra da-gá i-in-gen
11 x[x x] ⸢x x⸣ [i]-in-gen
12 [x x x x x x]-àm i-in-gen
13 lú [x x x] ⸢x⸣ / [x x x x] ⸢x⸣ [i]-in-gen
14 [x x x x x x x]x gi ka
15 [x x x x x x x]x in-gen
16 [x x x x x x x x]x
17 [x x x x x x x x]-dib-bé
18 [x x x x x x x x x]-aš

lower edge

19 [. . . . . .]
20 [^{d}n]è-eri$_{11}$-gal dúbur-ra an-na-[ka]

rev.

21 [d]úbur-ra an-na-ta e-ba-ra-ab
22 [l]ú níg-ḫul ⸢dím⸣-ma ka-gìri-k[a]
23 ka-gìri-ta e-ba-ra-ab
24 uga^{mušen} giš-gi-ka / giš-gi-ta e-ba-ra-ab
25 ^{d}ḫendur-sag-gá dingir sila si-ga
26 ⸢^{d}⸣nè-⸢eri$_{11}$⸣-gal ur-sag ^{d}en-líl-lá
27 dingir-ḫul ^{d}udug-ḫul ^{d}gidim-ḫul
28 ^{d}alad!-ḫul ^{d}lamma-ḫul / lú níg-ḫul dím-ma
29 lugal-mu giš zi-da / te-ba igi-mu-ta te-ba egir-mu-ta
30 zi an-gal-e a-a dingir-re-e-ne-ke$_{4}$ / ḫé-pàd
31 zi ^{d}uraš-e ama dingir-re-e-(ne-ke$_{4}$) ḫé-x
32 zi ^{d}en-líl {le (ras.)} lugal dingir-re-e-(ne-ke$_{4}$) ⸢ḫé⸣-(pàd)
33 zi ^{d}nin-líl nin dingir-re-e-(ne-ke$_{4}$) ḫé-(pàd)
34 zi ^{d}en-ki en dumu-sag an-na
35 zi ^{d}utu lugal kalag-ga di-kud-da
36 zi ^{d}a-nun-na ḫé-pàd!

upper edge

37 zi dingir-gal-gal-e-ne / šid-⸢bi⸣ ḫé-pàd

1–7 *Ennuri*-spell. I am the queen, I am Nanše, I am the queen Inanna, child of Suen! I am the herald Ḫendursanga, I am the one whom the moon-god Nanna does not let fall to the ground(?). Nanna covered my side with a side covering, the god covered my head (like) a brewing jar. 8–12 Where there was a street he let me stride along, (where) the street ran out he bore a torch aloft. The . . . of the god(s) went at my side, . . . went, [. . .] went, (*seven lines too damaged for translation*)

20–24 O Nergal at the sky's horizon, leave the sky's horizon! O evil-doer on the path, leave the path! O raven in the reed-bed, leave the reed-bed!

25–29 O Ḫendursanga, god of the silent streets, O Nergal, warrior of Enlil! Evil god, evil *udug*-demon, evil ghost, evil *alad*-spirit, evil *lamma*-spirit, ones who do evil: my king, steadfast tree, be close to(!) my front, be close to(!) my rear!

30–37 Be adjured by great An, father of the gods! Be adjured by Uraš, mother of the gods! Be adjured by Enlil, king of the gods! Be adjured by Ninlil, queen of the gods! By the lord Enki, firstborn child of An! By the mighty king Utu, the judge! Be adjured by the Anunna-gods! Be adjured by all number of great gods!

Notes

3. Final -ka on ^{d}inanna is redundant.

5. The second lú is assumed to be redundant and nu-de to be a syllabic spelling of nu-de$_{5}$(RI).

7. The brewing jar was a vessel with a lid that was usually kept firmly closed, so that *kakkullum katimtum* "closed brewing jar" became a common metaphor for enclosure and confinement (see examples quoted in *CAD* K 59). An Old Babylonian bilingual incantation applies it to the blocked stomach of a person suffering from a digestive condition (*CT* 4 8a 1–10 // 15–24, quoted in the introduction to II.E.12 No. 32a–c). In a late bilingual incantation it is a means of capturing and incapac-

itating a demonic power (*CT* 17 35: 78–79, ed. Schramm 2001: 24–25 ll. 85–86): gakkul nu-bad-da-ta ḫé-ni-íb-šú-šú-ne // *kak-kul-ti la pa-te-e li-ik-tùm-šú* "may they put a lid on it like a brewing jar that is never opened!" // "may a brewing jar that is never opened cover it up!" Here, however, the image refers to the beneficial aura of moonlight, which protects the walker from above.

9. Alternatively ku$_5$ for ku$_{10}$-(ku$_{10}$) "to be dark"?

21, 23, 24. Imperative e-ba-ra-ab syllabic from è "to go out"; ba-ra-ab < ba-ta-b.

22–23. See *Urra* II 275: ka-gìri = *pa-da-nu* "path."

29. giš zi-da "steadfast tree" is perhaps a literary image for the night watchman's torch, the "staff that goes in front" from which Ḫendursanga's name derives (George 2015a: 6).

II.B.4. No. 39 (Pl. CIII)

This Sumerian text is a simple exorcism, written partly in syllabic spelling. After an unintelligible rhyming incipit, presumably abracadabra, the healer summons a whole host of demonic powers (ll. 1–7), and then in, an equally extensive succession of zi—pàd formulae, binds them by oath sworn on the great powers of the universe; unfortunately, many of the deities' names have been destroyed.

obv.

1 [x x i]g-li-li ú-li-li ki-sikil ḫul ḫe-me-[en]

2 [x] ḫul ḫe-me-en maš-kim$_4$ ḫul ḫe-me-en šub-bé-⸢x⸣ [ḫul ḫe]-me-en

3 [a]-la ḫul ḫe-me-en udug ḫul edin-na ḫul ḫe-m[e-en]

4 [ud]ug uru^{ki}-mu ḫul ḫe-me-en a-sa-ag gig-ga! [ḫul ḫe-me-en]

5 [din]gir ḫul ḫe-me-en ka-ma-ad ḫul-ḫul ḫe-m[e-en]

6 [gid]im? ḫul-ḫul ḫe-me-en dingir-imin-nam igi ḫul-ḫ[ul (ḫe-me-en)]

7 [x] an-ki a-ra-la-⸢na⸣ [ḫ]ul-ḫul ḫe-me-en dingir-dingir x[x (ḫul ḫe-me-en)]

8 [zi] an-na ḫé-in-⸢pàd⸣ zi an-ta ḫé-in-p[àd]

9 [zi ura]š ḫé-in-pàd zi ^{d}en-líl-lá ḫé-i[n-pàd]

10 [zi ^{d}]⸢nin-líl⸣-lá ḫé-in-pàd zi ^{d}am-an-k[i ḫé-in-pàd]

11 [zi ^{d}asal-lú-ḫe ḫé-in]-pàd zi ^{d}dam-gal-n[un-na ḫé-in-pàd]

12 [zi ^{d}ḫendur-sag-gá nim]gir-gal ḫé-in-p[àd]

(13) (maybe one line missing to edge)

rev.

1 [zi] ⸢^{d}x⸣ ri/mùš [. . . ḫ]é-in-p[àd]

2 [zi] ^{d}⸢x x⸣ [x] ⸢x x ḫé⸣-in-p[àd]

3 [zi] ^{d}nin-giš-⸢zi-da-ke$_4$⸣ gu-za-lá kur-ra-ke$_4$ ḫé-[in-pàd]

4 [zi ^{d}nin-urta ur-sa]g kalag-ga ^{d}en-líl-lá <ḫé>-i[n-pàd]

5 [zi . . . . . .]x ḫé-in-pàd

6 [zi . . . . . .] ḫé-in-p[àd]

7 [zi . . . . . . ḫ]é-in-pàd

8 [zi . . . . . . ḫé]-in-pàd

remainder blank

obv. 1–7 [. . .] *iglili ulili*! Be you an evil Maiden, or be [you] an evil [. . .,] or be you an evil Lurker, or be you an [evil] . . ., or be you an evil *ala*-demon, [or be you] an evil *udug*-demon from the steppe, or be you an evil *udug*-demon from my city, [or be you an evil] malevolent *asag*-demon, or be you an evil god, [or be you] evil *kamad*-demons, or be you evil ghosts(?), or the divine Seven, or evil eyes, or be you evil [. . .] of heaven, earth and netherworld, [or evil] gods [of . . .] —

8–rev. 8 Be adjured by Sky! Be adjured by Earth(!)! Be adjured by [Uraš!] Be [adjured] by Enlil! Be adjured by Ninlil! Be adjured by Amanki! [Be] adjured [by Asalluḫe! Be adjured] by Damgalnunna! Be adjured by [Ḫendursanga,] the chief herald! [Be adjured by . . .!] Be adjured [by] . . .! Be adjured [by] . . .! Be [adjured by] Ningišzida, the chamberlain of the netherworld! [Be adjured by Ninurta, the] mighty warrior of Enlil! Be adjured [by (*four more similar lines*)!]

Notes

obv. 5. The *kamad*-demons are those whose names are compounded with the sign kamad (DÌM): Lamaštu, Labāṣu, Aḫḫāzu, Bibītu and Lilītu (George forthcoming b).

11. The deity listed between Enki (Amanki) and his spouse Damgalnunna can hardly be other than their son Asalluḫe.

12. Ḫendursanga is "chief herald" in the late zi—pàd incantations (Borger 1969: 14 §XXVII, see more generally George 2015a).

rev. 4. Restored from the zi—pàd passage of an Old Babylonian incantation against Lamaštu, *TIM* IX 63: 43' (ed. Tonietti 1979: 305).

II.B.5. No. 12d (Pl. XLI)

This spell is the fourth on an Old Babylonian collective tablet that is devoted to Namtar, the fate-demon. Its rubric identifies it is an incantation against him and its content is exorcistic. In fact Namtar is only one of several demons mentioned in a generic list of harmful forces already resident in the sufferer's body (iii 22'–26'). The magic of the incantation rests in the recollection that Enki once himself acted against the demons and drove them out of their victim (27'–31'). The retelling of the victory that Enki won in mythical time will itself have the power to repeat his success in the present, so replacing demonic possession with purity (32'–33').

col. iii

22' ^{d}udug-ḫul su l[ú]-kam gál-⌜la⌝
23' nam-tar su lú-kam gál-⌜la⌝
24' ^{d}kamad(DÌM)-me su lú-kam gál-⌜la⌝
25' sag-gig kur-ta sùḫ?-ta è
26' ^{d}kamad(DÌM)-me su lú-kam ba-ra-e$_{11}$-dè
27' en-gal ^{d}en-ki-ke$_{4}$ nam-tu-ra mu-na-te
28' mu-na-te ḫa-⌜la?⌝ ti-a-⌜ra⌝
29' a-a ^{d}en-ki nam-šub eridu^{ki}-ga
30' šu-ni-a ba-an-[šúm]-mu-uš
31' su lú-kam ba-ra-è
32' an-gin$_{7}$ ḫé-em-kù-ge ki-gin$_{7}$ ḫé-em-⌜sikil⌝
33' šà-an-na-gin$_{7}$ ḫé-em-⌜dadag-ge⌝
34' ka-inim-ma nam-tar-ra-kam

iii 22'–26' Evil *udug*-demon, residing in the man's body, Fate-demon, residing in the man's body, Kamadme-demon (Lamaštu), residing in the man's body, headache-(demon) coming out of the netherworld in the confusion(?), Kamadme-demon, you shall arise from the man's body! 27'–31' The great lord Enki drew nigh to the sickness, drew nigh . . . Father Enki [cast(!)] against them the spell of Eridu (that was) in his possession. They were expelled from the man's body. 32'–33' Let him be made holy as Sky, pure as Earth, clean as Sky's midst.

34' Spell against Namtar.

II.B.6. No. 12g (Pl. XLIII)

The seventh passage of text preserved on the more legible Old Babylonian Namtar compendium is the major part of an exorcistic Sumerian incantation of Asalluḫe-Enki type. The same incantation is preserved in full as the last text inscribed on an Old Babylonian collective tablet now in the Yale Babylonian Collection (*YOS* XI 70 iv), where its rubric reads ka-inim-ma udug-ḫul-a-kam. It does not occur on the Nippur sources of OB *Udug-ḫul* edited by M. J. Geller (1985) and has so far escaped edition. Accordingly its text is given here alongside No. 12g.

The incantation begins with a demonic attack on a sufferer, set in mythical time (v 19–20). Not all of it is understood, but the gruesome physical effects of the attack attract a swarm of *namtar*-demons, who gather like flies around the victim's chamber, ready to bear him off to the netherworld (21–26). As usual, Asalluḫe notices and reports the problem to his father, Enki. Enki makes a diagnosis and provides the solution in the form of a magic therapy (27–37). No. 12 breaks away at this point but Enki's therapy survives on the Yale tablet. The ritual involves common magic ingredients, such dust, soapwort and tamarisk, but the verbs are not as expected and other lines defy interpretation, so that the passage is poor in detail (12–18). The incantation continues with a command that the

demon leave its victim's body like a cloud passing across the sky (though the key verb is omitted), and ends with a standard injunction for evil to depart (19–21).

col. v

19 nam-kud-⸢da⸣-ni kin-gi$_4$-a [b]í-in-gi$_4$
20 lú nam-tar-ra gá-a-ni kin-gi$_4$-a bí-in-gi$_4$
21 ugu-ni nam-lú-ùlu zú bí-in-gu$_7$
22 ⸢kuš⸣ nam-lú-ùlu peš$_{11}$-⸢e⸣ dé-dé
23 igi lú-ùlu geštin-gin$_7$ sur-sur-e-da
24 šu-si lú ⸢zú⸣-lum šub-bu-da
25 sag ki!-lul?-bi-⸢šè ^{giš}⸣PA-gin$_7$ nam-tar gú mi-ni-ib-gar
26 ⸢^{giš}ig-e nu-gi$_4$⸣-a im-ma-da-ri
27 ^{d}⸢asal⸣-lú-ḫe igi im-ma-an-sì
28 a-a-ni ^{d}en-ki-ra é-e ba-ši-in-ku$_4$ gù mu-na-dé-e
29 a-a-mu ⸢nam⸣-kud-⸢da-ni kin⸣-gi$_4$-a bí-in-gi$_4$
30 a-rá mìn-kam-ma-aš ù-ub-dug$_4$
31 a-na ⸢íb-bé⸣-en-na-bi nu-zu a-na ⸢ba⸣-ni-ib-gi$_4$-gi$_4$
32 ⸢^{d}⸣en-⸢ki-ke$_4$ dumu⸣-ni ^{d}asal-lú-ḫe mu-na-ni-ib-gi$_4$-gi$_4$
33 [dumu-mu] ⸢a⸣-na [nu]-⸢e-zu⸣ a-na a-ra-ab-daḫ-⸢e⸣
34 [^{d}asal-lú-ḫe a-na n]u-e-zu a-na a-ra-ab-da[ḫ-e]
35 [níg gá-e zu-a-mu za]-⸢e⸣ in-gi$_4$-[zu]
36 [ù za-e zu-a gá-e] ì-[zu]
37 [gen-na dumu-mu . . .]x x [x (x)]

YOS XI 70 iv

1 nam-kud-da-ni kin-gi$_4$-a bí-gi$_4$
2 lú nam-tar-tar-ra-ma-ni kin-gi$_4$-a / bí-gi$_4$
3 ugu nam-lú-ùlu zú bí-gu$_7$
4 kuš nam-lú-ùlu peš-e-šè di-dè
5 igi lú geštin-gin$_7$ sur-sur-dè
6 šu-si lú zú-lum-gin$_7$ šu bu-da
7 sag ki-lul-la ú-a-gin$_7$
8 nam-⸢tar⸣ gú mi-ni-ib-gar
9 ^{giš}ig-e nu-gi$_4$ im-ma-da-ri
10 ^{d}asal-lú-ḫe igi im-ma-an-sì
11 níg gá-e za-mu ù gá-e zu
12 šà-šà-ga-na šu-bal ki-si gál
13 šu-bal ki-bi-še ⸢gál⸣
14 saḫar kaskal-la ⸢kuš?⸣-a di-di-dè
15 ^{giš}šinig ^{ú}in-nu-uš
16 im-ma-da-ri
17 íl-la kù-ga na bi-de$_5$
18 lú-ùlu pap-ḫal-la ù-me-du$_{10}$-um
19 lú-ùlu-bi á-sàg-ga-ni
20 muru$_9$ diri-ga-gin$_7$ <ḫé-eb-ta-è-dè>?
21 eme ḫul-gál bar-šè ḫé-em-ta-gub

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22 ka-inim-ma udug-ḫul-a-kam

v 19–22 One he had cursed (*or* one who had cursed him) sent a messenger, one a man had cursed(!) sent a messenger. It sank its fangs into the man's head, peeling(?) the man's skin like(!) a fig, squeezing juice out of the man's eyes like grapes, plucking off the man's fingers like dates. 25–26 Like heads piled up(?) at the place of a massacre, *namtar*-demons swarmed around, they came to the door, which could not repel them. 27–29 Asalluḫe saw and went home to his father Enki, saying: "O my father, one he had cursed (*or* one who had cursed him) sent a messenger." 30–31 After he had said a second time, "I do not know what to do about it! How does one react?", 32–36 Enki answered his son Asalluḫe, "[O my son,] what don't you know? What can I add? [Asalluḫe, what] don't you know? What can I add? What I know, you] also [know! And what you know (is what)] I too know. 37 [Come, my son:] *YOS* XI 70 iv 12–14 His insides are upside down, what is upside down should return to its proper place! In order to apply dust from a road onto (his) skin, 15–18 mix in(!) tamarisk and soapwort, consecrate it in a holy basket(?), rub(!) the suffering man with it. 19–21 [May] that man's *asag*-demon [depart] like a cloud floating away! May evil speech stand aside!"

22 Incantation formula against evil *udug*-demons.

Notes

12g v 22 // 70 iv 4. The understanding of peš$_{11}$ // peš as "fig" is owed to Jon Taylor. dé-dé // di-dé is of uncertain meaning in the context, and "peel" is just a guess. Peeled figs occur in an Assyrian source (Postgate 1987: 131).

v 23 // iv 5. See Proto-*Aa* 214:1 $^{\ulcorner\text{sú}\urcorner\text{-ur}}$sur = *ṣa-ḫa-tum* "to squeeze, press" (to obtain juice or oil).

v 24 // iv 6. See *Erimḫuš* II 215–16: [šu—b]u = *qa-ta-pu* "to pluck" (fruit), šu—bu-bu = *šá-ma-ṭu* "to strip" (dates).

70 iv 14. di-di for dé-dé?

70 iv 15–18. Compare, e.g., a remedy in a bilingual incantation against fever:

$^{\text{giš}}$šinig $^{\text{ú}}$in-nu-uš šu u-me-ti
bi-nu mar-ta-kal li-qé-e-ma
mur$_7$-gu . . . lú-bi-ke$_4$ u-me-ni-ùr-ùr
bu-u-di . . . šá amēli šú-a-tú muš-še-'-ma
Lambert 1970: 43 IV 7–11

Take tamarisk and soapwort and massage that man's shoulders, etc., with it.

20. The image of the *asag* departing like a floating cloud occurs in a similar context in an Ur III incantation (van Dijk and Geller 2003 no. 2 i 7).

II.B.7. No. 46 (Pl. CXIII), No. 12a (Pl. XLI) and No. 12f (Pl. XLIII)

The composition inscribed on tablet No. 46 belongs to a small group of Old Babylonian exorcistic texts that omit any historiola and begin *in medias res* with ritual instructions, as if related by Enki to Asalluḫe but without the preliminary formulaic dialogue. Two other such texts are *YOS* XI 72 (see Cavigneaux and Al-Rawi 1993: 177) and *VAS* XVII 2 (ed. Finkel 1999: 232). The former is a spell against evil *udug*-demons whose contents are partly shared with No. 46 (*YOS* XI 72: 1–4 // No. 46 obv. 4–9; 5–7 // rev. 5'–7'). *VAS* XVII 2 comprises ritual instructions to heal a bite in Sumerian, and the assurance of a favorable outcome.

Help in understanding No. 46 comes not only from the small tablet *YOS* XI 72 but in more considerable quantities from the collective tablet No. 12, which contains two incantations against Namtar with very similar passages (No. 46 obv. // No. 12a i 8'–21'; rev. 13'–19' // No. 12f v 1–7). A still-closer parallel is the first of the Namtar incantations on the collective tablet H 97 from Mê-Turan, of which a passage of twenty-one lines roughly coincides with the whole of No. 46 (No. 46 obv. // H 97 I 39–47, ed. Cavigneaux and Al-Rawi 1993: 180; rev. 5'–16' // H 97 I 48–59, ed. eid. 1993: 180–81). The reconstruction and translation of the text from these various sources are impeded by unorthodox spellings on No. 46 and H 97, and by damage to No. 12, and the following treatment is provisional. The three passages of text obtained from Nos. 12a, 12f and 46 are placed in the order suggested by the text of H 97.

The Namtar incantation that falls first on the Mê-Turan tablet has almost no duplicates in regular orthography.[1] Antoine Cavigneaux's fine edition of this baffling text is all the more a remarkable achievement. Its incipit is nam-tar ì-maḫ sag-ge$_6$ ba-tuš "Namtar had grown huge, it lay in wait for a head."[2] A variant of this incipit recurs at No. 12e (nam-tar ì-maḫ sag-e ⌜ba-te⌝ "Namtar had grown huge, it afflicted the head"), but there starts a different incantation. The incantation from Mê-Turan is a composite of more than the usual number of parts. It begins by identifying Namtar as responsible for headaches, and continues by describing the effect it had on a victim in mythical time. Asalluḫe (here named Asarre) saw what had happened from Abzu and, in an unusual passage, reported it not to his father Enki, but to the Enki-gods and

[1] Cavigneaux and Al-Rawi (1993: 193) noted *STVC* 10 iv as parallel to H 97 I 62–66. A duplicate of ll. 1–4 occurs on an unpublished Old Babylonian fragment from Nippur, UM 29-15-236 i, CDLI P256064.

[2] UM 29-15-236 i 2–3: nam-tar ì-maḫ sag-e ba-tuš.

Nunki-goddesses, the ancestral deities of Eridu. They in turn replied not to Asarre but to his mother, Damgalnunna. Being ancient and knowing all the primeval terrors of the universe, they warned of the danger that Namtar posed. Thus do the old: the passage has a literary analogue in Gilgameš, when the elders of Uruk try to dissuade the hero from taking on the monstrous Ḫumbaba. Meanwhile, Asarre had watched developments and reported what he saw a second time, on this occasion to Enki. The usual Asalluḫe-Enki dialogue ensues, and that is where the composite text presented here begins.

The ritual devised by Enki for Asalluḫe's use against Namtar is a composite of several techniques: contagious magic, command, isolation ritual and prayer. First he recommended rubbing seven lumps of bread dough on the patient, and disposing of the contaminated dough by placing them in baskets and selling them to "Headache" (i.e. Namtar himself), who will then take each basket off to a sacred brothel, a chain of events that must end in the evil being eliminated. The second weapon in Enki's armoury was direct address, in which the exorcist, standing in for Asalluḫe, called on the problem to depart. The third technique was to place a magic cordon around the sufferer, to form a temporary isolation chamber,[1] and then call on the gods to protect him, to bestow on him their favor, to show mercy and finally to restore to him those guardian spirits who can best aid and look after him.

No. 12a col. i		parallel ll. on H 97 I
1'	[^{d}en-ki-ke$_4$ dumu-ni ^{d}asa]l-lú-ḫ[e]	
2'	[mu-na-ni-ib]-⌜gi$_4$-gi$_4$⌝	
3'	[dumu-mu] ⌜a-na nu⌝-[e-zu] a-na a-ra-ab-daḫ-e	36
4'	⌜^{d}⌝asal-lú-ḫe [a-na nu-e-zu] ⌜a⌝-na a-ra-ab-daḫ-e	37
5'	[ní]g ⌜gá⌝-e zu-⌜a-mu⌝ za-e in-⌜gi⌝-zu	38
6'	⌜ù za-e⌝ z[u-a] gá-e ì-zu	
7'	g[en]-na dumu-mu	
8'	[ninda sag-g]á-ni ù-me-ri-su-ub	39
9'	[ninda] ⌜su⌝-[a-n]i ù-me-ri-⌜su⌝-ub	40
10'	sa[g-gig] ⌜ur-maḫ⌝-gin$_7$ li-bí-en-t[e]-⌜zi⌝	
11'	[nam-tar] ⌜túg-gin$_7$⌝ ù-mu-⌜na-ab-dul-e⌝	
12'	[ninda sag]-⌜gá⌝-a-ni ba-⌜ra-ab⌝-šub-ba-ta	41
13'	ninda ⌜su-a⌝-ni ba-ra-ab-šub-ba-ta	
14'	⌜gi-sag?⌝ ganba(⌜KI⌝.LAM)-šè? šu [b]i-ta	42
15'	[^{g}]^{i}⌜ku⌝-ru-ub ⌜imin⌝-na ⌜šu⌝ ba-ab-te	43
16'	[lú ^{gi}]⌜ku-ru⌝-ba ninda sa$_{10}$-sa$_{10}$-da-ni	44
17'	⌜sag⌝-[gig nu-dùg-ga] ḫé-em-⌜ma-ši-in-sa$_{10}$⌝-sa$_{10}$	45
18'	[x x x x-n]i im-⌜ma⌝-[x x x]	
19'	[x x x x x] šu ba-[(x)]-⌜ús⌝	

[1] Exactly as in late rituals such as *bīt mēseri* and *mīs pî*; this Old Babylonian evidence corrects Sallaberger's contention that the use of reed posts in magic was a later development (2005–6: 74).

20'	[nam-tar níg]-ḫul-dím-⸢ma-ka⸣-ni	
21'	[ka]r-⸢kid éš-dam⸣ ki kù-ga	47
22'	[ḫé]-⸢em⸣-ma-ši-⸢in⸣-ku$_4$-ku$_4$	47
23'	[x] ⸢x⸣ ba-te ki sikil-la-mu	
24'	⸢x x⸣ ki kù-ga ù-mu-e-ni-dùg	
25'	[k]a-inim-ma nam-tar-ra-kam	

No. 46		parallel ll.
obv.		on H 97 I
1	ninda sag-gá-na u$_4$-me-ri-⸢su⸣-ub	39
2	ninda su-a-na u$_4$-me-ri-su-ub	40
3	sag-gig u[r-m]aḫ-gin$_7$ e-ga-⸢zi⸣-zi	
4	nam-tar túg-gi[n$_7$] ⸢u$_4$⸣-me-en-ši-zi	
5	ninda sag-gá-[na ba-r]a-ab-su-su-ub-ba	41
6	ninda su-na b[a!-ra-a]b-su-su-ub-ba	
7	dub-sag ⸢lú-bi⸣-šè šu bi-ús	42
8	gu-ru-⸢up⸣ imin-àm šu ba-ab-te	43
9	lú gu-ru-up-pa ninda ⸢sa$_{10}$⸣-sa$_{10}$-/-ta-an-na	44
10	sag-gig nu-dùg-ga	45
11	ḫé-em-ma-ši-ib-sa$_{10}$-sa$_{10}$	45
12	eš-dam imin-nam šu bi-ús	
13	nam-tar níg-ḫul-dím-ma-ka-an-ni	
14	⸢kar-kid-da⸣ eš-dam k[ù-ga]	47
15	[ḫé-em-ma-ni]-⸢ib⸣-[ku$_4$-ku$_4$]	47
gap		
rev.		
1'	⸢da⸣-[. . .	
2'	KU? sag gìri ⸢nam⸣-l[ú-ùlu]	
3'	KU? sú-uḫ-ḫa gìri nam-lú-ù[lu]	
4'	gìri-⸢zu⸣ ḫa-pa-ni-ib-⸢duḫ⸣	
5'	sag-gig-ga ri-⸢šè⸣ ḫé-em-mi-e	48
6'	bu-⸢luḫ-šè⸣ ḫa-pa-si-il-le	49
7'	ú-sa li-ib ⸢su⸣-a gá-ga-de	50
8'	ḫé-em-ma-da-dúb-bé	50
9'	lú gig su-na túg-gin$_7$ ḫé-em-ta-si	
10'	ul-le-gar-re nam-da-⸢ak⸣-ke$_4$	53
11'	[^{gi}ù]ri nam-išib ^{d}suen-na	54
12'	⸢é-šè⸣ u$_4$-mu-un-ni-ru-ub	54
13'	^{giš}⸢ùri⸣-gal-gin$_7$ ⸢ḫu⸣-mu-un-da-/-rú-rú	55
14'	⸢^{d}nanna⸣ bàd-gal-gin$_7$ en-na-gá-ni ḫé!(tablet: bi)-/-me-en	56
15'	⸢níg-sa$_6$⸣-ga-ni níg bi⸣-ri-gi	58
16'	^{d}ašnan ^{d}kù-sù-gin$_7$ níg-ta / bi-ri-e-a	59
17'	utu-è-gin$_7$ u$_4$-me-ri-gub	
18'	tu-ra su-na gál-la su-na-⸢ta⸣	
19'	im-ma-ra-e-de	

No. 12f col. v		parallel ll. on H 97 I
1	⸢ùri-gal-gin$_7$⸣ [ḫu-mu]-⸢un⸣-[da-rú-rú]	55
2	^{d}nanna ⸢bàd⸣-gal-gin$_7$ en-nu-⸢gá⸣-ni ḫé-à[m]	56
3	⸢níg⸣-sa$_6$-ga-ni kur-šè ba-an-ku$_4$-re	58
4	^{d}ašnan ^{d}kù-sù-gin$_7$ an-ta ba-e-ri-è	59
5	pa-a-gin$_7$ ù-me-e-ri-e$_{11}$-dè	60
6	tu-⸢ra su⸣-ni-ta gál-la-àm	
7	su-a-ni ḫé-em-ma-ra-e$_{11}$-dè	
8	me-lám-bi ⸢su⸣-a-ni gál-la-àm	61
9	dug-gin$_7$ ù-me-ta-gaz	61
10	giš-gi-a-ni ki-bi um-me-gin$_7$	62
11	dím-ma sa$_6$-ga-ni igi-a UD nu-mu-un-da-ab-bé	63
12	šà-a-ni-⸢šà⸣-a-ni šà-gig ḫé-⸢gaz?⸣	64
13	sag šu-gar-ra ^{d}en-ki-⸢ke$_4$⸣	66
14	nam-tar lú níg-ḫul-dím-ma-ka-ni	
15	bar-šè ⸢ḫé⸣-em-ta-gub	
16	^{d}udug sa$_6$-ga ^{d}lamma sa$_6$-ga	
17	⸢x⸣-en-na ḫé-em-da-⸢su$_8$⸣-su$_8$-ge-eš	
18	⸢ka⸣-inim-ma ⸢nam⸣-tar-ra-kam	

12a 1′–7′ [Enki] answered [his son] Asalluḫe: "[My son,] what do you not [know,] what can I add? Asalluḫe, [what do you not know,] what can I add? What I know, you know too! And what you know, I know (too)! Come, my son —

46 obv. "Rub bread dough on his head, rub bread dough on his body. Though the headache (still) attacks like a lion, and Namtar (still) covers him like a cloth, after you have set aside (*var.* rubbed) the bread dough of his head, after you have set aside (*var.* rubbed) the bread dough of his body, lay hold of a *dubsang* for the market (*var.* that man), take seven baskets, and while the man is placing the bread dough for sale in the baskets, make the unpleasant headache-demon buy them from him. Knock at (the doors of) seven brothels, make the Namtar who does him evil enter the brothels, holy places, with a prostitute. . . .

46 rev. 1′–9′ "May the . . . of a human's foot split your foot! May he expel the headache into the distance! May he burp it out as a belch! May he smite down the sleep and torpor afflicting (his) body! May the man strip off the sickness of his body like a garment!

46 rev. 10′–19′ "What was established of old one should do! Set up the [reed] posts of Sîn's purification priest to form a chamber! May they be set up together like large wooden posts! May Nanna be his protection, like a great wall! Make that which brings him good fortune enter the netherworld, come forth from heaven like Ašnan and Kusu, be present like the rising sun, so the sickness that resides in his body may depart from his body! 12f v 8–17 Shatter like a pot its supernatural aura that is in his body! Restore his limbs to their former health! His fine reason must speak nonsense(?) no more! May his supplications defeat the stomach ailment! By the good grace of Enki the Namtar who does him evil shall stand aside! May a kind *udug*-spirit and a kind *lamma*-spirit stand at his . . .!"

12f v 18 Incantation formula against Namtar.

Notes

12a i 10'. The verbal prefix chain is highly strange. Negative li- is precluded; I assume contamination by Akkadian concessive *li-*.

12a i 14' // 46 obv. 7. The difficult opening words are elsewhere pú-sag kalam-ma-ke$_4$ (*YOS* XI 72: 2) and tùr-sag kalam-ma (H 97 I 42); see further Cavigneaux and Al-Rawi 1993: 191. The indicative forms, here and in some of the following lines, are awkward and seem to be an error, though H 97 has them too.

12a i 15' // 46 obv. 8. Other versions have gú-ru-ub (H 97 I 43) and gurun (*YOS* XI 72: 3); see further Cavigneaux and Al-Rawi 1993: 191–92.

46 obv. 12. For šu—ús "to knock" on a door, see the classic instance, Inanna's Descent 74: ^{giš}ig kur-ra-ka šu ḫul ba-ab-ús "she knocked aggressively on the door of the netherworld."

46 rev. 3'. KU.sú-uḫ-ḫa is perhaps a corruption of ^{kuš}súḫub "boot."

46 rev. 9'. si = *šaḫāṭum*.

46 rev. 10'. This line introduces a traditional ritual, so the context is against translating the preformative /na/ with the *marû* as negative, na-(i)m-da-ak-e "one should not do it." Instead it seems to be an exceptional use of non-negative /na/ with the *marû*. See Civil 2000: 38: "occasionally, one can find instances of affirmative na-prefix whose exact function is not completely clear. Possibly they are desemanticized uses inserted for rhetorical effect."

46 rev. 12'. H 97 I 55 has šutug-šè ú-bi-ni-ru "plant them to form a reed hut."

46 rev. 15'–16' // 12f v 3–4. Here H 97 I 58–59 has forms of the verbs with preformative /u/, the polite imperative, preferable to the indicatives of our versions.

12f v 8. H 97 I 61 can now be read as me-lem-bí.

12f v 10. giš-gi-a-ni for giš-ge-en-na; -gin$_7$ for -gi$_4$.

12f v 11. H 97 I 63 differs: šu-ne um-me-šum "give into his keeping."

12f v 12. šà-a-ni-šà-a-ni for šà-ne-ša$_4$ (see *STVC* 10 iv 4', as restored by Cavigneaux and Al-Rawi 1993: 193).

12f v 17. With the strange en-na cf. II.A.8 No. 6i 42: EN-mu-un-da-su$_8$-su$_8$-ge-eš.

II.B.8. No. 22c–d (Pl. LXVII), No. 28c (Pl. LXXVII) and No. 10g (Pl. XXXV)

Text No. 22 holds two Old Babylonian Sumerian incantations against the demon Lamaštu in her name Kamadme. This unsavoury being was believed to prey on pregnant women and newborn babies, and was held responsible for the deaths of both (Farber 1983, Wiggermann 2000). The first spell, which also occurs on No. 28, is partly parallel to an incantation known from tablets now in Baghdad and Oxford (*TIM* IX 63: 17'–23' // *OECT* V 55, ed. Tonietti 1979: 304–5; Farber 2014: 196–97). It is an ancestor of an Akkadian spell frequently inscribed on apotropaic amulets (e.g. II.B.10 No. 63) and handed down in the late Lamaštu compendium as its first incantation (I 1–8, ed. Farber 2014: 68–70). It identifies the demon by her names and commands her by all the powers of the cosmos to fly away. On both tablets the text is very corrupt and it is possible to give a coherent translation of only parts of the incantation.

The second Lamaštu incantation on No. 22 is also partly preserved on the collective tablet No. 10. It is also related to a Lamaštu spell common on amulets (e.g. II.B.10 No. 62) and included as the tenth incantation in the late Lamaštu series (II 129–34, ed. Farber 2014: 114–15), and in bilingual form in a zi—pàd compendium (Borger 1969: 12 §XXII). It begins by identifying Lamaštu as the late versions do, associating her with other malevolent forces (No. 22d ii 14'–18'), but then introduces a benign figure, the Lady who Hears Prayers (19'–24'). The continuation is lost, but it can be assumed that the latter is instrumental in banishing Lamaštu, for her epithet "lady who gives birth" identifies her as a mother goddess and places her in exact opposition to the demon.

No. 22c

col. ii

7′ ^{d}kamad(DÌM)-me-⸢{me}⸣ mu d[umu an-na]

8′ ^{d}⸢šeš x x⸣ dumu sila [úrim^{ki}?]

9′ ^{d}bu-ul-sur-ru-uš sa[g x x]

10′ ^{d}ši-bil-la-šu-dul šu m[u-un-bar?]

11′ ^{d}nin šà-ga ga-x[x x]

12′ zi an-na an-ki-⸢a⸣ ḫ[é-pàd?]

13′ ki mušen an-[na-ka ḫé-dal-e]

No. 28c

28 ^{d}ka-⸢ma!-ad⸣-ge-⸢en⸣ mu dumu a[n-na]

29 ^{d}šeš AŠ dingir [dumu sila] ú-ri-in-[k]e$_4$

30 ^{d}bu-an-šu[b x]x ⸢x x⸣-ra

31 ⸢^{d}x x x x libir?⸣-ra šu-si in-⸢x⸣

32 ^{d}en-na$_4$ šà i-zi ⸢x x x⸣

33 zi ⸢dingir an-ki⸣-a ḫe-ab-[pàd?]

34 ki [mu]-ši-en an-[na-(ka)]

35 ḫa!(tablet: A)-⸢ba-da⸣-[la?]

ii 7′–13′ Kamadme (*var.* Kamadgen) is (her) name, child [of An,] sister of the divine street-children of Ur, . . . (*three lines not translated*). May she be [adjured] by the gods(!) of heaven and earth, may she fly away with the birds of the sky!

No. 22d

col. ii

14′ nin kin-gi$_4$-a [^{d}a-nun-na-ke$_4$-ne]

15′ mu pa-è-a [dingir-re-e-ne]

16′ inim nir-g[ál] ⸢nin⸣-[a]-⸢ni⸣-ni

17′ ⸢šu mu⸣-[un]-⸢dab$_5$ á⸣-sàg g[i]g-g[a]

18′ ⸢u$_{18}$-lu-da dugud⸣-dè nam-lú-ùlu-ke$_4$ kéš

19′ ^{d}kamad(DÌM)-me-⸢en⸣ nin a-ra-zu giš-tuku

20′ lum-lum-a-bi a-a-ba-⸢ke$_4$⸣

21′ lam-lam-a-bi x mu-un-na-ke$_4$

22′ nin-un nin ⸢ù⸣-tu-da

23′ dumu-m[a]ḫ an-na dub-sag-gin$_7$

24′ lum-me x[x] ⸢x⸣-gin$_7$

25′ traces only

No. 10g

col. vii

13′ nin ki-en-gi$_4$-a ^{d}a-nun-⸢na-ke$_4$⸣-ni

14′ mu pa-è dingir-re-e-ne

15′ inim nir-⸢gál⸣ nin-a-ni-ni

16′ šu mu-⸢un-dab$_5$⸣ á-sàg gig-ga

17′ ⸢u$_{18}$⸣-l[u (da)] dugud-da

18′ . . . kéš

14′–25′ The lady, envoy of the Anunna-gods, whose names are most manifest among the gods, whose word is supreme among their queens, has taken hold (of a victim). A malevolent *asag*-demon, with a grievous *ulu*-demon, inflicted on mankind, you are Kamad(me) (Lamaštu)! The Lady who Hears Prayers, in blooming she is (like) the sea, in fruiting she makes . . ., the exalted lady, lady who gives birth, like the foremost supreme child of An, . . . (*remainder lost*)

Notes on No. 22c–d

ii 7′. On ^{d}kamad(DÌM)-me and the variant spelling of No. 28c, see George forthcoming b.

15′–16′. In the later version of these lines (e.g. II.B.10 No. 62, SB Lamaštu II 129–30) mu pa-è-(a) becomes mu pàd-da and inim nir-gál nin-a-ni-ni becomes nin nir-gál nin-e-ne-ke$_4$.

17′. The diagnosis of seizure is also expressed in Lamaštu incantation 13 (II 196, ed. Farber 2014: 184): ù-tud-a in-dab "she has seized the newborn."

18′. The later version omits -da and kéš.

19′. Compare Nin-arazu, a manifestation of Ištar in the god-lists (Cavigneaux and Krebernik 2000a). A late amulet makes the latter part of the line an epithet of Lamaštu (Am 9, ed. Farber 2014: 116): ^{d}kamad-me giš-tuku a-ra-zu "K. who hears prayers." I have rejected such an interpretation here, because Lamaštu belongs to a class of being which does not respond to prayer but must be adjured by magic means.

20′–21′. The juxtaposition of the near synonyms lum and lam also occurs in a lullaby, Šulgi N

(see Black 2003: 38), and in a hymn to Ninisinna (van Dijk 1975: 77 l. 22: šu-gìri ág lum-ma-lam-ma-ni).

II.B.9. No. 37 (Pl. C)

The two short spells on this Old Babylonian tablet lack rubrics. Each is preceded by a strange sequence of signs, ⸢AN⸣ GIDIM ḪUR É in l. 1 and U-*gunû* AN GIDIM ḪUR É in l. 10. Often incantations are preceded by the formula (tu$_6$) én-é-nu-ru, and it may be suspected that the sequence somehow represents that formula: U-*gunû* AN certainly represents én(U+AN), é is displaced to the end, and ḪUR (= ur$_5$) suggests the syllable or bisyllable /ur(u)/. Only the second sign in the sequence has no obvious connection with the formula. There are many spelling variants of the formula in the Old Babylonian corpus but none is so far removed, in graphic composition and phonological reality, from the conventional spelling as this.

The first incantation (1–9) is a version of a well-known spell last studied by Cavigneaux in publishing an exemplar excavated at Sippar (Cavigneaux and Al-Rawi 1994: 73–82). The spell is characterized by a passage of an unidentified language (ll. 6–7), perhaps Elamite (van Dijk 1982: 101–2), but otherwise explained as mumbo jumbo evolved from foreign personal names (Lambert 1983; Finkel 2014: 62–63). It is the rhyming abracadabra that was evidently considered to communicate effectively with demonic powers. As demonstrated by Tonietti (1979: 309–13), this incantation has contents in common with known Lamaštu incantations. The present exemplar was certainly intended to repel the demon Lamaštu, for it mentions her by name.

The second spell (10–16), which is notable for corruption, is no doubt also aimed at Lamaštu. It makes the demon swear on the cosmic powers not to eat or drink unless she leaves her victim's body.

obv.

1 ⸢AN⸣ GIDIM ḪUR É ḫé-da-da
2 ^{d}en-líl ^{d}nin-líl
3 ^{d}en-ki ^{d}nè-eri$_{11}$-gal
4 ^{d}kamad(DÌM)-me-{en} ḫé-me-en
5 ^{d}kamad(DÌM)-duru$_5$ ḫé-me-en
6 *zi-la-aḫ zi-il-zi-la-aḫ*
7 *zi-la-aḫ nu-me-ra-aḫ*
8 ^{d}asal-lú-ḫe dumu eridu^{ki}-ga-/-ke$_4$
9 nu-mu-un-da-búr-e
10 U-*gunû* AN GIDIM ḪUR É
11 éš bar-ra-ta ninda nu-gu$_7$-a / a nu-un-nag-a
12 zi an-na ḫé-šub-ba

lower edge

13 zi ki-a ḫé-šub-ba
14 zi ^{d}utu di-kud kalam-ma / ḫé-šub-ba

rev.

15 zi ^{d}en-líl [ḫé-šub-ba]
16 zi ^{d}⸢nin⸣-líl ⸢ḫé-šub⸣-[ba]

1–9 . . . May it become clean (*or* leave)! (By) Enlil, Ninlil, Enki, Nergal: be you Kamadme, be you Kamadru, *zilaḫ zilzilaḫ zilaḫ numeraḫ*! Let not (even) Asalluḫe, son of Eridu, be able to undo (this spell)!

10–16 . . . As long as you do not depart(!), no eating bread, no drinking water! Be adjured by Sky, be adjured by Earth, be adjured by Utu, the judge of the land, [be adjured] by Enlil, be adjured by Ninlil!

Notes

1. ḫé-da-da for ḫé-dadag or ḫé-tak$_4$-tak$_4$: see Cavigneaux and Al-Rawi 1994: 74.

11. éš bar-ra-ta is corrupt for standard en-na ba-ra-an-ta-re-en-na-aš (e.g. OB *Udug-ḫul* 446) or similar. Comparable clauses also occur in Lamaštu incantations, intelligible (*TIM* IX 63 obv. 8', ed. Tonietti 1979: 304; LB 1005: 9, ed. p. 309), and corrupt (No. 36: 18'–19', over erasures: en di eridu^{ki} bar-an-ta-re-na-aš / sa bar-an!-ta-re-na-aš).

12–16. ḫé-šub-ba for standard ḫé-pàd.

II.B.10. Nos. 62–63 (Pls. CXXXVII–CXXXVIII)

The texts incised on two of the collection's Lamaštu amulets are both well-known incantations. No. 62 has the beginning of a Sumerian spell addressed to her as Kamadme. It is carried on such other Assyrian and Babylonian amulets as AO 8184 (Thureau-Dangin 1921: 195) and *KAR* 86, and incorporated in the Standard Babylonian Lamaštu compendium as the tenth incantation of the series (II 129–30, ed. Farber 2014: 114–15). No. 63 carries an Akkadian spell found on several other Assyrian and Babylonian amulets, including examples published by Thureau-Dangin (1921: 198) and Heeßel (2002: 99–100); the spell occurs at the beginning of the Lamaštu compendium (I 1–8, ed. Farber 2014: 68–69). For the label inscribed on the lug see the description of the amulet in Part I.

No. 62

1 ^{d}kamad(DÌM)-me
2 dumu an-na
3 mu pàd-da
4 dingir-e-ne-ke$_4$
5 nin nir-gál
6 nin-e-n[e]

Kamadme, daughter of An, chosen one of the gods, queen, most majestic of queens.

No. 63

1 én ^{d}*lamaštu*(kamad-me) *mārat*(dumu) ^{d}*a-nim*
2 *šum*(mu)-*šá* 1-*en*
3 2-*ú a-ḫat ilī*(dingir)^{meš} *šá sūqāti*(sila)^{meš}
4 3-*šú patru*(gír) *šá qaqqada*(sag-du) *ú-lat-tu-u*
5 4-*u šá išāta*(izi) *i-nap-pa-ḫu*
6 5-*šú il-tum šá* <*pānū*(igi)>^{meš}-[*šá*]
7 ⸢*šak*⸣-*ṣu* 6-*šú pa-qid* [*qāti*]
8 *li-qat ir-ni-*[*na*]
9 7-*u nīš*(mu) *ilī*(dingir)^{meš} (traces, *rabûti* expected)
10 *lu* ⸢*ta*⸣- (traces, *tamâti* expected)
11 (traces, *itti iṣṣūr šamê lū tapparraši* expected)

Spell. Lamaštu: Daughter of Anu is her first name. Second is Sister of the Gods of the Streets. Third is Knife that Cleaves the Head. Fourth is One who Kindles Fire. Fifth is Goddess whose Face is Furious. Sixth is Entrusted to the Hand. Adopted by Irnina is the seventh. Be adjured by the [great] gods, [fly away with the birds of the sky!]

Note

The matching of ordinal numbers and epithets in the incantation on No. 63 is open to other interpretations; see differently Heeßel 2002: 100; Farber 2014: 198.

II.B.11. No. 67 (Pl. CXL)

The main part of the eight-line text inscribed on this pierced chalcedony bead is a Sumerian prophylactic incantation, an abbreviation of spell no. 2 in the compendium *Ḫulbazizi* (ll. 1–6 // *STT* 214 i 5–7 // *Uruk* III 82 i 3–4 // K 255+ i 5–8, etc., ed. Finkel 1976: 82–83). A similarly abbreviated text occurs on at least two other amulets, both of the Lamaštu type (*BIN* II 14 and a plaque in private ownership, Finkel 1976 pl. 45).

The last two lines, in Akkadian, do not belong to the incantation but are added to identify the bead as a charm worn to keep the bearer in the good regard of his superiors, immortal and mortal. The piece thus belongs to a category of amulet traditionally made of a material listed in Neo-Babylonian scholia above the rubric (*BAM* 419 i 4'–5'): *abnāt*(na$_4$)^{meš} *uz-zu ilī*(dingir)^{meš} *šarri*(lugal) *kabti*(idim) *rubê*(nun) *ana amēli*(lú) *là ṭeḫê*(te) "stones that prevent anger of gods, king, noble and prince from affecting a man." Unfortunately, only two of the six stones that precede this rubric survive in the text (na$_4$-PA = *ayartu* and ^{na_4}*zi*-é = *zibītu*), and neither of them is certainly any kind of chalcedony.

The last line (l. 8) is a standard injunction in Akkadian that malign forces do not act. What is missing is the customary object for *lā ṭeḫê*, e.g. *ana amēli* "on the man." This object I propose to find in the problematic l. 7, where two different

spellings repeat a trisyllabic sequence /šamšilu/. The trisyllable is here interpreted as the name Šamšī-ilu, given first as the charm's owner and again as the object of *lā ṭeḫê*. Neither spelling in l. 7 matches those attested for the best-known person of this name, the Šamšī-ilu who was *tartānu* of Assyria for much of the first half of the eighth century BC (Baker 2008), but the identification is plausible nevertheless. As a courtier of the highest rank, a *tartānu* certainly had need of protection from royal displeasure.

1 én-é-nu-ru!
2 sil$_7$(EZEN.LAL) lú-érim-ma
3 tu-lu lú-ḫul-gál
4 igi máš-sag ^{d}nin-urta-ke$_4$
5 lú ^{d}nin-urta me-en
6 nam-ba-te-gá tu$_6$!(SAG) én-é-nu-ru
7 *ša šam-ši-lu* <*ana*> ^{d}*šamši*(utu)-*lu*
8 *ša*(níg) *ili*(dingir) *u šarri*(lugal) *uzzu*(mir) *lā*(nu) *ṭeḫê*(te)

1–4 *Enenuru*-spell. Be gone, evil one, go hence, wicked one! Before the lead-goat Ninurta! 5–6 I am the man of Ninurta! Do not come near! *Tu-Enenuru*.
7–8 Belonging to Šamšī-ilu. So that the wrath of god and king does not affect Šamšī-ilu.

II.B.12. Nos. 69–70 (Pl. CXLI)

Two miniature clay cylinders are inscribed in Neo-Assyrian script with an incantation to Ninurta as the star Sirius that is an abbreviation of spell no. 18 in the compendium *Ḫulbazizi* (*STT* 215 i 65–69 // *Uruk* III 82 i 39–41 // *KAR* 88 frag. 3 iv 10'–14' // K 255+ ii 5–9, etc., ed. Finkel 1976: 92–95; see also Mayer 1976: 431 Kaksisa 6). The spell also occurs in the related compendium *KAR* 76 obv. 14–19 (ed. Ebeling 1953: 403–4, coll. Finkel 1976 pl. 62).

Several other Assyrian clay-cylinder amulets bear much the same text (Reiner 1960: 154–55 n. 11; Finkel 1976: 295–304). Some of them have archaeological provenances, e.g. TM unnumbered and TM 1931–1932, 27, found in Area SH at Nineveh during the British Museum's excavations conducted by R. Campbell Thompson and Max Mallowan in 1931–32 (Thompson 1940: 109–10, Lambert and Millard 1968: 80 BM 134604, Finkel 1976 pl. 44); and BM 131981, excavated by Mallowan in the Governor's Palace at Nimrud in 1949 (= ND 280; Wiseman 1950: 197, Postgate 1973: 258). Two exemplars, now lost to sight, were published in 1898 as the smallest cuneiform inscriptions then known (Scheil 1898: 200–2). Other Assyrian clay-cylinder amulets inscribed with incantations to Sirius and now in the British Museum are 85-4-8, 1 (King 1896a: xxiv n. 1, Budge 1922: 209 no. 3, Reiner 1960: 155 n. 11, Finkel 1976 pl. 42), BM 103058 (Finkel 1976 pl. 43), and BM 131980, found at Nimrud by Mallowan in 1951 (= ND 1103; Wiseman 1952: 63, 68, Postgate 1973: 263, Finkel 1976 pl. 44). All bear versions of *Ḫulbazizi* no. 18, except the last, which is inscribed with *Ḫulbazizi* no. 19 (ed. Finkel 1976: 94–95).

Some clay-cylinder amulets are personalized with the wearer's name. Others have a blank space for a name which was never filled in. Still others, like the present examples, deploy the all-purpose phrase *annanna mār annanna* "So-and-so, son of So-and-so," the generic style used in textbooks. No doubt this was the cheapest model.

No. 69

1 én ^{mul}*šukūdu*(kak-si-sá) *šumšu*(mu-e-[ne])
2 [*m*]*u-šá-lil ṣēri*(edin) *muš-te-'u*!
3 *ur-ḫe-e-ti*
4 *mu-šak-lil mim-ma šum-šú*
5 ^{giš}*miṭṭu*(tukul-dingir) *šá ina pān*(igi) ^{giš}*kakki*(tukul)
6 [*n*]*a-an-du-ru te-bu-*{x}*-ú*
7 *a-na ananna*(nenni) *mār*(a) *annanna*(nenni) l[ú-zi]-⸢zi⸣
8 nam-ba-te-gá-e-d[è]

1–6 Spell. "Arrow-star" is its name, which whoops the war-cry, frequents the roads and finishes every task, mace that is raised aloft in fury when confronted with an armed attack.
7–8 Against So-and-so, son of So-and-so, let no assailant come near!

Note

2. edin "countryside" is an inferior variant for other exemplars' murub$_4$ // *qab-li* "combat."

No. 70 (partly illegible)

1 én mul x
2 x x x
3 *mu-šá-lil* x
4 kin x x
5 *ur-*⌜*he-tú*⌝
6 *mu*-x x x x
7 *šùm-šú* ^{giš}*me-ṭu šá*
8 *ana kakki*(tukul!) *na-an-du-ru*
9 *tebû*(zi)" *a-na ananna*(nenni)
10 *là teṭeḫḫâ*(te)$^{a?}$ lú?.zi?.a
11 *a-a* x x-*a*?
12 en? nu e

II.C. INCANTATIONS TO COUNTER THE EVIL EYE

Like many traditional cultures, the Babylonians believed in the malign force of the glance, the "evil eye." It was held responsible for all manner of bad happenings, particularly minor accidents and when things did not work as they should (see Thomsen 1992). Consequently incantations were deployed to protect against the evil eye and to counter its harm.

Five Akkadian evil-eye incantations of the Old Babylonian period are published in this volume: the three edited in this section of Part II and the fragmentary Nos. 21f and 31b (see the descriptions in Part I). They add considerably to the extant corpus, for evil-eye incantations are rare in all periods, especially in Akkadian (see Geller 2003: 116; add an Old Assyrian exemplar from Kültepe, kt 94/k 520, ed. Barjamovic and Larsen 2008). Two Old Babylonian evil-eye incantations in Akkadian have already been published, one lacking provenance and acquired by the British Museum in 1931 (Farber 1981: 60–71), the other excavated at Sippar in 1979 (Cavigneaux and Al-Rawi 1994: 85–87; Al-Rawi and Dalley 2000: 108 no. 102). A later Akkadian incantation is known from two Neo-Assyrian tablets found in separate locations at Aššur before the first world war (Geller 2004). At the other end of history, note ⌜igi-ḫul⌝ "evil eye" listed as a demonic force in the Early Dynastic incantation II.B.1 No. 1c iv 1, and an Old Akkadian exorcistic ritual from Susa for the expulsion of *e-nam la-mun-tám* "evil eye" (*MDP* XIV 90, cf. Farber 1981: 52; Cavigneaux 1995a: 58).

II.C.1. No. 7g (Pl. XXIII) // 8c (Pl. XXVIII)

This incantation survives on two Old Babylonian collective tablets and follows the same dog incantation on both. It has nothing in common with the other known Akkadian incantations against the evil eye, aside from the general theme of its disruptive effect (see on this Thomsen 1992: 22, Geller 2003: 118–20). The eye, acting in concert with the god Enki, takes advantage of a misty day, when the sun is obscured, to occupy a man's house (No. 8c i 24'–27'). It makes a nuisance of itself, causing accidents and making animals and people unable to carry out their normal functions (28'–37'). The end of the incantation is too damaged to yield connected sense (38'–42').

The spell is composed in pairs of poetic lines, making pronounced use of alliteration in the opening lines, and of syntactic and thematic parallelism throughout.

No. 7g
col. iii

21' *i-nu-ma i-nu-um i-ḫu-zu* [*a-ḫ*]*i-*⌜*za-am*⌝
22' ⌜*ù*⌝ ^{d}en-ki *a-*⌜*ḫi*⌝*-za-am i-ḫu-uz*
23' ⌜*i*⌝*-ḫu-*⌜*uz*⌝ *ib-ba-ru-*⌜*um*⌝
24' [*i-in* ^{d}utu]⌜*ši*⌝ *il*?⌝*-mi*

No. 8c

col. i

24' *i-nu-ma i-nu-um i-ḫu-*⸢*zu*⸣ *a-ḫi-za-am*
25' *ù* ^{d}en-ki *a-ḫi-za-am i-ḫu-uz*
26' *i-ḫu-uz ib-ba-ru-um i-in* ⸢^{d}⸣*šamši*(utu)^{ši}
27' *ù i-nu-um bi-it a-wi-lim i-*⸢*ḫu*⸣*-uz*
28' ⸢*iz*⸣*-zi-iz-ma i-na ba-ab a-wi-lim*
29' [*e*]*-ri-ba-am ik-bu-us wa-ṣi-a-am ik-bu-/-* [*u*]*s*
30' [*sà?*]*-ar-ru-ti!-i*[*š?* x x x x] x [x]
31' [*za-a*]*b-bi-lam!* [*i-na*] ⸢*su*⸣*-pu-ri-*[*im*]
32' [*al-pa*]*-am ša-di-da-am ik-l*[*a*]
33' [*ša-ḫa*]*-a-am da-an-n*[*am*]
34' [*ú-na-a*]*s-sí-ḫa-am ši-e-pi-i-*⸢*šu*⸣
35' [*ik-sí?-m*]*a mu-uš-ta-ap-ṣa-am*
36' [*i-na*] *i-di-šu*
37' [*ik-sí? la*]*-sí-ma-am i-na bi-*⸢*ir*⸣*-ki-šu*
38' [x x x] *i-nam le-mu-ut-ta-am*
39' [x x] x-*zu?-nim*
40' [x *k*]*a-aš-ša-ap-ta-am*
41' [x x x]x-*bi ṣe-e-re-sà*
42' [x x x]x-*de-e ù* x-*di-ta*
43' [(tu$_6$) én]-é-nu-ru

44' [ka-ini]m-ma *i-nu-um*

---

i 24' When the eye seized the "seizer,"
25' then Enki also seized the "seizer."
26' A fog seized the eye of the sun, (*No. 7 adds*: it encircled it)
27' and the eye seized a man's house.
28' It stood in the man's doorway,
29' it trod on the one coming in, it trod on the one going out.
30' By deceit(?) [it . . . 31' the load]-bearer. [In] the stall 32' it detained the draught-ox,
33'–34' it pulled out the mighty pig's feet (from under it).
35'–36' It bound(?)] the wrestler [by] his arms,
37' [it bound(?)] the runner by his legs.
38'–43' [. . .] the evil eye [. . .] . . ., witch [. . .] her teat [. . .] . . . [(*Tu*)]-*Enenuru*-spell.
44' Incantation-formula (against the evil) eye.

Notes

iii 21'–22' // i 24'–25'. *āḫizum* signifies an "informant" in the Mari letters (Birot 1993: 63–64), but that does not seem appropriate here. The cognate verb describes affliction by the evil-eye in an Old Assyrian incantation, kt 94/k 520: 11–16 (ed. Barjamovic and Larsen 2008: 145).

i 30'–31'. The reconstruction is uncertain, and presumes an unusual disjunction between syntax and line-division.

i 33'–34'. "Pig" is restored (rather than [*sí-sà*]*-a-am* "horse") because ox and pig feature together in the Old Babylonian Akkadian evil-eye incantation from Sippar, where both are incapacitated by the eye (Cavigneaux and Al-Rawi 1994: 85 ll. 5–6): *im-ḫa-aṣ* gu$_4$ . . . *im-ḫa-aṣ* šaḫ. The later incantation from Aššur replaces this pair with ox and donkey, and the pig's attribute is transferred to the ox (Geller 2004: 55 ll. 9–10): *ša* gud-níta *dan-ni* . . . *ša* anše-níta *a-li-ki* . . .

II.C.2. No. 31c–d (Pls. LXXXV, LXXXVII)

Another Old Babylonian collective tablet holds two consecutive Akkadian incantations. The beginning of the first is lost, but it clearly describes the disruption that the evil eye caused on one occasion, as it passed through a house, from the courtyard where the animals were stabled (ii 26'–iii 5), to the hearth or brazier around which the household gathered (6–7).[1] The eye's progress is interrupted by two clauses that report on other of its undesirable talents, which are drawn from the repertoire of incantations to ward off the demon Lamaštu (8–11). Back inside the house it destroyed the shrine of the household gods (12–15). The voice of the incantation invites them to punish the eye by throwing it off the premises (16–20).

The incantation is noteworthy for two ambiguities, both exploiting the imprecision

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[1] On this passage through the house in related Akkadian incantations see van der Toorn 1999: 141–43.

inherent in the writing of the syllables /bu/ and /pu/. First the eye saw a vessel for liquids, *bukīnum* (later *buginnu*), and as a consequence turned a friend into the opposite: an embittered or deceitful person (iii 4–5). At first sight this is *non sequitur*, for the effect of the eye should not be random, but subvert function. A logical connection only emerges when *bukīnum* is reinterpreted as *pû(m) kīnum* "loyal talk," for it is entirely in keeping with the evil eye's subversive effect that where it found loyalty it would leave disloyalty.

Were it not for the precedent set by *bukīnum* : *pû(m) kīnum*, I would be unsure that there was an intentional ambiguity in the second instance, when the evil eye scattered the "gathered" hearth (iii 6–7). The phrase *kenūnam puḫḫuram usappiḫ*, already noted in broken context in the description of No. 21f rev. 4' (see Part I), also occurs in the unprovenanced evil-eye incantation BM 122691 obv. 10', which can now be read *ke-nu-na-am pu-*⌜*ḫu-ra-am*⌝ *ú-sa-pi-iḫ* (cf. Farber 1981: 62; Geller 2003: 119 n. 26), and in the Old Assyrian evil-eye incantation from Kaneš, kt 94/k 520: 4–5 (ed. Barjamovic and Larsen 2008: 145): *ká-nu-nam pá-ḫu-ra-am tù-sà-pí-iḫ*. "Scatter" and "gather" are a common pair of antonyms. The fact that the evil eye "scatters" a hearth implies that the hearth's normal state is the opposite: *puḫḫurum* "gathered." The expression "gathered hearth" is figurative for the family members gathered in harmony around the hearth. This image is given context in the evil-eye incantation from Sippar (Cavigneaux and Al-Rawi 1994: 85 ll. 10–13): *i-na pu-ut ke-nu-ni-im i-na i-še-er-tim / ši-na at-ḫa-a wa-aš-ba-a-ma /* ⌜*ú-ul*⌝ *im-ta-ag-ga-ra* (Wasserman 1995) */ ku-si-a-ti-*⌜*šu*⌝*-nu ú-sa-ap-pí-iḫ / ṣí-li-šu-nu ú-ma-al-li ṣēram*(edin-na) "two colleagues were sitting by the hearth, at the household shrine, but they were not agreeing with each other; it (the evil eye) scattered their chairs and filled the steppe with their shadows." The evil eye sows a discord among the residents of the house which undoes the bonds that keep them together and drives them abroad into antisocial exile. The consequence of the hearth's scattering is that a household full of chatter becomes deserted, as reported in the incantations' next statement (kt 94/k 520: 7–8): *bé-tam ša-gi$_4$-ma-am tí-li-šu ta-áš-ku-un* // (BM 122691 obv. 11') *bi-ta-am ša-gi-m*[*a*]*-am ti-li-ša-am iš-ku-un* "it made the noisy house (silent) like a ruin-mound." Ambiguity arises in the reading of the adjective attached to *kenūnum*: in all the instances quoted *puḫḫurum* "gathered" can also be read *buḫḫurum* "hot," which is a more natural attribute of a fireplace. "Scattering" a "hot hearth" suggests spreading the burning embers so that the fire goes out. In Old Babylonian letters possessing an "extinguished hearth" signifies lack of progeny (refs. *CAD* K 394–95). The incantation's cooling fireplace accordingly provides another image symbolic of the death of the household.

Apart from the motif of the "scattered hearth," the incantation No. 31c has several other points of contact with other second-millennium evil-eye incantations in Akkadian. The passage about the unmanageable ox and donkey (ii 26'–iii 3) is a close match for a very similar couplet in the exemplar from Sippar (ed. Cavigneaux and Al-Rawi 1994: 85 ll. 5–6): *im-ḫa-aṣ alpam*(gu$_4$) *iš-te-b*[*i-ir ni-ir-šu*] / *im-ḫa-aṣ šaḫâm*(šaḫ) *iḫ-te-pí ḫu-*[*ṭi-ma-šu*?] "It struck the ox and broke [its yoke,] it struck the pig and smashed [its snout(?)]." The fragmentary exemplar No. 21f mentions (rev. 5') *al-pa-am a-li-ka-am*, no doubt as an animal made unmanageable by the evil eye. More animals are attacked in the Old Assyrian evil-eye incantation, but without mention of the individual consequences. The destruction of the household shrine (iii 14–15) also occurs in BM 122691 obv. 12': *im-ḫa-aṣ i-še-er-ta-am i-ta-ṣí ì-lí bi-tim* "it struck the shrine, out went the house-god."

Some of these ideas survive into the first millennium, when the Akkadian tradition of evil-eye incantations is represented only by two tablets from Aššur (Geller 2004). There the ox and donkey (ii 26'–iii 3) occur in similar lines (ll. 9–

10): *ša alpi*(gud-níta) *dan-ni taš-te-bir*$^{\text{giš}}$*nīr*(šudul)-*šú ša imēri*(anše-níta) *a-li-ki taš-te-bir ku-ri-is-su* "she (the eye) broke the yoke of the mighty ox, she broke the hock of the caravan-donkey." In an interpolated line (on one ms. only) the donkey's halter is transferred to other animals, but the syntax has been corrupted (l. 12): *sisê*(anše-kur-ra) *a-li-ki* [*ṣ*]*er-re-et alpi*(gud-níta) *e-ri-šu ú-šad-di* "it made the galloping horse throw off the lead-rope of the ploughing ox." Presumably the intention was, "it made horse and ox throw off their halters," i.e. become unmanageable. The "scattered hearth" (iii 6–7) appears in modified form in l. 13: ⌜*ša*⌝ *kenūni*(ki-izi) *nap-ḫi* bún-*šú tu-sa-ap-pi-*⌜*iḫ*⌝ "she scattered the fire[1] of the burning hearth."

The third incantation on No. 31 opens by listing the evil eye's antisocial attributes (22–25), but is then interrupted by a long break in the text. It resumes with a legitimation formula addressed to the malignant power (iii 1'–iv 1). Similar formulae occur on II.D.10 No. 30d, II.E.10 No. 8d and II.F.3 No. 30f (see further Cunningham 1997: 119–20, Lenzi 2010). There follow two expressions of wish addressed to the same audience. The first charges the incantation to produce well-being wherever the exorcist uses it (2–3). The second seeks to despatch the evil eye to its own home, where it will be confined like a naughty child, under the watchful eyes of its parents (4–6).

No. 31c

col. ii

20'–22' lost

23' . . .]-*pu-um*

24' . . .]-*im*

25' ⌜*i*⌝-*ba-*⌜*a*?⌝ *i-nu-*[*um*]

26' *i-mu-ur-ma al-pa-am*

col. iii

1 *iš-te-bi-ir ni-ir-*[*šu*]

2 *i-mu-ur i-me-ra-am*

3 *ṣé-re-et-ta-šu uš-ta-ad-di*

4 *i-mu-ur bu-ki-na-am*

5 *mu-de-a-am* ⌜*ú*⌝-[*ma*]*r-ri-*⌜*ir*⌝

6 *ke-e-nu-na-am pu-úḫ-ḫu-ra-am*

7 *ú-*⌜*sà*⌝*-ap-pi-iḫ i-nu-um*

8 *i-na ur-ḫi-im la-sí-ma-*⌜*am*⌝

9 *i-*⌜*ka*⌝*-al-la*

10 *ṣe-eḫ-ra-am i-ša-aq-qí-a-am*

11 *me-e pi-iš-ri-im*

12 *iš-tu ke-e-nu-ú-na-am*

13 *ú-sà-ap-pi-*⌜*ḫu-ú-ma*⌝

14 *il-li-ik ip-*[*s*]*ú-sà-am*

15 *i-ši-ir-ti bi-*⌜*i*⌝-[*t*]*im*

16 *am-ti bi-tim i-na sa-ba-ṭi-im*

17 *i-na-am li-še-*<*ṣi*>*-a-*[*a*]*m*

18 *a-na sú-ú-qí-*⌜*im*⌝

19 *i-li bi-tim i-na-am li-še-ṣi-a-*[*a*]*m*

20 *a-na ki-di-im*

21 ka-inim-ma igi-⌜ḫul⌝-a-kam

. . . ii 25'–iii 5 The eye was passing by, it saw an ox and broke [its] yoke, it saw a donkey, made it throw off its halter, it saw a bucket, turned an acquaintance bitter. 6–11 The eye scattered the gathered hearth. On the road it holds up the courier. It gives the child polluted water to drink. 12–16 After it scattered the hearth, it went and smashed up the household shrine. 17–20 May the house's slave-girl while sweeping expel the eye into the street! May the house god expel the eye outside!

21 Incantation formula against the evil eye.

No. 31d

col. iii

22 *i-nu-um le-em-né-et*

23 ⌜*i-nu-um*⌝ *al-lu-ḫa-ap-pa-at*

24 [*i-nu-u*]*m mu-uṣ-ṣa-ap-ra-at*

25 [x x x] x al ⌜x x⌝ *ṣe-el-ta-am*

26 [x x x]x ⌜*ka* x x x⌝ gi ⌜x⌝

27 [x x x x x x x x] x [x]

gap

1' [*ši-ip-tum ú-ul ia-tum*]

2' [*ši-pa-at* $^{\text{d}}$en-ki]

3' [*ù* $^{\text{d}}$*nin-girim*$_{\text{x}}$]

[1] Here, on grounds of sense, bùn ≠ *nappaḫu* "bellows" (*pace* Geller 2004: 57), but more probably the cognate *nipḫu*. The evil eye puts out even a roaring fire.

col. iv

1 *[b]e-le-⸢et⸣ ši-pa-a-tim*
2 *a-[š]a-ar a-na-⸢ad-du⸣-ú*
3 *⸢lu-ú⸣ bu-ul-ṭù-um*
4 *⸢i-ni⸣ a-bi-i-ka ù um-mi-i-ka*
5 *⸢lu-ú sa⸣-am-<ḫa?>-ti-i-ma*
6 *i-na ⸢bi⸣-ti-ka lu! eḫ-le-et*
7 ka-inim-ma igi-⸢ḫul⸣-a-kam

22–3′ The eye was evil, the eye was a net, the [eye] was malicious, . . . quarrel . . . [. . . The spell is not mine, it is a spell of Enki and Ningirimma,] iv 1–6 mistress of spells. Wherever I cast it, let there be health! May you be reunited(!) with the eyes of your father and your mother! May you be confined to your house! 7 Incantation formula against the evil eye.

Notes

iii 3. *ṣé-re-et-ta-šu* for *ṣerressu*; for *ṣerret imērim* see *Urra* VIIB 189 and 208.

5. A reading *⸢ú⸣-[s]a_6-ri-ir* "turned into a liar" was also considered and cannot be ruled out.

8–9. An Old Assyrian incantation against Lamaštu makes the same accusation of the demoness (Michel 1997: 60 ll. 9–10): *eṭ-lá-am lá-sí-ma-am ta-kà-la* "she holds up the courier as he runs."

11. *mê pišrim*, literally "water of dispelling," is understood as water used in rites of ablution to get rid of evil. An analogous expression is *iṣ pišrim* "wand of dispelling," a tool used in magic rituals for the same purpose. However, the water is not a weapon but a medium for cleansing: as a consequence of its use in a ritual it becomes contaminated with impurity and laden with danger that is obviously a threat to anyone exposed to it. The phrase *me-e pí-iš-ri-im* (or *bi-iš-ri-im*) also occurs in two Lamaštu incantations, where the demon is reported to make old people drink it: the first is the Old Assyrian exemplar already cited (Michel 1997: 60 ll. 15–16): *ší-bu-tim ta-ša-qí-a-me me-e bi-iš-ri-im* "she gives *b.*-water to the elders to drink"; another is Old Babylonian (*YOS* XI 20: 10–12): *ra-ab-bu-tim*!(tablet: *tam*) *i-ša-qí-a-am me-e bi-iš-ri* "she gives *b.*-water to the seniors to drink." The editor of the latter passage left *bi-iš-ri* (or *pí-iš-ri*?) untranslated (van Dijk *et al.* 1985: 26), but Cécile Michel suggests that *mê b.* is amniotic fluid (1997: 63–64; followed by Hecker 2008: 64), citing the equation *bi-iš-ru* = *še-er-ru* "baby" in a first-millennium synonym list (Explicit *Malku* I 305, ed. Kilmer 1963: 438). Amniotic fluid is suited to the present passage, where the evil eye might well be thought to drown unborn babies, but it works less well with the elders. For that reason water polluted by exorcistic ritual is preferred as the meaning of *mê p/bišrim* in all three passages.

16. *sa-ba-ṭi-im* is the genitive infinitive of the verb booked by the dictionaries as *šabāṭum*. It joins those few words with first radical /s/ that in Old Babylonian texts from the south are written with signs from the S-range not the Z-range (Goetze 1958: 140; Westenholz 2006: 254). The only other Old Babylonian attestation of the verb is an entry in Proto-*Aa* which displays the pattern of consonants √*šbṭ* (*MSL* XIV 119: 11): gi_4 = *ša-ba-ṭù-um*. Note also *ta-ša-bi-iṭ* in an Old Assyrian childbirth incantation (Michel 2004: 396 l. 7).

iv 4–6. Note the masculine pronouns: though *īnum* is feminine, it does not seem likely that another party is addressed.

II.D. INCANTATIONS FOR ENCOUNTERS WITH CREATURES THAT STING AND BITE

The natural world harbors many dangers which, unlike demons and the evil eye, are readily visible, even if they may lurk unseen before any encounter. In Mesopotamia, then as now, snakes, scorpions and dogs were the principal creatures that could inflict painful and sometimes fatal injuries upon human beings. Spells in Sumerian and Akkadian attest to a desire to keep these old foes of mankind away from the person and, in the event of sting or bite, to relieve the effects and avert other ill consequences; a less common variety of spell was deployed to allow the capture and safe handling of snakes. Incantations from all periods address these dangers, but they are especially popular on Old Babylonian tablets (see Finkel 1999: 213). In this section Sumerian spells are presented first (II.D.1–6), followed by analogues in Akkadian (II.D.7–13) and in an unidentified language (II.D.14).

II.D.1. No. 1b (Pl. II)

The second Old Sumerian incantation on the Early Dynastic collective tablet No. 1 is directed against scorpions, according to its rubric. A snake also features, and it may be that the incantation had both creatures in mind; in Old Babylonian incantations these two enemies of the human footfall sometimes occur together. Two pre-Sargonic incantations against scorpions are known, in copies from Fara and Ebla (Krebernik 1984: nos. 1 and 3), but neither shares matter with the present incantation, besides the word gír "scorpion" and attribution to the exorcist goddess Ningirimma. The three extant Early Dynastic incantations against snakes are likewise without connection (Krebernik 1984: nos. 30, 35, 36). However, there is content in common with other incantations in the corpus, especially Krebernik 1984 no. 2.

The incantation begins with an undeciphered line that should describe how a problem injurious to human welfare arose or whence it came. As understood here, the problem then threatened a man by creeping up on him unawares (ii 5–6). He called out for help in getting rid of it, for he was unable to do that himself (ii 6–8). Three deities intervened, each in their own shrine, and directed him to the cultic water-source known as *girim* (ii 9–iii 4). With its contents, holy water from the Abzu (called "Prince's water" in allusion to prince Enki, god of Abzu), they call on the man (or his agent) to drive the snake back to its hole, identified cosmically with the subterranean Abzu (iii 4–5). The incantation thus falls into a standard type: it seeks to enlist divine aid by invoking a previous instance of the problem in mythical time in the hope of triggering a repetition of the gods' response in present time. It also suggests that one strategy deployed against venomous pests was holy water; see further II.D.2 No. 1f below.

col. ii

3 én-é-nu-ru
4 UNU KI AN TAB AMAR AB SI GAR AN GAR
5 lú-lú <geš> nu-tuku
6 GÍR.MU.GÍR (= mu-gír-gír) a-ba mu-ta-sar
7 lú-ùlu ní
8 nu-mu-ta-sar
9 ^{d}nin-girim$_{x}$(A.BU.ḪA.DU)
10 é-gíd-da-na
11 ^{d}BIL.DAG
12 é-gùn-na
13 ^{d}nin-é-SUM

col. iii

1 tùn-ninnu-⌜na⌝
2 girim$_{x}$(A.BU.ḪA.DU)
3 ub-da-ba:limmu$_{x}$(DIŠ.DIŠ.DIŠ.DIŠ)
4 šu si-sá a nun
5 muš(*LAK*235) zu:ab ḫa SAR MU (= ḫa-mu-sar)
6 KA×UD ^{d}nin-girim$_{x}$(A.BU.ḪA.DU)
7 gír-*gunû*? gír

ii 3–8 *Enenuru*-spell. A . . . without the man [hearing] slithered in. Who could drive it away? The man (on) his own could not drive it away. 9–iii 5 Ningirimma in her Long House,

Dipar(?) in his Colored House, Nin-E-SUM in his (House of) the Fifty-(Bladed) Axe (*or*: Fifty Spouted Jars): (to) the *girim*-(waters) of the four world-regions they directed (his) hand, (saying) "(With) the prince's water may he drive the snake away (to) the Abzu!"
6–7 Spell of Ningirimma. (Incantation formula against) scorpions.

Notes

ii 5–6. lú-lú instead of lú-ùlu. A parallel is a fragment of incantation with the lines (Krebernik 1984: 90 no. 15: 4–5): lú geštug.túg nu-tuku$_x$(ḪÚB) mu-gír-gír, and I have emended accordingly. Krebernik translated that passage "Der Gehörlose/Unverständige schlüpft hinein." This is plausible in the fragment, but in an incantation against a snake or scorpion it would be more compelling for the pest to have slipped into the man's presence silently, without him hearing. The verb mu-gír-gír (= mu-gir$_5$-gir$_5$, Krebernik 1984: 15–16 "hineinschlüpfen") occurs with a snake as subject later in this collective tablet (II.D.2 No. 1f vi 8; and also in Krebernik 1984: nos. 2 ii 3, 13 vi' 1, subjects uncertain). An alternative proposal is that GÍR.GÍR signifies a more aggressive action than gir$_5$-gir$_5$ "to slink by." In late medical texts the logogram GÍR.GÍR (perhaps táb-táb) probably stands for the verb *zuqqutu* "to sting," used of sharp pain felt in various parts of the body (courtesy E. Schmidtchen). There is no lexical evidence to substantiate the equation, the usage is confined to a very specialized genre, and scorpions and snakes do not number among the logogram's subjects; consequently it cannot be recommended with full confidence in the present context.

6. For sar "to (make) run away" (also ii 8, iii 5), see Sefati 1998: 200–201; Behrens 1978: 169 = *kuššudu* "drive off." It recurs elsewhere in the collective tablet (No. 1f vii 3, edited below, II.D.2).

11–12. The passage recurs in an incantation of uncertain function, with TAG instead of sar (Krebernik 1984: 14 no. 2: 6–7): ^{d}NE.DAG é-DAR na ḫa-mu-ta-TAG. Krebernik guessed that TAG should represent a verb of motion but proposed that na was either resumptive on DAR, read gùn "colored," or a word for "spell." Since it follows more than one temple name in the present text, I take it to be an early example of the combination of possessive pronoun and locative postposition. The god ^{d}NE.DAG is discussed by Krebernik 1984: 263–64; id. 1986: 196 perhaps ^{d}dè-pàr "Torch God"; see further Andersson 2013. On the present tablet, where the signs NE and BIL are distinct, the god's name is ^{d}BIL.DAG: cf. BIL in ^{d}bil:gi (xi 1) and NE in a-ne (vi 12, viii 5).

13–iii 1. The pattern DN é-TN in the preceding lines might suggest that tùn in iii 1 is an error for é, but é-ninnu is otherwise only known as the great temple of Ningirsu at Girsu. In the Fara god list (Krebernik 1986: 169 ii 17), ^{d}nin-é-SUM is entered far away from Ningirsu (v 19')—but immediately before Ninurta. The solution proposed here is that é is omitted and tùn is the first element of a temple name (é)-tùn-ninnu-(ak) "(House of) Fifty Axes/Vessels." A "fifty-(bladed) axe" is a suitable weapon for a warrior god, comparable with $^{d.giš}$tukul-sag-ninnu "Fifty-Headed Club" and other divine weapons of Ninurta known from much later texts (Cooper 1978: 160–61; Livingstone 1986: 54–57; George 1992: 150–51 l. 26'). An alternative rendering refers to tùn-(lá), a spouted cultic vessel of a kind dedicated by Gudea to Ninizimua (Selz 1997, ref. courtesy N. Linder; Edzard 1997: 160 no. 69). Comparable later temple names that celebrate a temple's cultic vessels are those many that include bur "jar" as the principal element (George 1993: 73 nos. 124–30).

iii 2. On the spelling and meaning of the word girim(a)$_x$ as a cultic installation for water, see Krebernik 1984: 242–52. If it is right to take ub-da-4-ba (see next note) as qualifying

girim(a)$_{x}$, then the reference here is to a cosmic archetype of the cultic installation, standing in the same relation to it as the cosmic Abzu did to temple water-basins called *abzu*, Akk. *apsû*.

3. With this spelling of ub-da-límmu-ba "four world regions," cf. Krebernik 1984 no. 2: 4: ub-ANŠE-limmu$_{5}$-ba, context uncertain.

II.D.2. No. 1f (Pl. II)

This short Old Sumerian incantation lacks any rubric whatsoever but can be identified from its contents and later parallels as a spell against snake-bite. It begins with a historiola relating something that happened in mythical time. The god Asarre, whom we can imagine to be out walking one day, came across a venomous snake (vi 8–9). It is evident from what follows, though not stated explicitly, that the snake bit someone. Asarre sent word to his father, Enki (10), and later texts show that he was asking what to do. Enki answers that his son is as well informed as he is in the treatment (11–12), but anyway instructs him to make the sufferer drink a potion incorporating holy water of the Tigris and Euphrates, whereupon the matter will quickly resolve (vii 1–3). This therapeutic ritual, first practised in the days when the gods walked the earth, formed the basis of the treatment of sufferers of snake-bite in the historical world, and the incantation lent efficacy to the treatment. The water was not taken from the two rivers, of course, but either consecrated through a ritual that converted mundane water into holy water or obtained from a holy temple well that represented the cosmic source of the Tigris and Euphrates, such as was later found in the temple of Marduk at Babylon (George 1992: 278–79). Other incantations that prescribe the drinking of holy water for snake-bite are discussed by Finkel 1999: 231–32.

col. vi

7 én-é-nu-ru

8 ^{d}asar mu nun GÍR MU GÍR (= mu-gír-gír)

9 mu gal uš mu-GÀR

10 a-ni ^{d}en-ki-šè lú mu-da-ra-šè-gi$_{4}$

11 a-ne a-na! nu-zu

12 gá a-na pàd

col. vii

1 a idigna a buranun ù-ma-dé

2 lú-kúr mu-ni-nag níg ní-bi

3 ḫa$_{x}$(DU)-mu-ta-sar

4 (4 × kas)

[vi 7–9] *Enenuru*-spell. Asarre (was out walking): a big snake was slithering along. The big snake produced venom. [10–vii 3] To his father Enki he sent a messenger. (Enki answered him:) "What does he not know? What can I teach him? Pour out for me water of Tigris and water of Euphrates, give it to the bitten person to drink! The thing of its own accord will run away."

Notes

vi 8–9. These lines set out the problem. The verb mu-gír-gír is elsewhere used to describe the approach of a scorpion or snake (II.D.1 No. 1b, note on ii 5–6) and, since the result of the problem is lú-kúr "a man who has been bitten" (vii 2), it seems reasonable to identify the topic of the incantation as snake-bite. The topic is immediately corroborated by the phrase uš mu-GÀR "it produced(?) venom," which is a statement very similar to a line of the Ur III snake incantation *VAS* X 193: 3 (coll. Veldhuis 1994): uš-bi mu-na-ab-šúm-m[a] "it spat its venom at him." The sign uš for uš$_{11}$ "venom" occurs in the Early Dynastic incantation No. 2 i 2, and in Ur III incantations from Nippur (van Dijk and Geller 2003: 104 glossary). GÀR is for g̃ar "to set," as in a Sumerian incantation from Ebla (see Krebernik 1984: 67). Understood thus, the two opening lines of the incantation contain two verbal clauses. The remaining members of these clauses are MU NUN and MU GAL, which are interpreted here as parallel and synonymous subjects of the two verbs: mu for muš "snake" (syllabic and exhibiting the principle in Early Dynastic writing of not marking the

closing consonant of a syllable on the pattern CVC; Krebernik 1998: 271), and NUN // gal "big." The latter is a well-established UD.GAL.NUN equivalence (Krebernik 1998: 301). The Early Dynastic incantations from Fara and Ebla lack UD.GAL.NUN writing, in contrast to the literary texts, but UD for an "heaven" is possible elsewhere in this tablet (II.E.1 No. 1g vii 7–8) and highly likely in Ur-Nanše's incantation from Girsu (see p. 59 n. 2). Note further the use of ta-*gunû* for verbal infix -ta- in an Old Sumerian incantation of uncertain provenance (Veldhuis 2006 obv. iv 1, rev. ii 5, "usually restricted to UD.GAL.NUN texts").

10–12. This is an Early Dynastic version of what later became the Asalluḫe-Enki (Marduk-Ea) formula, discussed in the introduction to this volume.

12. gá a-na pàd also occurs at Fara (Krebernik 1984 no. 8 xi 6) and Krebernik notes (p. 224) the later version of this expression in *CT* 4 4: 22: a-na íb-pàd-di-in-na-bi nu-ub-zu "I do not know what I can teach (lit. show) you in that respect." These parallels suggest that in *TMH* VI 1: 14 (van Dijk and Geller 2003: 11: a-na ì-ma-ši-tag$_4$) one should read ì-ma-pàd!

vii 2. lú-kúr is an abbreviation of *lú zú-ku$_5$(d/r), which occurs written lú zú-kur$_4$ in the OB incantation *VAS* XVII 2: 2, 6 (ed. Finkel 1999: 232), but as lú-kúr-(r)a in three Ur III contexts, all variants of the present clause: A 30606: 2' (Finkel 1999: 247) [a]-bi lú-kúr a-ba-ni-na[g]; *VAS* X 193: 13 (ed. Veldhuis 1993a: 162, Finkel 1999: 231) a-bi lú-kúr-ra ù-mu-ni-nag; *TMH* VI 16: 11: a-bi lú-kúr-ra mu-ni-nag "give that potion to the bitten man to drink"; in the last case Geller has a different interpretation (van Dijk and Geller 2003: 58). For níg "thing" as a designation of the ailment in an Old Sumerian incantation, see also a phrase in a variant of the messenger formula (Krebernik 1984: 77 i' 1): a-ne níg lú-bi nu-zu "Does he (*or* she) not know what is the matter with that man?"

2–3. This clause probably predicts the disappearance of the harm of snake-bite "of its own accord." For the verb sar see above, on II.D.1 No. 1b ii 6, where it is factitive, and below II.E.1 No. 1g ix 1, where it is active. Here the prefix DU is for /ḫa/, as determined by the spelling ḫa-mu-ta-sar in ix 1. Use of the sign DU instead of ḫa also occurs in an incantation from Fara (Krebernik 1984: 37 No. 6d ga-gim ḪA.ḪA // ga-gim DU.DU (discussed on p. 46; reference courtesy W. Sommerfeld). The clause as a whole corresponds in concept and function to a prediction in Ur III snake incantations, A 30606: 3': uš ní-ba ḫa-ba-an-ta-⌜è⌝-[dè] // *VAS* X 193: 14: uš-bi ní-ba ḫa-mu-ta-è-dé "that venom will come out of its own accord" (see Finkel 1999: 231); cf. *TMH* VI 16: 12: uš-bi ní-ba im-ma-an-ti ì-in-ku$_4$ "that venom came near and went in of its own accord."

II.D.3. No. 41 (Pl. CVI)

This Old Babylonian incantation in Sumerian was previously published by I. L. Finkel (1999: 241 and fig. 17), but is now more legible after baking and cleaning. The text shares content with *YOS* XI 32 and other incantation tablets edited by J. van Dijk in his study "Vert comme Tišpak" (1969: 542–43). The exorcist adopts the identity of the god Ninazu as one who has power over snakes, and describes how he eliminates the snake's threat by catching it, opening its mouth and destroying its tongue. The expression of this power in words renders the incantation effective as magic.

The tablet bears a colophon stating that it belonged to (and was presumably written by) a man or boy called Sîn-gāmil, son of Asûm.

obv.

1 muš sag-min eme-min zú ⌜an-na⌝
2 $^{\text{šè}}$šeg$_9$-<bar>-gin$_7$ ḫu-lu-ḫa
3 a-ia an-na 6 ⌜ki⌝ 6-àm
4 muš! lugal-zu me-šu-um-gen
5 $^{\text{d}}$nin-a-zu lugal-zu
6 me-šu-um-gen
7 ka-zu gu-le-dè

8 ⸢eme⸣-zu gu-le-dè
9 sa-gíd-da
rev.
10 [s]a sag$_6$-bar-ra-zu
11 gu im-mà-lá
12 ka-bi an-na-duḫ-e
13 [e]me-bi šà-ta ì-ga-z[a]
14 ka-inim-ma
15 ti-e-ni-in-nu-ri

---

16 ^{d}nissaba

---

17 níg ^{d}suen-*ga-mi-il*
18 dumu {ras.} *a-sú-um*

[1–6] O snake with two heads, two tongues and fangs aloft, frightening as a wild ram! By the sixfold heavens and the sixfold earths, O snake, your master has come, your master Ninazu has come. [7–11] To ensnare your mouths, to ensnare your tongues, he lays a trap with a long net, a wild ram's net for you. [12–15] He opens those mouths, he smites those tongues within. Incantation formula, *Ti-Enin-nuri*-spell.
[16] (Praise to) Nissaba.
[17–18] Belonging to Sîn-gāmil, son of Asûm.

Notes

4–8. No. 19c 42–45 is very similar, No. 21i rev. 16' less so (both quoted in Part I). In the present instance of this passage, me-šu-um-gen is a hideous corruption of other versions' me-e-ši-in-gi-en (van Dijk 1969: 542 C 3–4) // mu-ši-gi$_4$ (p. 543: 5, 7) // mu-ši-in-gi$_4$ (No. 19c 42–43) // mu-e-ki (No. 21i rev. 16'), all meaning "he (Ninazu) sent me," and thus identifying the exorcist more conventionally as the god's envoy. gu-le-dè represents orthographic gu lá-e-dè, as given in *YOS* XI 34: 4.

10. sag$_6$-bar is syllabic spelling of *šegbar*: see the Ur III version of the spell, which has sa-gíd-da ^{šè}šeg$_9$-bar (*PBS* I/2 131: 10, ed. van Dijk 1969: 543, who reads ^{šè}šegbar^{bar}).

II.D.4. No. 19a (Pl. LIX)

The first of four incantations collected on an Old Babylonian tablet perhaps from the Diyala region (see Part I) is a spell against scorpions that is also known from versions on an Old Babylonian tablet excavated at Nippur in the late nineteenth century, but not accessioned in the University Museum at Philadelphia until 1929 (UM 29-15-5), and on another Old Babylonian tablet excavated at Tell Haddad on the Diyala, ancient Mê-Turan, in the early 1980s and now in the Iraq Museum (H 60). Both are edited by Cavigneaux (1995b: 92–93). On the Tell Haddad tablet this text is the third of three spells, of which the first is a version of the incantation that comes fourth on the present tablet (II.D.5 No. 19d). Evidently it was customary for these incantations to be handed down together.

This spell begins with a short narrative that relates how (once upon a time) a threatening creature issued forth into the world (ll. 1–2). The language used of the creature, "bull" and especially "angry paw," indicates that it is a scorpion (gír) with tail raised to strike. All eyes were fixed on the little creature, as if it was as large as the sky itself (3). The spell then describes how the threat was countered: the cosmic powers of Sky and Earth immobilized it and the celestial trio of Sun, Moon and Venus cut off its legs (4–8). The spell's power lies in invoking this assertion of divine authority in mythical time, so that any scorpion encountered in the here and now would be similarly prevented from advancing on a potential victim and stinging him. The spell is reinforced by pronouncing it impossible to revoke and by associating it with Eridu, the source of magic (9–10).

obv.
1 gu$_4$ az á-⸢ḫuš-šu?⸣
2 nir-gál ki in-di
3 gír an-na diri-ga
4 an ì-kéš ⸢ki⸣ kéš
5 ka-ka-a-ni gu-du-ni-šè ⸢ba⸣-kéš!
6 ^{d}nanna ⸢á⸣-zi-da-na
7 ^{d}utu á-ga-ba-na
8 ^{d}⸢inanna⸣ gìri ba-ra-an-kud

9 lú nu-mu-da-⸢búr⸣-re
10 ŠÁR×AŠ-*gunû* en$_x$(ŠÚ.MUL) eridu^{ki}

[1–3] A bull, a bear with angry paw, proudly burst forth from the earth, a scorpion more huge than heaven. [4–5] Sky bound it, Earth bound it, it was bound (from) its mouth to its backside. [6–8] (With) Nanna at her right hand, Utu at her left hand, Inanna cut off (its) legs. [9–10] No one shall undo (this spell). Spell(!) of Eridu.

Notes

1. á-ḫuš-šu for *á-ḫuš-a; H 60 has a-ḫu-uš. The scorpion is a bull because its tail is dangerous like the bull's horn; for ready examples of the imagery see also the incipits of other spells on this tablet, No. 19c: 32 (Part I), II.D.5 No. 19d: 50; Cavigneaux 1994: 155 l. 1: *a-la-ap er-ṣé-e-tim* "ox of the ground"; discussion p. 157 and id. 1995b: 80 n. 15.

2. ki in-di and parallel ik-še im-di on H 60 (Cavigneaux 1995b: 92 l. 21) are most probably variants of ki in-dar, in which dar is "to split." Bursting up through the ground is a common motif in identifying the origin of trouble in incantations: it is said of "gall" (see II.E.3–4 No. 7h, i and parallels) and snakes (Finkel 1999: 229 obv. 2': muš ki in-dar; *VAS* XVII 1 ii 41': muš ⸢ki-dar-a⸣), as well as scorpions (*TMH* VI 2 ii 22, ed. van Dijk and Geller 2003: 15: gír-bi ki-dar-ba ḫé-gi$_4$ "may that scorpion go back into its crack in the ground"). Michalowski observes that the phrase expresses two ideas: "invocation of mythological time . . . as well as spontaneous creation" (1981: 7).

7. á-ga-ba-na for *á-gáb/gùb-bu-na.

8. Inanna is at first sight a surprising agent of magic. In other versions of this spell Nanna and Utu act alone (H 60: 24–25, ed. Cavigneaux 1995b: 92) or with gods of magic and healing: Asalluḫe, Ninisinna, Nintinugga and Damu (UM 29-15-5: 7–10, ed. ibid.: 93). Inanna's presence makes it clear that, in this case, the spell borrows its force from the gods who patrol the sky: moon (Nanna), sun (Utu) and Venus (Inanna).

10. Corrupt for tu$_6$ én-é-nu-ru.

II.D.5. No. 19d (Pl. LIX)

The last of the four incantations on the Old Babylonian collective tablet No. 19 is well known. Other versions of the incantation occur on tablets found during the late-nineteenth-century exploration at Nippur (CBS 8371 = *PBS* I/2 130, an Ur III-period tablet now in Philadelphia) and in excavations at Tell Haddad in the early 1980s (H 60 and 146, two Old Babylonian tablets in the custody of the Iraq Museum); a fourth exemplar is on an unprovenanced tablet purchased by the British Museum from Selim Homsy & Co. in 1898 (BM 25145, copy Finkel 1999: 250). These four sources have been published and elucidated by Michalowski (1985, id. 1992: 326)[1] and Cavigneaux (1995b: 78–91), who trace the spell's evolution from the Fara period. One of the Tell Haddad tablets also includes a version of II.D.4 No. 19a.

The incantation is a short episode from the timeless era when gods walked the earth. A monstrous creature appeared, with a horn like a bull, huge as a mountain and taller than a poplar tree, gold, silver and bronze in color, and low on the ground (50–53). The description suits a giant scorpion. Suddenly it started running like a charging bull, a blur of light and shade (54–56). It happened that the divine *en* "lord" Dumuzi was on his way to woo Inanna in the Gipar-chamber at Uruk, where they conducted their courtship (57–58). Presumably he chanced upon the giant scorpion ready to strike and deliver its venom, because together with Inanna he drove the venom off (59–60).

The narrative sequence of the incantation agrees with the Tell Haddad version, but the latter has an additional passage which relates how the "fire" (i.e. sting) in the creature's tail was extinguished by pouring water into its mouth.

[1] Where correct the accession number of BM 25145 from 1918-2-16 to 98-2-16, 199. In Finkel 1999: 241 and 250, the same tablet is cited as BM 25415.

The Ur III version transposes the lines in which the creature runs and those which mention Dumuzi and Inanna, but it also has the water-pouring passage, and it would seem that the version published here is truncated.

The spell's magic lies, as often, in relating the gods' success against an archetypal scorpion in mythical time in the unvoiced hope that recitation will vouchsafe a repeat of their victory in present time. The passage lacking from this version suggests that the spell could be accompanied by a practical measure ("ritual"): throwing water in the scorpion's face to divert it. Another interpretation is that the passage refers to scorpions' mating rituals, in which the transfer of sperm ("water") disarms the sting (Cavigneaux 1995b: 87–90).

rev.

50 gu$_{4}$ si-bi šu-ri-na ⸢múrgu⸣-gú-bi kur
51 en $^{\text{giš}}$ásal-àm
52 šà-ba kù-sig$_{17}$! ki-a ku-babbar-àm
53 umbin-bi zabar ki-a! šúš-àm
54 ⸢i-im⸣-da-ri i-im-da-ri
55 gu$_{4}$ gi$_{6}$ i-im-da-ri
56 gu$_{4}$ bábbar i-im-da-ri
57 en-nam gìri ba-an-dab
58 en gi$_{6}$-par$_{4}$-ra-ke$_{4}$ gìri ba-an!-dab$_{5}$
59 $^{\text{d}}$inanna uš$_{11}$ mu-laḫ$_{5}$
60 $^{\text{d}}$dumu-zi-dè uš$_{11}$ am-ta / mu-un-laḫ$_{5}$
61 ŠÁR×AŠ en$_{x}$(ŠÚ.MUL) eridu$^{\text{ki}}$

The bull's horn was a standard, its backbone a mountain, lord over poplars!
Its belly was gold, silver on the ground,
its claws were bronze, forming a lid on the ground.
How it went, how it went!
How the black bull went, how the white bull went!
There was the Lord, he set out on the path,
the Lord of the Gipar set out on the path.
Inanna chased the venom away,
Dumuzi chased the venom away from the wild bull.
Spell(!) of Eridu.

Notes

50. šu-ri-na instead of Ur III si urin-àm "it is the horn (of a) standard" can be explained as a variant form of the near synonym šu-nir "standard"; note also the syllabic spelling in No. 5j vi 10: šu-ri-in, and the Akkadian loan-word *šurinnu*, with the same metathesis.

50–51. These two lines exhibit an expansion of the previously available text, which has simply "its back was (tall) as a poplar": (Ur III) mu-ur-gu-bi na-sal-àm // (OB) murgu-bi a-sa-la // (Haddad) mu-ur-gu-bi ú-ša-la // na-uš/ša-la (see Cavigneaux 1995b: 81 ll. 2–3); the spelling of No. 19d confirms Michalowski's analysis of na-sal as $^{\text{giš}}$asal (1985: 220).

52. Where No. 19d has ku-babbar (for kù-babbar "silver"), the Ur III and OB tablets read ki tab-ba-a // ki-a tab-ba "held against the ground"; the Haddad witness partially concurs: ta-pa-a. The variant is obviously motivated by the presence of kù-sig$_{17}$ "gold" in the same line.

53. The predicate agrees with Haddad: ki šu-ša-am (H 60: 5, with the photograph Cavigneaux 1995b: 97). Ur III has ki-a sur-àm "spurting along on the ground," BM reads ki UD-ta. Behind the variant šúš perhaps lies the observation that, when held together in front of its head, a scorpion's twin claws or pincers can form a rough circle, an attitude that reminded the spell's composer of the cover or lid on a jar or pot sunk into the floor.

54–56. i-im-da-ri (as in Tell Haddad) is understood in the light of Ur III ì-im-du-a-ri, translation following Cavigneaux 1995b: 84.

57–58. Perhaps dib and díb (rather than dab and dab$_{5}$) in the light of Ur III en-na gír ba-an-ti-íb "a scorpion passed by the *en*" (cf. Tell Haddad bi-i[n-di]-í[b] // pa-an-tab); see Cavigneaux 1995b: 85–86. But it is unwise to insist that two versions of a spell must always match in vocabulary and syntax.

II.D.6. No. 7f (Pl. XXIII) // No. 8b (Pl. XXVIII)

Two Old Babylonian collective manuscripts hold the text of a Sumerian incantation "against a dog," i.e. to counter the harm inherent in a dog's bite. Incantations against dog-bite are commonly composed in Akkadian (for a selection see Finkel 1999: 214–23; Wu 2001: 34). The only other Sumerian incantation known to me that is specifically targeted at dog-bite is *TCL* XVI 63 rev. (Cunningham 1997: 139 no. 183), with which the present incantation shares only the generic rubric ka-inim-ma ur-gi$_{7}$-(ra-kam). The present incantation is noteworthy for the fact that Gula participates in the exorcism of the harm in the bite. As Finkel noted, in writing about Akkadian incantations against dog-bite, Gula is the goddess of dogs, and "since the bite is ultimately attributable to her, a cure might be expected from the same quarter" (Finkel 1999: 221).

Another point of interest is the insertion of the Akkadian formula of self-identification into the Sumerian spell. It divides the text into two parts: (a) a description of a rabid dog, identifying it with evil forces, and a plea for Asalluḫe to respond by casting the appropriate spell, and (b) a prayer in the first person asking for help from Asalluḫe and Gula. Logically, the first part was recited by the exorcist, and the second part by the victim — this would explain the lapse into Akkadian for self-identification, but not the subsequent reversion into Sumerian.

No. 7f
col. iii

1' . .] šu ⸢bar⸣-ra
2' ka-b[i x] x [x z]ú-bi ḫul-a
3' úš-bi-⸢šè⸣ [udug? ḫ]ul-a dingir ḫul-a
4' ^{d}asal-lú-ḫe [dumu eri]du^{ki}-ga
5' ka-inim-ma-⸢ni gi-bar-bar šu⸣ sa$_{6}$-ga
6' ^{d}asal-lú-ḫ[e dumu] ⸢eridu^{ki}⸣-ga-ke$_{4}$
7' tu$_{6}$-dug$_{4}$ giš-pa eridu^{ki}-ga
8' [tu$_{6}$-d]ug$_{4}$ ⸢nam-ti⸣-la-a-⸢ni⸣ ù-me-⸢šub⸣
9' [*an-na-an-na*] dumu ⸢*an-na-an-na*⸣
10' *ša* ⸢dingir-*šu an-na-an*⸣-*na i*[*š-ta-ar-šu*]
11' ⸢*an-na*⸣-*ni*-[*tum*]
12' ^{d}asal-l[ú-ḫe igi ḫé?]-im-[ma-an-sig$_{7}$]
13' [x]-ni [(x x)] ⸢gìri⸣-[gub]-bi
14' gìri-m[u-šè ḫé]-bí-ib-⸢gub-bé⸣
15' ^{d}nin-ì-⸢si-in⸣-na^{ki} ⸢ama šu-ḫal⸣-bi
16' ⸢ama⸣ [úru-sa]g-⸢gá⸣
17' ⸢šu šed$_{11}$ è⸣-da-ni
18' ḫa-ba-búr-e
19' tu$_{6}$ én-é-nu-ru
20' ka-inim-ma ur-g[i$_{7}$]

No. 8b
col. i

6' . . .]-ta idim-ma-àm
7' . . .]-⸢šè?⸣ šu-bar-ra
8' . . .] zú-bi ḫul-a
9' [^{d}asal-lú-ḫe] dumu eridu^{ki}-ga
10' [ka-inim-ma-ni gi] bar-bar šu sa$_{6}$-ga
11' [^{d}asal-lú-ḫe] dumu eridu^{ki}-ga-ke$_{4}$
12' [nam-šub] eridu$^{⸢ki⸣}$-ga
13' [tu$_{6}$-dug$_{4}$ nam-t]i-la-a-ni ù-me-e-sì!
14' [*an-na-an-na*] dumu *an-na-an-na*
15' [*ša* dingir-*šu an-na-a*]*n-na iš-ta-ar-šu an-na-ni-tum*
16' [^{d}asal-lú-ḫe] igi <ḫé>-im-ma-an-sig$_{7}$
17' [x-ni (x)] gìri-gub-bi
18' [g]ìri-m[u-šè] ḫé-bí-ib-gub-bé
19' $^{⸢d⸣}$nin-[ì-si-in-n]a ama šu-ḫal-bi
20' [a]ma ú[ru]-sag-gá!(ma)-kam
21' šu šed$_{11}$ ⸢è⸣-da-ni ḫa-ma-búr-e
22' [t]u$_{6}$ én-é-nu-ru

23' ka-inim-ma ur-gi$_{7}$-ra

iii 1'–3' [The dog] from [. . .] is rabid, [. . .] on the loose, [. . .] its mouth is [wicked,] its bite is evil, as to its spittle (it is) an evil [demon,] an evil god. 4'–8' O Asalluḫe, son of Eridu, whose incantation formulae are darts, (whose) hands are kind, O Asalluḫe, son of Eridu, cast an incantation-spell of Eridu, your(!) life-saving incantation! 9'–12' [May Asalluḫe] notice (me), So-and-so, son of So-and-so, whose god is So-and-so, whose goddess is So-and-so. 13'–14' His [. . .] that footrest may he place [under] my feet. 15'–18' May Ninisinna, mother with cooling hands, mother of the Foremost City,

stroke me with her hands that radiate cold. [19'] *Tu-Enenuru*-spell.

[20'] Incantation formula against a dog.

Notes

iii 3'. This line is not present on No. 8.

iii 5' // i 10'. For gi-bar-bar, projectile weapons with shafts of reed, see *PSD* B 116. It will be recalled that Mesopotamian incantations were "thrown" (šub = *nadûm*), as if weapons aimed at a target.

iii 7' // [i 12']. giš-pa = (nam)-šub: see the main introduction.

iii 15'–16' // i 19'–20'. Ninisinna's two epithets are standard items from the repertoire in praise of Gula. For ama úru-sag-gá see generally George 1993: 158 sub no. 1208. Some instances of ama šu-ḫal-bi are cited by Römer 1965: 245. The translation of šu-ḫal-bi as "cool hands" goes back to Tallqvist 1938: 261 "Mutter Kühlhand"; so also Reiner in translating *Šurpu* VII 73 (1958: 38) "Mother whose hands are cool." Böck translates "Mother with the soothing hand" (2014: 15). The lexical evidence for the Sumerian word ḫalbi/a and Akk. *ḫalpû* demonstrates their associations with cold and soothing: see *Diri* III 113–18: $^{\text{še-e}}$A.MÙŠ.DI = *pa-šá-ḫ[u]*, *na-a-ḫ[u]*, *pa-[la-ḫu]*, *pu-ul-[ḫu]*, *ḫal-p[u-ú]*, $^{\text{hal-ba/bi}}$A.MÙŠ.DI = *ḫal-pu-(ú)*, *tak-⌜ṣa⌝-[tú]* "the compound A.MÙŠ.DI pronounced *še(d)* means 'to rest, to be at ease, to fear, terror, chill'; the compound A.MÙŠ.DI pronounced *ḫalba/i* means 'chill, cold weather'." Cool hands soothe a fever, and are fitting attributes of Gula as healer.

The present passage confirms the modern understanding of the name Amašuḫalbi by making immediate allusion to Gula's hands in iii 17'–18' // i 21' šu šed$_{11}$ è-da-ni. So too does the *Šurpu* passage cited in the previous paragraph (VII 73–75): $^{\text{d}}$nin-tin-ug$_5$-ga $^{\text{d}}$ama-šu-ḫal-bi šu-ùr-ra sikil-bi ḫé-em-ma-an-šed$_7$-dè // *be-el-tum mu-bal-liṭ-ṭa-at mi-i-ti* $^{\text{d}}$*gu-la ina me-šid qa-ti-ša el-le-te li-šap-šiḫ-šú* "May the Lady who Revives the Dead, Amašuḫalbi (Akk. Gula) soothe him with the stroke of her holy hands." In another incantation, where the name Amašuḫalbi is lacking, underlying knowledge of the name nevertheless generates an appropriate epithet (K 6057+7928+ iii 8', ed. Böck 2014: 113): *⌜ú⌝-šap-šá-aḫ* $^{\text{d}}$*gu-la ina qātī*(šu)$^{\text{min}}$*-šá šá te-ni-iḫ-ti** (coll.; see already *CAD* T 342, citing K 7928: 8) "Gula calms (the patient) with her hands of soothing." The Akkadian makes use of the equivalences šu = *qātu* "hand" and ḫal-bi = *šupšuḫu* "calm," *nuḫḫu* "soothe." Elsewhere, in a syncretistic hymn to Gula, Amašuḫalbi is glossed otherwise (Craig 1897: 16 obv. 18): $^{\text{d}}$ama-šu-ḫal-bi *um!-mu re-mi-ni-tum! mu-šap-ši-ḫat zu-um-ri* "A., merciful mother who soothes (feverish) bodies"; in this epithet only *mušapšiḫat* derives from the name Amašuḫalbi.

iii 18' // i 21'. ḫa-ba/ma-búr-e is for ḫa-ma-ab-ùr-e: šu—ùr is "to stroke," as in the passage of *Šurpu* quoted in the immediately preceding note.

II.D.7. No. 48 (Pl. CXVI)

This complete Old Babylonian incantation shares some vocabulary and themes with other Akkadian snake incantations on Old Babylonian tablets, especially two duplicating tablets now in the Iraq Museum (*TIM* IX 65–66) and a tablet found at Nippur (CBS 7005, all ed. Finkel 1999: 223–29). The text is in regular Babylonian poetry, organized by line and couplet. It begins with a couplet remarking on the snake's key characteristics: its shoulders, eyes and skin (ll. 1–2); the phrase *rapšā būdāšu* "broad are its shoulders" can only refer to a snake with a hood, like those of the cobra family.[1] The next two couplets record the snake's origin in the

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1 A type of cobra, known as the Hoodless Cobra, was reported by N. L. Corkhill as one of the four "really dangerous poisonous species" of snake in 1920s Iraq. He notes (1939: 46): "though called 'hoodless', it probably does inflate its neck to some extent."

ocean and relate how, long ago in mythical time, it was hungry, came ashore and took up residence in a clump of rushes, which other incantations cite as its typical habitat (3–6). The narrative is concluded by a couplet declaring the speaker's intention to catch the snake (7–8). Then the poem returns to where it began, but this time noting the snake's mythical qualities (9–10). Two further couplets recount another episode in the snake's history, how it attacked a rock mountain, made a cleft in the rock, and caused trees to die (11–13). These lines give aetiologies for other habitats of the snake: holes in the ground and hollows in dead trees. The snake in the tree is a very well-known motif in ancient Near Eastern folklore, which informs iconography (e.g. Williams-Forte 1983) as well as writing. Aside from the Garden of Eden, of course, there is the snake that lives in the roots of Inanna's willow in the Sumerian poem of Gilgameš and the Netherworld (l. 42: úr-bi-a muš tu_6 nu-zu-e gùd im-ma-ni-ib-ús "at its base a Snake-that-Knows-No-Charm had made its nest"). The snake that resists control by magic, *ṣerri lā šiptim*, was an acknowledged source of anxiety in Babylonia, and occurs in the snake incantation II.D.8 No. 27a obv. 4, 14.

The poem ends with a *mannam lušpur*-formula in three couplets, one for the question itself (14–15) and two expressing the desired outcome: the snake's immobilization by the warrior god Ningirsu—who can bind gods and will have no difficulty putting a snake out of action—and the subordination of its rope-like properties to the speaker's will so that he will be able to charm it without danger (16–20).

Structurally the incantation thus falls into two halves, ll. 1–8 and 9–20, each of which identifies the snake and tells its mythical history. The strategies for enchanting the snake differ, however: in the first part the exorcist declares his intention of catching the snake himself (7–8), while in the second he enlists divine aid (14–20). On structural grounds it seems that the incantation is a combination of two originally separate spells.

The penultimate line is a version of the *Te-Enenuru*-formula (21), but the rubric, marked off by a ruling, is damaged and obscure; it is not a ka-inim-ma label, but possibly abracadabra.

The most obvious purpose of a snake incantation was to move a dangerous snake out of one's path or to counter the malign forces in its bite. The end of the present exemplar envisaged a different outcome, in which the speaker could manipulate the snake as if it was a skipping rope. It may be that this incantation was used by people who worked regularly with snakes, such as the snakecharmer (muš-$laḫ_4$ // *mušlaḫḫum*, see Gelb 1975: 60–61; Pientka-Hinz 2009: 214; and, for modern counterparts, Corkhill 1939). Some other snake incantations bear rubrics that may be interpreted to envisage the handling of snakes: ka-inim-ma muš ti-l[a-kam] (*VAS* XVII 4, ed. van Dijk 1969: 540), perhaps neither "pour revivifier un serpent" (van Dijk 1969: 540), "um eine Schlange zu beleben" (id. 1971: 10 sub no. 4) nor "for recovering from a snake" (Cunningham 1997: 153 no. 363), but "incantation formula for a live snake," i.e. to handle it without being bitten. The rubrics ka-inim-ma muš dab_5-bé-da-kam (Jestin 1947: 55–56; *OECT* V 24; *VAS* XVII 3) // dab_5-ba-(kam) (*YOS* XI 19; 33?) "incantation formula to seize a snake" could refer to immobilization (dab // *ṣabātum* "to seize; paralyse"), but might also be taken literally, "to catch hold of a snake" (cf. Pientka-Hintz 2009: 212, "(gegen) eine zu ergreifende S[chlange]"). The use of incantations in snake-charming may well have been analogous to that noted in Baghdad in the 1920s by N. L. Corkhill, one of whose visitors (1939: 47) "claimed to be able to handle any snake with impunity by virtue of reciting certain passages from the Koran which had been taught him by a sheikh in Persia under an oath of non-revelation."

obv.

1 *ra-ap-ša bu-da-šu di-ka na-ṭa-al*

2 *ṣērum*(muš) *e-bi-ḫa el-lam-me-e*

3 *ša im-ma-ar-ra-tim ib-nu-šu-ma*

4 *i-na ka-ap-pi-im ša é-a* ⌜*uš*⌝*-zi-zu-ni-*⌜*iš-šu*⌝

5 *i-nu-ma iṣ-mu zi-in-na-tim* ⌜*i*⌝*-nu-uš ki-ib-*⌜*ru*⌝

6 *i-nu-uš-ma ki-ib-rum i-te-ru-ub a-na šu-up-pi-im*

7 *i-na šu-up-pi-im ṣēram*(muš) *a-ṣa-ab-ba-at*

8 *i-na šu-up-pa-tim a-ṣa-ab-ba-at bašmam* (muš-šà-tur)

9 *bašmum*(muš-šà-tur) 6 *pī*(ka)*-šu*

10 7 *ma-at-nu mu-*⌜*bi*⌝*-lu li-ib-bi-šu*

11 *iš-si-i-ma šadâ*(kur) *i-ki-ip šadâ*(kur) *i-ki-ip-*⌜*ma*⌝ *abnam*(na$_4$) *el-*⌜*te*⌝

12 *abnam*(na$_4$! tablet: pa$_5$) *el-te-e-ma* $^{\text{giš}}$*ṣarbatam*(asal) *ú-ta-b*[*é*]*-*⌜*el*⌝

13 *iš-du* ⌜$^{\text{giš}}$⌝*al-la-nim ḫa-ma-du-ri-iš* ⌜*uš-ta*⌝*-li-ik* {DIŠ}

14 *ma-an-nam lu-uš-pu-ur ù lu-wa-ḫe-er*

15 *a-na* $^{\text{d}}$*nin-gír-su ka-mi ilī*(dingir) *ra-bu-tim*

16 *li-iš-si-a-šum-ma i-na bu-ṭù-um-tim*

17 [*l*]*i-ša-ar-ḫi-ba-aš-šum i-na* $^{\text{giš}}$*al-la-nim*

18 [*li-id*]*-*⌜*ri*⌝*-is-ma ṣēram*(muš) *ki-ma e-bi-ḫi-im*

19 [*li-i*]*š-k*[*u-u*]*n-šu-ma li-it-ba-a-aš-šu*

20 [*a-na*] ⌜*ke-pi*⌝*-ia*

rev.

21 [tu$_6$]-en-[n]u-ri

---

22 [x x] eš x [x x]x*-ne-en-me-er*

1 Broad of shoulder, dead of glance,
2 snake, cord of moonshine,
3 whom they created in the salt ocean
4 and placed under the wing of Ea:
5 when it hungered for food, the shore shook,
6 the shore shook and (the snake) got into the reed-bed.
7 In the reed-bed I shall catch the snake,
8 in the rushes I shall catch the viper.
9 Six were the viper's mouths,
10 seven the tendons that moved(?) within it!
11 It cried aloud and charged the mountain, it charged the mountain and split the rock.
12 It split the rock(!) and dried up the poplar,
13 it made wither away the roots of the oak.
14 Whom should I send to give a task
15 to Ningirsu, who snares (even) the great gods,
16 so that he might shout at it in the terebinth,
17 make it tremble in the oak,
18 [beat] up the snake, [turn] it into cord,
19 and bear it off[20] [to be] my skipping rope?
21 [*Tu*]*-Ennuri*-spell.
22 . . .

Notes

1. I.e. *dīkam naṭāl*: the snake's lustreless eye does not convey the impression of a living being. The Old Babylonian snake incantation *OECT* XV 260: 8 (Dalley 2001: 166–67) shares in this vocabulary: *i-na-ka na-ṭa-al*.

2. The final *-a* on *ebiḫ* is inexplicable, unless it marks crasis with *ellam-mê*. *Ellam-mê* occurs in another Old Babylonian incantation: *VAS* XVII 34, ed. van Dijk 1972: 343–44 l. 8 (childbirth); van Dijk translates "le pur quant au rite," Stol as "Pure of Water" (2000: 64). There it either refers exceptionally to the sun-god (l. 7) or, more probably, is the well-known epithet of the moon-god. A synonym list explains *ellam-mê* as a god's garment (*Malku* VI 44). The two usages can be reconciled by identifying it as the shining light in which the moon is clad, and "moonshine" is an appropriate image for the glistening skin of a snake.

4. *ina kappim* may be a corruption of *in-nagabbim* "in the Deep," for not only is the *nagbum* of Ea a stock-phrase, it would then serve well as part of a cosmic-topographical sequence listing locations in the snake's developmental

journey from ocean to reed-bed: *marrātum*, *nagbum*, *kibrum*, *šuppum*.

7–8. The rushes are a traditional habitat of the mythical *bašmum*. Other Old Babylonian snake incantations deploy the line *ina šuppātim irabbiṣ bašmum* "the *b*. lurks in the rushes" (CBS 7005: 5, *TIM* IX 65: 8 // 66: 8, all ed. Finkel 1999: 223–26); see also, from Susa, Sb 12630: 3 (ed. Cavigneaux 1998: 61): *ša-pa-al šu-up-pa-a-tim na-a-di ki-i ba-aš-mi* "it lies under the rushes like a *b*."

10. Parallels: *ú-lu-mi-ma ša li-bi-šu* (*TIM* IX 65: 10 // 64: 10); 7 *pa-ar-ul-lu ša ki-ša-di-šu* (CBS 7005: 8–9). In the present instance the word *mu-bi-lu* is either a previously unattested II/1 participle < *wabālum* or a mistake for *mubabbilu*, and the phrase speaks for a very plausible belief that hidden parts of the snake's anatomy give it motion.

13. Cf. the snake incantations TIM IX 65 // 66: *a/al-la-na-am ḫa-ma-di-ra-am uš-te-el-qí*, *OECT* XV 260: 12–13: *al-la-lam ḫa-ma-di-ru-um uš-ta-li-ik*. If *uštālik* is likewise active in the present instance, *išdu* must be accusative singular, construct state in final *-u*. The image of the oak withered up by a demonic force also occurs in later Lamaštu incantations, (a) from Ugarit (Nougayrol 1969: 396 ii 12'–13'): [*ēbir al*]*-la-an* $^{\text{giš}}$*buṭutta*(lam-gal) *ḫa-ma-di-ru-ta ul-ta-lak* "[she passed] oak and terebinth, making them wither up"; and (b) in the canonical series (Farber 2014: 90 I 186): *i-mid* $^{\text{giš}}$*al-la-nu u* $^{\text{giš}}$*bu-uṭ-nu ša šadî*(kur)^{i} *ḫa-ma-di-ru-tu ul-ta-lik* "she leaned against oak and mountain terebinth and made them wither up." Note that *allānum* and *buṭnu* (*buṭumtu*) are also neighbors in another incantation from Ugarit (Arnaud 2007 pl. 6: 6: *al-la-an ù bu-ṭù-um-*⸢*ta*⸣) and in our ll. 16–17.

14–15. Examples of the *mannam lušpur*-formula are collected by Goetze 1955: 14–16, Farber 1990b, Cunningham 1997: 121–22, to which add, in addition to the present instance, Cavigneaux 1994: 156 ll. 15'–16'; Farber 1998: 66 iii 5–6; Michel 2004: 396 ll. 8–10; *CCT* V 50 BM 113625: 5'–11', ed. Kouwenberg and Fincke 2012–13: 142–43; and No. 21l rev. 32'–34' (quoted in Part I). Ningirsu here appears in the formula for the first time.

16. I owe *buṭumtum* to Mark Weeden.

17. The dative suffix *-šum* is dittography from the line above: read *lišar'ibaššu*.

18. *litbaššu* < *litbalšu* (*GAG*^{3} §34c).

II.D.8. No. 27a, c (Pls. LXXIV–LXXV)

The two Akkadian incantations on the Old Babylonian tablet No. 27 are directed against snake and scorpion. The snake incantation (obv. 1–rev. 10') shares several phrases with other Old Babylonian snake incantations, particularly II.D.7 No. 48 and *TIM* IX 65 // 66 (ed. Finkel 1999: 226–229). Like others of the genre, it includes a list of snakes that does not seem to be derived from academic sources, e.g. lexical lists, and therefore probably has an origin in folklore. Unfortunately, the latter half of the text is too damaged to reconstruct.

After a Sumerian spell to heal bones (II.F.2 No. 27b) comes another Akkadian incantation (rev. 16'–25'). It is a very simple charm against scorpions. It quotes the words of Enki, expressing indignation that a creature he made should have become an agent of death, and commanding its demise.

No. 27a

obv.

1 *e-ti-iq ti-tu-ra-am*
2 *ú-ṣi na-ṣa-ba-am*
3 *aṣ-ba-at ku-ur-ši-da-am*
4 *ṣerri*(muš) *la ši-ip-tim*
5 *ši-in-na-šu mi-ir-me-er-ru-um*
6 *li-ša-*[*a*]*n-šu ḫe-e-ri-nu-um*
7 *pa-ap-pa-al-li-ib-bi-šu*
8 *a-ga-ar-ga-ru-um*
9 *ù li-ib-ba-šu*
10 *pu-lu-úḫ-ta-am ma-lu-ú*
11 *aṣ-ba-at ṣerram*(muš) *na-pi-ša-ni-a-am*
12 *ú-bu-ur-ri-iš i-la-ak*
13 ⸢*ù*⸣ *na-wi-ra-am*

14 [*ṣe*]*rri*([m]uš) *la ši-ip-tim*
15 [*a*]*ṣ-ba-at ku-up-pi-*⌜*a-am*⌝
16 [*s*]*à*/⌜*a*⌝*-bi-a-am a-la-al-ti-a-am*
17 [*d*]*a?-qá-am ṣerri*(muš) *me-e*
18 [*mu*]*-uš-ta-ḫi-ṭa-am ṣerri*(muš) *gušūrim*(giš-⌜ùr⌝)
19 [*mu-u*]*t-ta-aḫ-li-il-lam ṣerri*(muš) *a-pa-tim*
20 [*qá-a*]*l-la-am ṣerri*(muš) *bu-li-a-*⌜*tim*⌝
21 [*aṣ-ba-a*]*t ṣa-al-ma-am ṣerri*(muš) *karānim*(geštin)
22 [*aṣ-ba-a*]*t pi-i ṣerrī*(muš)$^{bi-a}$ *ka-la-ma*
23 [*aṣ-ba-a*]*t zi-ib-ba-ti-šu-nu*
24 [*bi-ri-it*] *ši-ta ur-ba-tim ú-ru-ma*
25 [x (x) x] *ur-ba-tim*
26 [x (x) x]x*-um ar-ku-us*
27 [x x x x x] ⌜x da⌝ *ba-aš-ma-am*
28 [x x x x x x x x] *a-la-al-tim*

gap

rev.

1' . . .] ⌜x⌝
2' . . .]x du š[a?]
3' [x x x x x]x *li-bi-it-*[*t*]*um?*
4' [x x x x x] *ša-ḫa-ar-ru-um*
5' [x x x x]x *mu-*⌜*ut*⌝*-tum*
6' . . .]x-*ti*
7' . . .]-*im*
8' . . .]-*ia*
9' [tu$_6$] én-⌜é⌝-nu-ru
10' [k]a-inim-m[a m]u[š?]-kam

It crossed a bridge, it came out of a drain-pipe:
I seized the viper, a snake impervious to spells,
whose twin fangs were a (lightning) flash,
whose tongue was sword-grass,
whose scutes were fish-spawn and whose inside was full of horror.
I seized a sniffer snake (as) it was moving through the fields,
and a shiny snake impervious to spells,
[I] seized an eel-(snake), a *sabi'um*-snake, an *alalti'um*-snake,
a little water-snake, a snake climbing into the rafters,
a snake slithering through the windows,
a little snake of the wood-pile,
[I seized] a black snake of the vineyard:
[I seized] the mouths of all snakes.
[I seized] their tails, I led (them) [between] two rushes, [. . .] rushes I tied [. . .]

Continuation too damaged for translation, then:

rev. 9'–10' [*Tu*]*-Enenuru*-spell. Incantation formula against [snakes.]

No. 27c

rev.

16' [*i-na li-i*]*b-bi-ia ab-ni-i-ka*
17' [*i-na ṭī*]*dim*([i]m) *ša qá-ti-ia*
18' ⌜*e*⌝*-pu-uš-ka*
19' [*m*]*a-an-nu-um a-na ša-am-mi-im*
20' [*š*]*a mu-tim ú-te-er-ka*
21' *zuqaqīpum*(gír-tab) *li-da-*⌜*ap*⌝*-pa-aṣ*
22' *a-wi-lum li-ib-lu-uṭ*
23' ^{d}en-ki *be-lí ki-a-am iq-bi*
24' tu$_6$ én-é-nu-⌜ru⌝
25' ka-inim-ma gír-tab

16'–24' "I formed you [inside] me, I made you [from the] dirt on my hands. Who turned you into a 'plant of death'? May the scorpion be squashed(?), may the man recover!" My lord Enki spoke thus. *Tu-Enenuru*-spell.

25' Incantation formula against scorpions.

Notes

obv. 2. This clause occurs in *TIM* IX 65 // 66: 5, ed. Finkel 1999: 226.

4. The spell-resistant snake recurs in *TIM* IX 65 // 66: 1–2.

5. Another Old Babylonian incantation against snake-bite has a related line (*VAS* XVII 4: 4–5, ed. van Dijk 1969: 540): *li-ša-na-šu bi-ir-bi-ir-ru-um* "its forked tongue is a (lightning) flash." The word *mermerru*(*m*) otherwise occurs at Ugarit as a property of demons in a fragmentary Akkadian incantation (Nougayrol 1968: 31 l. 21; Arnaud 2007: 77), where it was identified by Nougayrol as a variant of *birbirrum* (p. 36). The present usage of *mermerrum* suggests he was right.

6. My rendering of this metaphor arises from two properties of *ḫerinnum*: (a) it is a plant of some kind (cf. ᵘḫi-ri-in = *lardu*) and (b) it can pierce the body, as indicated by a simile in the OB letter from Ur-Nanše to the goddess Ninsianna (*TCL* I 9 obv. 10'–12', ed. Kraus 1971: 30): *du-lu-um ki-ma ḫé-ri-ni-im i-te-ru-ub a-na li-bi-ia* "misery has entered my heart like *ḫ.*"; see further Kraus 1971: 32. A translation "sword-grass" gives the intended effect in English, whether or not it is botanically correct.

7. The *pappān-libbim* is the belly; on a snake, the belly has scales or scutes that help it move, and it is these, rather than the belly as a whole, that look like spawn. In another OB snake incantations the snake's scales are likened to the pattern made on the trunk of a date-palm by the successive lopping of its fronds (CBS 7005: 3): *sú-um-ki-nu-šu sú-um-ki-in gišimmarim*(giš-nimbar) "its 'wood-chips' are a date-palm's wood-chips" (*pace* Finkel 1999: 224–25).

9–10. *libbašu . . . malû* is a subordinate clause, presumably attached to the stat. constr. *ṣerri* in l. 4.

11. The word that qualifies the snake is evidently *napīš* "breath, scent" + *ān* + *ī'* and can be added to the other adjectives ending *-ānī'um* in *GAG*³ §56r: *rēmēnûm* "compassionate" and *bārānûm* "rebellious." The translation "sniffer" is a guess.

12. *uburriš* is understood as a variant of *aburriš.*

15. The eel-snake also occurs in *TIM* IX 65 // 66: 4.

16. Perhaps cf. *Uruanna* III 262: ù-líl-lá-en-na = *a-p/bu-u* (among crawling things), and *Malku* V 18: *ab-bu-u* = *na-maš-šu-u* "a creature."

18–19. The syntax is unusual: literally "an ever jumping snake of the rafter, an ever slithering snake of the windows." The snake that comes in through the window is also known to *TIM* IX 65 // 66: 4: *ṣé-ri a-ap-tim*. Snakes in house rafters are a topos in omen literature, e.g. *Šumma ālu* XXIV (ed. Freedman 2006: 61–71).

20. I take *bu-li-a-tim* as plural of *bulûm* "kindling." A pile of dry wood makes an excellent habitat for a snake; cf. Sum. muš ki-bíl-la, with note on II.E.4 No. 71 iv 25'.

21. In CBS 7005: 14–15 (ed. Finkel 1999: 224) the "snake of the vineyard" is described as fighting the snake-charmer: muš ᵍⁱˢgeštin-na *ša it-ti wa-ši-pí-šu im-ta-aḫ-ṣú.*

rev. 17'–18'. Enki's creation of the scorpion "from the dirt on his hands" is reminiscent of his creation of the cult-performers *kurgarra* and *galaturra* from umbin-si-ni mu-dur$_7$ "the dirt under his fingernails," in Inanna's Descent 222–23, and of Ṣāltum, the divine personification of fighting, in the Agušaya poem (Groneberg 1997: 79 v 27–28). Such an act can be appraised as a literary-mythological topos. The scorpion, the cult performers and Ṣāltum were, each in their own way, undesirable vermin, which explains their common aetiology.

21'–22'. A parallel plea ends an Old Babylonian incantation agianst dog-bite (Sigrist 1987: 87 ll. 10–11): *ka-al-bu-um li-mu-ut-ma a-wi-lum li-ib-lu-uṭ* {ras.?} "May the dog die and the man live!" Here the place of *limūt* is taken by *lid(d)appaṣ*, which I can only explain as an irregular form of *napāṣum*, either II/2 instead of expected *littappiṣ* or IV/3 instead of expected *littanpaṣ*.

II.D.9. No. 49 (Pl. CXVIII)

The first part of this Old Babylonian incantation in Akkadian is fully recoverable but understanding of the latter part is hampered by damage. The rubric's keyword is also lost, but the content of the foregoing leaves no doubt that the topic is the scorpion. The incantation is remarkable for its intertextual allusions. It has language in common with other Akkadian scorpion spells, it adapts a couplet that occurs in the Gilgameš epic, and it provides an early instance of a mythological episode found elsewhere,

when a scorpion stings a god's finger in a brickyard.

The incantation is composed in regular Babylonian poetry, except for the mythological episode shared with other incantations, which does not exhibit the same pattern and whose word-order is indistinguishable from prose. The first twelve lines are six lines of poetry which fall into three couplets. The first couplet identifies the scorpion by color and behavior, partly from the imagination (ll. 1–4); it is reminiscent of the opening of another Old Babylonian scorpion spell, which also begins *waruq* (Nougayrol 1972: 141–42 ll. 7–8, quoted in the textual note on l. 4). The second couplet juxtaposes the dusty creature with a brick and a bottle (5–8). The third calls for brick and bottle to be destroyed, so that the "firebrands" carried by the scorpion will be extinguished, meaning its capacity to hurt will be disabled (9–12). This is clearly an allusion to an accompanying ritual, in which a brick and a bottle, made consubstantial with the scorpion by magic means, were respectively broken up and ripped open in an act of sympathetic magic.

Having made the identification of scorpion and brick, the incantation incorporates a prose account of an episode in mythical time in which a scorpion stung the moon-god Sîn in a brickyard (13–17). The episode is also related in the damaged scorpion incantation No. 21l (rev. 31'): *i-na e-pe-eš bi-tim šu-ba-al-ku-ut a-ma-ri-im ú-*[*ba*]*-an* d*sîn*(suen) *ṣeḫertam*(tur-ra) *zuqaqīpum* (gír-tab) *iz-qú-ut* "when he was building a house, turning over a brick pile, a scorpion stung Sîn's little finger." A much later parallel exists in a *namburbi* for scorpion-sting appended to *Šumma ālu* XXXI, where Enlil take's Sîn's place and the final words are corrupted or lost, destroying the sense (*CT* 38 38: 62–64, ed. Maul 1994: 345 ll. 11'–13', Freedman 2006: 158 r. 8'–10'): d*en-líl bīta*(é) *ippuš*(dù)*uš a-ma-ra ina ka-se-e-šú libitti*(sig$_4$) na4*uqnî*(za-gìn) *ina šu-bal-ku-ti-šú ú-ba-an* d*en-líl ṣe-ḫer-tú li-še-bi-la* "Enlil was building a house. When he was stacking a brick pile and turning over the bricks of lapis lazuli, Enlil's little finger, may it/he send here." *lišēbila* is a very inept replacement for *zuqaqīpu izqut*.

In the present text the subject of *izqut* is present only in its last syllable, /tu/, which excludes *zuqaqīpum* "scorpion." I have restored *libittu*(*m*) "brick" because it fits the context in two ways. First, Sîn was engaged in restacking a brick pile when he was stung. The scorpion was hiding in a void between bricks, and stung his little finger as he lifted a brick out. In a way, then, the brick pile stung him. Second, the incantation has previously identified the scorpion's upper body with a brick (l. 7 *būdāšu libittum*) for the purposes of sympathetic magic, and probably repeats that identification in the following lines (20–21: *rukus lib*[*ittam*] *ina qannīša*). The brick is thus established as a metaphor for the scorpion.

After the brickyard episode the composition reverts to poetry. The first line of the next couplet is too damaged to reconstruct (18–19) but the second is a good poetic line (20–21). The second line, and probably also the first, give the command to immobilize the scorpion by binding its "horns," i.e. pincers, but the object of *rukus* "tie up" is not *zuqaqīpam* but *li-*[x x]. For reasons given in the preceding paragraph, this is again restored *li*[*bittam*] "brick," signifying the scorpion as in the magic ritual alluded to in ll. 7–9. One might suppose accordingly that the damaged ll. 18–19 referred to the disabling of the tail of the "bottle," elaborating the previous equation, but I have not been able to find a reading of the traces compatible with that expectation.

The outcome of the binding of the scorpion's pincers (and presumably tail) is that it is rendered incapable of threat. The language used may be proverbial, but it is unlikely to be a coincidence, nonetheless, that this incantation so nearly reflects SB Gilgameš V 165 (= 142 in George 2003: 608), which describes Ḫumbaba when thirteen winds sent by the sun-god Šamaš immobilized him for Gilgameš: *ul inakkip ana pānīšu ul iraḫḫiṣ ana arkīšu* "he could not charge

forward, he could not kick backward." The choice of words signifies that the combat between exorcist and scorpion carries the same moral value—good v. evil—as Gilgameš's struggle with Ḫumbaba, and will ensure the same outcome.

The remainder of the incantation is very damaged and cannot be appraised from any literary-critical perspective.

obv.

1 *⸢wa⸣-ru-uq ša ṣe-⸢e⸣-[tim]*
2 *ṣa-li-im ša bi-t[im]*
3 *mu-ut-ta-ap-ri-iš ša-m[a-i]*
4 *a-ru-uḫ ša ba-aš-tim*
5 *ša i-na e-pe-er ša-di-š[u]*
6 *ba-al-lu*
7 *bu-da-šu li-bi-it-tum*
8 *li-ib-ba-šu na-du-u[m]*
9 *li-iḫ-<ḫe>-pi li-bi-it-tum*
10 *li-iš-ša-ri-iṭ na-du-um*
11 *li-ib-li di-pa-ar*
12 *zi-ib-ba-ti-šu ù qá-an-ni-[šu]*
13 ^{d}*sîn*(suen) *bi-it-sú i-⸢pu⸣-uš*
14 *[i-na] e-pe-eš bi-ti-šu*
15 *[i-na š]u-ba-al-⸢ku⸣-ut a-ma-[ri-im]*
16 *[ú-b]a-an* ^{d}*sîn*(suen) *ṣe-ḫe-[er-tam]*

rev.

17 *[li-bi]-tu iz-qú-ut*
18 [x (x)] ⸢x⸣ *ti* [x]
19 [x x]-*it* íd ⸢x x⸣ [x x]
20 *ru-ku-us li-[bi-it-tam]*
21 *i-na qá-an-[n]i-[ša]*
22 *a-a ik-ki-⸢ip a⸣-[na p]a-⸢a⸣-[ni-šu]*
23 *a-a ir-ḫi-iṣ a-na wa-a[r-ki-šu]*
24 *im-ta-am is-*x *um* [x x]
25 *li-iš-ti* x x ak [x x]
26 *li-⸢it⸣-ta-pa-aṣ pa-⸢ši⸣-[ru-um?]*
27 *pa-ši-ir-tum [l]i-*⸢x x⸣
28 *pa-ši-ir* ⸢x x x⸣-*tim*
29 *i-na zi-[ba?]-t[i]-šu*
30 *lu-uṣ-ba-as-súm ka-⸢ak⸣-k[a-am]*
31 *ša ma-a-*[x (x)]
32 *wa-ši-ib/p* x x x [x x x]
33 *a-*x x x [x x x]
34 *ka-ši-ip* [x x x x]

---

35 ka-inim-[ma gír-tab]

[1–2] Yellow in the open, black at home;
[3–4] flying through the sky, hurrying among the thistles.
[5–6] The one smeared with crude ore (*lit.* the dirt of its mountain),
[7–8] its shoulders are a brick, its inside is a bottle.
[9–10] Let the brick be broken, let the bottle be torn!
[11–12] Let the torch of its tail and horns be extinguished!
[13–17] Sîn was building his house. [While] he was building his house, while he was turning over the brick pile, a [brick] stung Sîn's little finger.
[18–19] [. . .] . . . [. . .]
[20–21] Bind the [brick] by [its] horns!
[22] May it not charge forward,
[23] may it not kick backward!
[24–25] Let it drink . . . poison . . . !
[26–29] (damaged, no connected sense obtainable)
[30] I will take up a weapon against it.
[31–34] (damaged, no connected sense obtainable)
[35] Incantation formula [against scorpions.]

Notes

3. A flying scorpion may not be a zoological reality, but one is recorded nonetheless in *Urra* XIV 370: gír-tab-RI.RI-ga = (*zuqaqīpu*) *mu-ut-tap-ri-šú* "flying scorpion." The winged scorpionfly (*Panorpa nuptialis*), whose abdomen mimics the scorpion's tail, is not known to have lived in ancient Mesopotamia, but winged monsters with scorpion tails occur in Mesopotamian iconography (Green 1994: 255) and speak for the existence of a flying scorpion in Babylonian mythology and the Babylonian imagination.

4. The word *baštum* is a rare variant of the thorny plant *baltum* that, according to the dictionaries, only occurs much later, in a medical

text from Nineveh (*AMT* 88 no. 2: 11 ^{giš}*ba-aš-te*). Another instance of *bašṭum* < *baltum* that describes the habitat of scorpions occurs in an Old Babylonian spell already published (Nougayrol 1972: 141–42 ll. 7–9): *wa-ru-uq i-na ba-aš-tim / ša-ḫur i-na ba-ṣí / im-ta i-šu i-na na-al-ba-ni* "yellow amid the thistles, motionless in the sand, it has poison in the brick mould." Nougayrol translated the first clause "vert dans (sa) beauté," but the thorny shrub *baltum* makes a better parallel for sand, as already seen by Benjamin Foster, who translates "green in the thornbush" (1996: 861; similarly Pientka 2004: 389). Other Old Babylonian examples of *bašṭum* < *baltum* occur in the present volume, in II.I.2 No. 23b: 7, where *ba-aš-ta-am* is uprooted; and in the medical therapeutic text No. 73 (l. 16): *ḫa-ar-ti šu-[né]-em ù ba-aš-tim tu-ub-ba-a-al* "you dry leaves of *š*. and *b*." The probable botanical identification of *baltum* (Sumerian ^{giš}dìḫ) is the camel thorn *Alhagi maurorum* (Civil 1987a: 41–42, 1987b: 52). "Thistle" is used here to convey in English the properties of *baltum* that are important for the word as a creator of meaning: its ubiquity in arable land and unpleasantness to handle.

5. The phrase *eper šadīšu*, a calque of Sum. saḫar kur-ra-(k) "mountain dirt," means crude ore mined for precious metals (George 1985: 110). Its application to the scorpion perhaps refers to glints in its coloring, as if inside its dirty outer skin lie hidden silver, gold and lapis lazuli.

II.D.10. No. 30d (Pl. LXXXI)

The first four lines of this Old Babylonian incantation in Akkadian also occur on II.D.11 No. 24, but separated. The passage falls into two parts, (a) invoking brick-making tools and (b) reporting that a scorpion stung a divine envoy (3–4). The brickyard was a notorious habitat for scorpions and brick-making was an activity in which scorpion-stings were an occupational hazard (e.g. *imta īšu ina nalbani*, see the textual note on II.D.9 No. 49: 4). This hazard was retrojected into mythical time in an episode related in several incantations, in which a scorpion stings Sîn's little finger while he is turning bricks (see II.D.9 No. 49 introduction and ll. 13–17). In the present text the brick-making tools are made of precious materials. They are thus to be identified as tools of the gods and probably allude to the same mythological episode.

The action here is also placed in the past, in mythical time, and thus provides a blueprint for future treatment, as in many more complex incantations. The treatment given the divine envoy is expressed in direct speech, as a command to give him water so that he could continue on his errand (5–8). From the prayer in l. 15 we learn that these were Enki's words. There follows a legitimation formula and a prayer for the victim's recovery (9–15). One might expect that to be the end of the incantation and the rubric to follow. However, inserted before the rubric (27) are two sets of instructions for treatment. These are hardly comparable with the ritual instructions that occur in Asalluḫe-Enki type incantations, for they are introduced by conditional clauses, in the manner of therapeutic texts. A similar Old Babylonian therapeutic ritual, also for scorpion-sting, occurs on its own in II.L.1 No. 72.

Incantations are occasionally followed by therapies, and it would seem that in this text the rubric has been displaced from its correct position at the end of the incantation to the end of the text as a whole. The first instruction is a therapy in which dough is placed at the junctions of the trunk and limbs (16–19), a treatment probably elaborated in the preceding lacuna (No. 30c, instruction to moisten dough as remedy for scorpion-sting, quoted in Part I) and certainly in the text II.L.1 No. 72, q.v. The second treatment is the ingestion of water, as in the primeval precedent but with added detail: the water's latent healing power has to be activated by the incantation, and accompanied by an assertion of the victim's good health (20–26).

col. ii

1 [*na-al*]-⸢*ba*⸣-[*an*] ⸢*uq*⸣-[*ni-i-im*]
2 ⸢*ki-iš*⸣-*ki-ir e-eb-b*[*i-im*]
3 *ša*-⸢*ap*⸣-*ra ma-ar ili*(dingir)-[*šu*]
4 *zuqaqīpum*(gír-tab) *iz-qú*-[*sú*]
5 ⸢*ma*⸣-*ar ši-ip-ri*-[*im*]
6 *me-e ši-qí-i*-[*ma*]
7 *a*-⸢*li*⸣-*ik ur-ḫi-im la ka-l*[*i*]
8 *a-la-ka-am li-pu-u*[*š*]
9 *ši-ip-tum* ⸢*ú*⸣-*ul ia-tum*
10 *ši-pa-at* ᵈen-ki ᵈ⸢asal⸣-lú-ḫe
11 *ù* ᵈen$_5$-si-gal-abzu
12 *i-na qí-bi-it* ᵈen-⸢ki⸣
13 ᵈasal-lú-ḫe *ù* ᵈen$_5$-si-gal-abzu
14 *ma-aḫ-ṣú-um li-ib-lu-uṭ-ma*
15 *qí-bi-it* ᵈen-ki *l*[*i-ši-i*]*r*
16 *šum-ma ma-aḫ-ṣú-um* ⸢*it*⸣-*ta*-⸢*al-kam*⸣
17 *li-ša-am a-na ša-ḫa-ti*-⸢*šu*⸣
18 *a-na ri-bi-ti-i*-⸢*šu*⸣
19 *ta-ša-ak-ka-an*
20 *šum-ma* ⸢*ma*⸣-*ar ši-ip-ri-im*
21 *i-la-ka-ak-kum*
22 *ši-ip-ta-am a-na me-e ta-na-ad*-⸢*di*⸣-*ma*
23 *i-ša-at-ti*
24 *ki-a-am ta-qá-ab-bi-šum*
25 *um-ma an-na-an-na-ma*
26 *ba-al-ṭa*-⸢*ti*⸣
27 ⸢ka⸣-inim-ma gír-[tab]

1–4 Brick mould of lapis lazuli, brick board of pure (silver): a scorpion stung an envoy, son of [his] god. 5–8 "Give the messenger water to drink, so that the traveller is not held up! Let him continue travelling!" 9–11 The incantation is not mine, it is an incantation of Enki, Asalluḫe and Ensigal-Abzu. 12–15 By command of Enki, Asalluḫe and Ensigal-Abzu may the stung person get better, and Enki's command come true!

16–19 If a stung person comes (to you), you place dough in his armpits and his groin(?). 20–23 If a messenger comes to you, you cast the spell over water and he drinks it. 24–26 You say to him as follows, "So-and-so, you are alive and well!"

27 Incantation formula for a scorpion.

Notes

ii 3–8. A similar passage is II.D.11 No. 24: 5–7 with 9'–10'.

13. The god Ensigal-Abzu "Chief Bailiff of Abzu" is listed as a minor member of Enki's household in *An* II 292, where he has no specified function but is explained as Amurru. In SB *Udug-ḫul* IV 107' (ed. Geller 2007: 114) he is invoked in the zi—pàd formulae as nu-bàn-da kur-ra a-ab-ba-ke$_4$ // *la-pu-ut-te-e šadî*(kur) *u tam-tim* "constable of mountain and sea."

II.D.11. No. 24 (Pl. LXX)

The obverse of this Old Babylonian tablet holds a self-contained incantation against scorpion-sting, ending with the appropriate rubric. The gods' brick-making tools are invoked, as at the beginning of II.D.10 No. 30d, and apparently requested to speak to Asalluḫe (1–4). In the light of the preceding spell (II.D.10 No. 30d ii 3–8), it seems that the vital clause *zuqaqīpum izqussu* is lacking between lls. 5 and 6, but is supplied, after a repetition of l. 5, on the left edge (8'–9'). The message to Asalluḫe is that a messenger on dispatch has been stung by a scorpion and some magic is needed to help him continue on his way (5–7).

The text is interrupted by damage at the top of the reverse, but the surviving surface is inscribed with signs that were written obliquely and may not be part of an incantation. When text in horizontal lines resumes, it seems to provide a combination of syllabic Sumerian and Akkadian content, but no rubric occurs. The Sumerian part mentions the moon-god Nanna and the divine purifier, Kusu, with her spouse, Indagar (1'–4'). It is uncertain how they relate to each other in this context: the translation given here is provisional. The ensuing Akkadian text (5'–7') is also obscure.

obv.

1 [*n*]*a-al-ba*-⸢*an*⸣ ⁿᵃ⁴*uqnîm*(za-⸢gìn⸣-a)
2 *ke-eš-ki-ir-ri*! *eb-bi-i*
3 *a-na a-sà-lu-uḫ māri*(dumu) *é-a*

4 *li-iq-bu-ú*
5 *ma-ri ši-ip-ri ša-pi-ir*!
6 *la ka-li a-la-ka*
7 *li-pu-uš*
8 *ši-pa-at zuqaqīpim*(gír-ta[b])

rev.
signs written obliquely
1' ^{d}nanna nanna
2' ki-si-ig si-li ér {x}
3' ku-ús-sa in-da-ag-ra
4' tu-re kúr-re
5' *a-na ši-ip-tim*
6' *ma-li i-ba-aš-šu-ú*

upper edge
7' *in-na-di-/-nu-šum*!

left edge
8' *ma-ri ši-ip-ri ša-pi-[ir]*
9' *zuqaqīpum*(gír-tab) *íz-qù-[sú]* / {ras.}

[1–4] Brick mould of lapis lazuli, brick board of pure (silver): let them say to Asalluḫe, son of Ea, [5=8'] "A messenger was on dispatch, [9'] a scorpion stung [him.] [6–7] He should not be delayed, let him get going!"
[8] Incantation against a scorpion.
[1'–7'] O Nanna, Nanna, *kisig sili er*, O Kusu and Indagar, the patient is stung! For the spell, all that there are will be given to him.

Notes

obv. 1–2. Recurs in II.D.10 No. 30d ii 1–2.

3. With the trisyllabic spelling *a-sà-lu-uḫ* for Asalluḫe compare in OB the incantation *TIM* IX 73 rev. 6: *a-sa-lu-uḫ* (Cooper 1996: 50; Cavigneaux 1999: 264); the same spelling in the Marduk hymn IM 85877: 9 (photo. Al-Rawi 1992: 80, ed. Oshima 2011: 192); and the gloss a-sa-lu-úḫ in Proto-*Diri* Nippur 10: 45.

rev. 3'. For Kusu and Indagar(a) written syllabically in other texts, see George 1992: 292; and OB *Diri* Nippur 11:30–31: *ku-us-sú*, *in-da-ga-[r]a*.

4'. Assuming tu-re kúr-re for tu-ra ku$_5$-ra-àm; cf. lú (zú)-kúr "bitten man" in ED and Ur III incantations (textual note on II.D.2 No. 1f vii 2). Alternatively, this is a corrupt version of the formula tu$_6$ én-é-nu-ru, written tu ^{d}en-nu!-ri.

II.D.12. No. 50a (Pl. CXIX)

This small oblong Old Babylonian tablet bears a short spell on each surface, set out in a practised script on neatly ruled lines. The first is identified by rubric as a charm against scorpions. The text's voice asserts that the spell is self-applied. That aside, it lacks common goods with other Akkadian scorpion incantations.

obv.
1 *[lu]-li-mu ši-pa-as-sú*
2 [x.A]NŠE *ra-ma-an-šu*
3 *[ba-lu?]-šu ra-ma-ni ú-wa-aš-ši-ip*
4 [tu]-én-é-nu-ru
5 [o] ka-inim-ma gír-tab

[1–3] [A] stag is his spell, [a male/female] donkey his person! [Without(?)] him I cast a spell on myself.
[4–5] *[Tu]-Enenuru*-spell. Incantation formula against scorpions.

Note

1. Other restorations are possible, e.g. *[tù]-li-mu* "spleen," *[sa]-li-mu* "friendliness."

II.D.13. Nos. 50b (Pl. CXIX) and 51 (Pl. CXX)

The Old Babylonian incantation inscribed on the reverse of No. 50 and that filling the obverse of No. 51 share so much content that they can probably be judged variant versions of the same spell. Both are addressed to someone or something that is feminine singular and lives in a hole. In No. 51: 8 she is called *nammaštī* "my creature," a word that elsewhere, when not collective for animals in general, applies to vermin and insects (Sum. kilim, a-za-lu-lu). She is commanded to come out while sending her children inside, apparently to make way for Asalluḫe, who is coming home to his father's house to bathe. The motif of bringing the children inside also occurs in *YOS* XI 5: 26, a single-line spell that reads: *as-ku-up-pa-tum šu-te-ri-bi ma-re-e-ki* /

^{d}asal-lú-ḫe *māri*(dumu) ^{d}*en-ki i-ir-ru-ba-am*. In his remarks on the text van Dijk supposed that the ending of *askuppatum* was "locative or a mistake" (van Dijk *et al.* 1985: 20), clearly thinking that the word signified an adverbial phrase, e.g. "over the threshold." The two further versions of the spell published here have instead *askuppum*, the unmarked-feminine counterpart of *askuppatum*, also apparently locative.

The topic of the incantation is indicated by the rubric of No. 50b: ka-inim-ma ni-im-bu, but the keyword is obscure. An aid in determining its meaning is to consider the context of the incantation. On No. 50 it is preceded by a scorpion incantation (II.D.12). The *askuppatum* spell quoted from *YOS* XI 5 in the previous paragraph occurs at the end of a collective tablet that brings together six spells against domestic problems, especially those attributable to creeping things: (a) and (b) two Akkadian incantations against sickness in a baby (both ed. Wassermann 2008) caused, in Babylonian diagnosis, by a worm and maybe a fly (a scorpion is also mentioned), (c) and (d) two incantations in an unidentified language, function undeclared (but the first is deployed in childbirth in II.G.3 No. 21b), and (e) a Sumerian incantation to counter snakes and scorpions discovered inside the home (function explicit in the variant exemplars, *VAS* XVII 10 i 15: ka-inim-ma muš-gír é-a šub-ba-kam,[1] v 124: ka-inim-ma gír-tab-a-kam). Accordingly, one might consider that the ni-im-bu in No. 50b is some creature harmful to human beings that was a nuisance in the home. With that in mind it is suggested that ni-im-bu is perhaps a syllabic spelling of nim-bubbu(BUL+BUL), Akk. *ḫawītum*, a kind of wasp (*Urra* XIV 322). The wasp is feminine in Akkadian, and fits well as the addressee of the two incantations. She is asked to lock up her children and go out. Thereby the house is made clear of this nuisance.

A comparable short Old Babylonian spell, against flies, is *YOS* XI 6 (ed. Veldhuis 1993b: 42; ka-inim-ma nim-ma-kam ka-kéš-re-da-kam "incantation formula for flies, to 'bind' = immobilize them").

No. 50b

rev.

6 [li]-ri-ri-a i-ti-la
7 [x]-*ul-ma-am ti-bi* ⌜*am*⌝-*ri-im*
8 [*šu-ṣ*]*e-e ra-ma-an-ki*
9 [*as*]-{*su*?}-*ku-up-pu šu-ri-bi* / *ma-re-e-ki*
10 [*a-na*? ^{d}]asal-lú-ḫe dumu eridu^{ki}-ga-ke$_{4}$
11 [t]u-én-é-nu-ru
12 [o] ka-inim-ma ni-im-bu

^{6} *Liriria itila.*
$^{7–9}$ . . ., arise, look at me! [Get] yourself outside! Take your children home, over the threshold [for(?)] Asalluḫe, son of Eridu.
$^{11–12}$ *Tu-Enenuru*-spell. Incantation formula against wasps(?).

Note

7. The first word could be *qulmâm* "axe," *ṣulmam* "black spot" or *šulmam* "safety." None makes any sense with *tibi amrim*. *ti-bi* is taken as a defective spelling of fem. sing. impt. *tibê*. It may yet be that this line is not Akkadian at all, but a passage in an unidentified language, like the incipit.

No. 51

obv.

1 li-ri-a i-ti-la
2 *as-ku-up-pu-um šu-te-re-bi mārē*(dumu)^{meš}-*ki*
3 *mārat*(dumu-munus) *é-a* ^{d}asal-lú-ḫe
4 *a-na me-e ra-ma-ki-im i-ir-ru-ub*
5 *bīt*(é) *e-sikil-la as-ku-pa-as-sú bu-ra-šu*
6 *é-a lu-li-mu-um wa-ši-ib libbi*(šà)^{bi}-*ša*
7 *ši-ir bītum*(é) *šu-ú-ur as-ku-pu*
8 *nam-ma-áš-ti šu*!-*ṣi-i ra-ma-*⌜*an*⌝-*ki*
9 *ar-ku-um e tu-ṣa-a-am-ma*
10 ⌜*ku*⌝-*ru-ú-um e ta-at-ta-la-a*[*k*]

[1] Translated by van Dijk as "when a muš-gír falls in a temple," with reference to a story about Šulgi (van Dijk *et al.* 1985: 20; Cunningham 1997: 142 nos. 217–18). There is a more mundane translation: "incantation formula against snakes and scorpions encountered in a house."

11 *i-na pí*(ka) *ḫu-ur-ri-i-*⸢*ki*⸣
12 ⸢*na*⸣*-ap-*⸢*la-sú*⸣*-um l*[*i*-x x x]
13 ⸢tu⸣ [én-é-nu-ru?]
rev. not inscribed

[1] *Liria itila.* [2–4] Take your children home, over the threshold! The daughter (*sic*) of Ea, Asalluḫe, is entering to bathe in water.
[5–7] The house E-sikilla ("Pure House"), its threshold is juniper. Ea the stag resides within it. The house is flesh, the threshold a bull. O my creature, get yourself outside!
[9–10] Tall one, do not come out! Short one, do not go away! [11–12] At the entrance of your hole let a peep-hole [. . .]
[13] *Tu-*[*Enenuru*-spell.]

Note

3. Asalluḫe is male, so dumu-munus looks like a mistake for dumu, but note that he is twice identified as the daughter of Enki in a syllabically written Sumerian incantation on a tablet from Ugarit (Nougayrol 1968: 32–33 ll. 34', 37'; Arnaud 2007: 79 ll. 85', 88'): in-ki dumu-munus-a-ni ^{d}asal-lú-ḫi.

II.D.14. No. 25b (Pl. LXXI)

This is a short spell in an unidentified language or abracadabra, occupying the same Old Babylonian tablet as a spell against stomach-ache (II.E.6 No. 25a). It concludes with a rubric that shows it to be a charm against snakes (15–19) and a therapeutic remedy ("ritual") to relieve the pain of snake-bite by applying a dressing of pork or fish skin (20–22).

rev.
15 su-pa-ni-ir mu-du-ḫi-a
16 a-ga sag ir-ši da gim? ši gìri?
17 su-pa-ni-ir mu-du-ḫu-uš
18 ag-še-er mu-du ru-pa ru-pa?
19 ka-inim-ma muš gar-[kam?]
20 *i-na šīr*(uzu!) *šaḫîm*(šaḫ) *ta-ra-ka-as-*[*sú*]
21 *ù ma-ša-ak gi-ri-ti*[*m*]
22 *ta-ra-ka-as-s*[*ú*]

[15–18] *Supanir muduḫia . . . supanir muduḫuš agšer mudu rupa rupa.* [19] Incantation formula for "placing" a snake.
[20–22] You bandage [him] with pig meat. Or you can bandage him with the skin of a moray eel.

Notes

15. Compare the similar abracadabra phrases in a Lamaštu spell in the late compendium (III 58, ed. Farber 2014: 134): *ḫu-up-pa-a-ni ḫu-up-pu su-up-pa-an-ni su-up-pu.*

21. *girītum* is conventionally identified as a moray eel because of the Syriac cognate *gērīṯā*. The use of its skin in dressing a snake-bite is perhaps evidence in favor of the identification, for the moray eel's skin is free from scales and might thus lend itself well to medical applications.

II.E. INCANTATIONS TO RELIEVE STOMACH-ACHE AND OTHER PAIN

Digestive problems are summed up in the rubrics of ancient Mesopotamian incantations either in symptomatic terms, e.g. šà-gig "sick insides" and libiš-gig "sick guts," or in aetiological terms, e.g. zé "gall" and *šammi libbim* "heart-grass." The latter attributed the problem to the ingestion of malign forces, which "seized" the insides. Another aetiology is a demonic "stormwind," which carried with it "sick insides" and many other health problems. This aetiology has already been met in the incantations edited in II.A.15 and similar texts, which activate bread dough and clay for rubbing on the afflicted person. A classic statement particular to šà-gig occurs in an incantation against "wind" (ka-inim-ma im-a-kam):

> im ab-ba ⸢im⸣-ma-⸢ta-ri⸣
> a-ab-ba sig-ga-ta im-ma-⸢ta-ri⸣
> a-ab-⸢ba nim⸣-ta im-ma-ta-ri
> ⸢an⸣-úr-ta du-a-ni
> šà-gig im-de$_6$ libiš-gig im-de$_6$
> lú-u$_{18}$-lu pap-ḫal-la ba-ni-in-dab$_5$
>
> *OECT* V 23: 1–6, see Cavigneaux and Al-Rawi 1995b: 191

The stormwind blew over the sea, it blew from the lower sea, it blew from the upper sea. As it came from the horizon it brought stomach-ache, it brought gut-ache. It seized the suffering man.

The "wind" of this incantation's rubric is probably not simple flatulence — though this may have been a symptom — but the "stormwind" that it describes: a demon-like power which was considered to have entered the sufferer's body and been trapped there, giving rise to digestive ailments. Descriptions in incantations refer variously to symptoms of digestive ailments like dyspepsia, constipation and diarrhoea, but the common denominator is internal pain, often described as intense and violent (e.g. II.E.5). The effect of šà-gig libiš-gig in particular is intense abdominal pain, as described in a hymn to Ninisinna (*SRT* 6 = Ninisinna A 32–35, ed. Römer 1969: 284; also Böck 2014: 25). Consequently I render these two afflictions as "stomach-ache" and "gut-ache."

Treatment of internal pain involved a combination of magic and medicine from the earliest period, as is now clear from the Old Sumerian incantation II.E.1. In that text, as also in II.E.2, 5, 6, 8 and 9, part of the treatment is to address the malign power behind the pain, to force it out of the patient by strength of magic and divine authority, much like the exorcism of a named demon.

In addition, the incantation II.E.1 commends as of divine origin the therapeutic remedy of special water administered internally. The water, described as "water of Tigris and Euphrates," was river or well water consecrated by incantation and thus in some senses holy, like the water in the *Kultmittelbeschwörungen* edited above (II.A.5–8). Administering specially prepared liquid by mouth continues to be a remedy in the second millennium, when it becomes clear that the liquid is a solution of salt in water or beer (texts II.E.3, 4 and 10), and that the Babylonians already practised what is today called "saltwater purging" (on salt in Babylonian medicine see further the main introduction). In II.E.3 and 4 the therapy is prescribed as god-given in the incantation itself, but in II.E.10 we have an early example of an incantation accompanied by a medical therapy ("ritual"). The ritual prescribes purging the patient (in this case cattle or sheep suffering from bloat) by the introduction of a strong saline solution. In all cases the therapeutic measure of purging was surely reinforced by casting a spell on the purging solution, in the belief that doing so would enhance the remedy's effectiveness.

II.E.1. No. 1g (Pl. II)

This Old Sumerian incantation against stomach-ache has matter in common with an incantation from Fara (Krebernik 1984 no. 11).

The opening, describing the onset of the pain and, presumably, the force causing it (vii 6–9), is still not entirely intelligible, despite the parallel from Fara, but the rest is almost all clear. Following a fuller than usual version of the lú-gi$_4$ formula (in Krebernik's terminology) (viii 1–6), the incantation concludes with the therapeutic ritual provided by the god Enlil, which involves administering holy water to the sufferer (viii 7–8), and the problem's resolution, as the malign force that caused the pain leaves the body through its extremities (viii 9–ix 1). The attribution of a divine origin to the therapy was perceived to give it greater efficacy.

col. vii

5 én-é-nu-ru
6 šà-gig mu-ak šà-gig libiš-gig mu-ak
7 šà-gig-da giš UD+dùl
8 gi-da UD+dùl
9 šeg$_9$-bar nu ma AN.AN.AN a-da-šà-šà

col. viii

1 a-ni GÁN-^{d}en-líl (=^{d}en-líl-še$_x$)
2 lú mu-da-ra-šè-gi$_4$
3 a-mu-ra a-ba-dug$_4$-ga
4 ba-ra-MUNSUB
5 a-ne a-na nu-zu
6 gá a-na pàd
7 a idigna a buranun ù-ma-dé
8 lú šà-gig mu-ni-nag
9 šu-si gìri-si na

col. ix

1 ḫa-mu-ta-sar
2 (5 × kas)

vii 5–9 *Enenuru*-spell. Stomach-ache was active, stomach-ache and gut-ache were active. With stomach-ache it sheltered amid trees, sheltered amid reeds. (It was like) a wild ram. . . .
viii 1–6 To his (*or* her) father Enlil he (*or* she) sent a messenger: "Please say to my father, I cannot repel(?) it." (Enlil replied:) "What does he (*or* she) not know? What can I teach him (*or* her)?
7–ix 1 Pour out for me water of Tigris and water of Euphrates, have the man with the stomach-ache drink it. Through fingers and toes the spell shall flee."

Notes

vii 6–8. These lines are a close match for Krebernik 1984 no. 11 ii' 1–3 // iii' 2–6: šà-gi[g] m[a-a$_5$(AK)], šà-gig libiš-gig ma-a$_5$, šà-gig-da, giš an da TAG$_4$+SAG, gi d[a] an TAG$_4$+SAG, where an.TAG$_4$+SAG takes the place of UD+dùl (see also ibid. no. 7 viii 6–7: šà-da giš an-TAG$_4$.TAG$_4$+SAG-da, gi TAG$_4$.TAG$_4$+SAG-da). The translation given here supposes that UD+dùl is a spelling of an-dùl "shelter" (UD = an in UD.GAL.NUN writing), but is speculative.

viii 1. At Fara this line is written a-(ni) ^{d}en-líl-(šè), at Ebla NI-a-ne ^{d}en-líl (Krebernik 1984: 218); cf. earlier on this tablet a-ni ^{d}en-ki-šè (vi 10, see II.D.2). The sign GÁN in the present instance (also in No. 3 v' 14) is terminative -šè rotated through 90°. This is an occasional feature of Early Dynastic writing in Umma, Girsu and other places in south-eastern Sumer (see Bauer 2014: 14–15; *CUSAS* 23 nos. 16: 1, 23 ii 3, 25 i 6, 30: 5; 200 i 7 etc.; *CUSAS* 26 no. 151 iv 3; references kindly provided by W. Sommerfeld).

1–2. The parallel in No. 3 seems to lack lú (v' 14–15): a-ni GÁN-^{d}en-líl / MU-[D]A-ŠÈ-GI$_4$!-RA (= mu-da-ra-šè-gi$_4$).

3. This line of the formula is the Early Dynastic counterpart of Ur III a-a-mu-ra ù-na-[a-d]ug$_4$ "please say to my father" (*TMH* VI 1: 9). The syllabic version of tablet No. 3 is similar (vi' 2): a-⌜ŠIM-ma!?⌝-ra ⌜ù⌝-na-du "please say to (my) father who sired me(?)." Note also Krebernik 1984: 384 ii 7–8: a-mu-ra / ⌜ù-DUG$_4$⌝-[NA?].

4. In other contexts MUNSUB seems to mean "blood" (see Part I, description of No. 1e), but that will not work here, and I have assumed that it is a rebus writing for mu-n-šub. The phrase occupies the space in the lú-gi$_4$ formula taken in two ED incantations by a-ne níg lú-bi nu-zu "Does he/she not know what is the matter with that man?" (Krebernik 1984: 223), but Ur III and later ver-

sions of the formula have, instead of the senior god's disbelieving question, an admission by the junior deity that he does not know what to do (e.g. *TMH* VI 4: 12; 15: 17): a-rá íb-ak-na-bi nu-(mu)-zu "I do not know how I should proceed with it."

7. See above, II.D.2 No. 1f vii 1.

9–ix 1. The version from Fara reads (Krebernik 1984: 77 iv' 2–4): ^{d}nin-ḪA.MUŠ.A.DU umbin-še na ḫa-mu-ta-ni-DU.DU; in the light of the present text this can now be rendered, "Ningirimma will make the spell come forth to the fingernails." The idea appears to be that subsequent trimming of the nails would sever the link between sufferer and problem. The word na, seemingly a term for "spell," is discussed by Krebernik 1984: 67.

II.E.2. No. 1h (Pl. II)

The Early Dynastic tablet No. 1 continues with a second Old Sumerian incantation against stomach-ache. The spell relates a very simple story, again from mythical time: stomach-ache and gut-ache attacked a person (ix 4), a benign god called Baḫar-Enunzaku captured them and tied them to the sun (5–8), which took them to the netherworld where they belonged. Once there, Ningirimma let them go (9–10). The story bears the message for later sufferers that, just as that same sun goes down every evening, and its flames subside, so too the pain will in due course go away of itself (x 1–3).

Another version of this incantation is preserved on a tablet found in a lavatory drain at Abu Salabikh (Krebernik and Postgate 2009: 11 IAS 549).[1] Its text is given here in parallel, and the comparison will illustrate the inconsistent transmission of incantations in the Early Dynastic period.

	No. 1h col. ix	IAS 549
3	én-é-nu-ru	[én-é]-nu-ru
4	šà-gig šà-ga-ni an-na-e-e	šà-gig šà-ga / gu mu-na-e-e
5	libiš-<gig> é:báḫar-nun-za-ku	libiš-gig šà-ga
6	ur-gin$_7$ mu-da-BAD.BAD	[. . .] / nu-da$_x$ mu-da$_x$-AK
7	šà-gig libiš-gig utu.AN-šè a-gá-lá šim-gin$_7$	šà-⸢gig⸣ libiš-⸢gig!⸣ a SU lá / ad$_6$-gin$_7$
8	ma-ni-kéš	gú ⸢kéš⸣ [(x)]
9	^{d}nin-girim$_x$(A.BU.ḪA.DU)	[. . .] ⸢x⸣ GÁ BI
10	ki-a bí-duḫ	⸢UD⸣-dug$_4$-ga
col. x		[(^{d})]nin-[gi]rim$_x$
1	šà-gig libiš-gig	
2	izi ZI.ZI.A-gin$_7$	
3	ní-bi ḫé-te-PI	
4	(5 × kas)	

[1] The place of discovery of IAS 549 may imply a belief that stomach disorders could be brought on by the lavatory demon (on whom see George 2015b: 86–90), but there is no certainty that a lavatory was its original context.

$^{ix\ 3–10}$ *Enenuru*-spell. Stomach-ache came forth against him, his insides. Baḫar-Enunzaku seized(?) the gut-[ache] like a dog. He bound stomach-ache and gut-ache to the sun like a sack of herbs. Ningirimma released (them) in the netherworld. $^{x\ 1–3}$ Stomach-ache and gut-ache will die down of their own accord, like a fire in the rushes.

Notes

ix 4. an-na-e-e for a-n.a-è.

5. The god B. occurs in Ur III incantations, where he is ^{d}báḫar-é-nun-za-ku lugal nam-išib-ba-ke$_4$ "master of the art of purification" and acts with other benign deities (see the references in van Dijk and Geller 2003: 67).

6. mu-da.BAD.BAD perhaps for mu-dab: BAD is dab "to seize" reversed. This type of spelling was called graphic metathesis by Reiner (1982), in demonstrating the value *šil* of the sign LIŠ. Graphic metathesis was already a feature of third-millennium writing: the pair unug and gunu$_4$, both values of AB-*gunû*, is an instructive example. For the imagery see an Akkadian incantation of the Ur III period (*NATN* 917, ed. Gelb 1957: 242): *aṣ-ba-sú . . . ki kál-bi-im ì-na ki-ša-dì-šu* "I seized him by the neck like a dog."

7. Note similar vocabulary in an Ur III incantation against šà-gi$_4$ "stomach-ache" (Sigrist 1980: 159 i 7–8): šà-gi$_4$ pirig-gin$_7$ zi / libiš-gi$_4$ ug-gú a-ga-lá.

x 2. The sign sequence ZI.ZI.A is an abbreviated spelling of ^{ú}númun. Fire in the rushes is an image deployed to convey the diminution of pain in Old Babylonian and later incantations against "gall": II.E.4 No. 7i iv 28': izi ^{ú}⌜númun-gin$_7$⌝ [n]í-zu [te]-ni-ib // Michalowski 1981: 15 l. 8: izi ^{ú}númun-gin$_7$ ní-zu/za te-ni/bí-ib "die down of your own accord, like a fire in the rushes." Elsewhere the image describes a fever abating (Lambert 1970: 44 IV 14–15); of uncertain function, No. 23c 26–27: izi ^{ú}numun$_x$(A.ZI+ZI)-ka ⌜i-bí-a⌝ (for ní-bi-a) ḫa-ba-an-te-te-en "may it die down like(!) a fire in the rushes."

3. te-PI is taken to signify ten-(ten) "to die down, go out" (of fire).

II.E.3. No. 7h (Pl. XXIII)

The Old Babylonian collective tablet No. 7 holds versions of two already known incantations against zé, a bitter, poisonous bile commonly translated "gall." Gall was once thought to denote jaundice, because of its association with the color yellow-green (van Dijk 1971: 11 sub 24–25; Alster 1972a: 352). In his study of the literary properties of a version of the second gall-incantation, Michalowski observed that it was "conceived of as a burning acidic substance in liquid form" and held responsible for a "form of intestinal disorder" (1981: 9). His analysis is supported by the sequence of incantations on tablet No. 7, where the two Gall texts are followed by incantations to counter stomach-ache and other internal discomfort. Their contents confirm the connection between Gall and pain in the digestive tract.

The first of the two Gall incantations on No. 7 also occurs in abbreviated form on the Old Babylonian tablet *VAS* XVII 24, from which some of its lines can be restored. *VAS* XVII 24 has been translated into Dutch (Stol 1983: 304) but never fully transliterated, so its text is given here, immediately after No. 7h.

The incantation begins in mythical time, when gall broke through the earth's surface and grew like a plant in the desert (2'–3'). This aetiology is also the incipit of the second gall-incantation (II.E.4 No. 7i and parallels, q.v.). A man stumbled on it and, without realizing, broke a spell that had apparently confined its ill-effects until that moment (4'–5'). The gall enveloped him, filled him up and destroyed his ability to eat and drink (6'–8'). Asalluḫe noticed and went to his father for advice, according to the standard pattern of Asalluḫe-Enki incantations (9'–15'). Most of this passage is omitted in *VAS* XVII 24. Enki then supplied the appropriate prescription, which here takes the form of short spell com-

manding salt to get rid of the gall (16'–17'). The Babylonians' use of salt and saline solution in treating digestive disorders is discussed in the introduction to this volume.

No. 7h

col. iv

1' traces, probably of a rubric

2' [zé-àm a]-gàr ú-šim-gin$_7$ k[i in-dar]

3' ⸢edin⸣-[n]a ba-[mú]

4' ⸢lú-ùlu pa-ḫa⸣-al-[la]

5' l[ú n]u-zu-àm ⸢tu$_6$⸣ im-⸢x⸣

6' lú-⸢ùlu⸣-bi ⸢gada⸣-gin$_7$ mu-⸢un-da⸣-an-⸢búr⸣

7' sig$_4$-gin$_7$ mu-un-⸢da?-an?-si⸣

8' ninda nu-gu$_7$-gu$_7$ a nu-[na$_8$]-na$_8$

9' ^{d}asal-lú-ḫe igi i[m-ma-an]-sig$_7$

10' ^{d}en-ki-ke$_4$ ⸢dumu-ni⸣ ^{d}asal-⸢lú⸣-ḫe-ra

11' mu-un-⸢na⸣-ni-ib-gi$_4$-gi$_4$

12' ⸢dumu⸣-mu a-na-gin$_7$-⸢zu⸣ a-na-na-ab-daḫ-e

13' [^{d}asa]l-lú-ḫe a-na-gin$_7$-zu a-na-na-ab-daḫ-e

14' [níg-gá-e z]u-⸢mu⸣ za-⸢e⸣ [g]in$_7$-zu

15' [ù za-e gin$_7$]-mu a-na-à[m] gin$_7$-⸢zu⸣

16' ⸢mun⸣ ka-duḫ-a dingir-⸢re-e-ne⸣

17' ⸢ù⸣-mu-⸢e⸣-[d]uḫ

18' tu$_6$ én-é-nu-r[u]

19' ka-inim-ma zé-[(kam)]

VAS XVII 24

1 zé-a ú-šim-gin$_7$ ki in-dar

2 edin-na ba-àm-mú

3 lú-ùlu pap-ḫal-la lú-ùlu nu-zu-a

4 tu$_6$ im-gaz lú-ùlu šim-gin$_7$ mu-un-da-an-ti

5 sig$_4$-gin$_7$ mu-un-da-si

6 ninda nu-gu$_7$-e a nu-na$_8$-na$_8$

7 ^{d}asal-lú-ḫe igi im-ma-an-sì

8 mun ka-duḫ-a dingir-re-e-ne ù-me-duḫ

---

9 ka-inim-ma zé-kam

No. 7h

iv 2'–3' [Gall it was,] (in) the fields [it burst through the] ground like a plant; it [grew up] in the wild. 4'–8' The sufferer, a man all unwitting, broke the spell. It spread over that man like a sheet, it filled him as with brick, so he could not eat food and could not drink water. 9' Asalluḫe saw him, (he went home to his father Enki, etc.) 10'–15' Enki answered his son Asalluḫe: "My son, what do you not(!) know, what can I add? Asalluḫe, what do you not(!) know, what can I add? [What I] know, you know too! [And what] I [also know] is what(!) you know too! 16'–18' Salt, mouth-opener of the gods, release (the gall)! *Tu-Enenuru*-spell. 19' Incantation formula for gall.

Notes

iv 6'. Here occurs the only substantive variant in *VAS* XVII 24, which has instead a different image: "it made that man live like vegetation," i.e. lie flat out on the ground.

7'. van Dijk took si in this line (*VAS* XVII 24: 5) as syllabic for sig$_7$ "yellow" and translated "es würde gelb wie ein Ziegelstein" (1971: 11 sub 24–25). It could be pointed out that Babylonian bricks (sig$_4$) were mud-colored and only became yellow when baked (sig$_4$-al-ùr-ra), which was rarely. That aside, the logographic spelling si "to fill" is preferred here (so too Stol 1983: 304), because it leads logically to the next statement: the sufferer was unable to eat and drink because his stomach felt as if full of mud brick.

II.E.4. No. 7i (Pl. XXIII)

This second incantation against gall on Old Babylonian collective tablet No. 7 is made difficult by partial use of syllabic orthography and by damage to the tablet. It conforms to the same common pattern as II.E.3 No. 7h // *VAS* XVII 24: a description of the problem, a version of the Asalluḫe-Enki formula and Enki's instructions to Asalluḫe. The first part, and probably also the damaged conclusion (v 6–10), tally with the well-known nineteen-line gall incantation edited by Alster (1972a) and further studied by Michalowski (1981): iv 20'–31' // ll. 1–12, v 6–10 // ll. 13–19. The incipit is similar to that of

No. 7h and identical to that of *VAS* XVII 24. It features in the Manchester incantation catalogue (Wilcke 1973: 14 no. 5: 4 [z]é-a ú-šim-[gin$_7$ . . .]), and is shared by a third, related Old Babylonian spell, *VAS* XVII 25 (ed. Alster 1972a: 352). No. 7i is an incantation with a long history, from the Old Babylonian period (now four manuscripts, including two from Nippur), to the first millennium (manuscripts from Nineveh and a Babylonian site). A further exemplar, inscribed on a black stone tablet measuring 125×77 mm, was recorded in transliteration by the late W. G. Lambert but remains unpublished.[1]

The spell tells the origin of gall and its career (iv 20'–25') until confronted by a worker of magic, who commands it to go away and declares the divine authors of his magic (26'–31'). At this point the text of No. 7i breaks with all other manuscripts of the incantation by interpolating an Asalluḫe-Enki formula that, when complete, included a full repetition of the gall's origin and threat (32'–43'). The formula is not a successful addition, for it provokes a narrative conflict with the immediately preceding lines, where the exorcist himself deals with the gall. It does, however, make a suitable introduction to the end of the incantation, in which instructions are given for treatment, exactly in the style of the Asalluḫe-Enki type, and a successful resolution predicted. Very little of this part of the incantation survives on the present manuscript (iv 1''–v 7), but enough to be sure that it has the same conclusion as the other known manuscripts.

col. iv

20' ⸢zé⸣-à[m] ú-šim-gin$_7$ ⸢ki mu-un⸣-d[ar]
21' ú-da-⸢am sag nam-íl⸣
22' máš ú-da-⸢ke$_4$⸣ babbar nam-íl
23' muš!-a-gin$_7$ eme e$_{11}$-dè
24' muš agrun-na-ke$_4$ zé sag!(tablet: gur.PA) nam-íl
25' muš-gin$_7$ BAD-ke$_4$ zé na-an-ni-dúb-bé
26' zé ni-za-a mu-un-ši-du-un-⸢e⸣
27' d[u]-ug-gin$_7$ ka-az-ba izi-gin$_7$ ⸢te⸣-ni-ib
28' izi ^{ú}⸢númun-gin$_7$⸣ [n]í-zu [te]-ni-ib
29' tu$_6$-dug$_4$-ga ^{d}nin-girim$_x$(ḪA.KUD.DU) mu-e
30' nam-giš-pa [erid]u^{ki}-ga
31' ^{d}en-ki-k[e$_4$ dag a]grun-na-ke$_4$ ⸢im-ma⸣-ab-du$_8$-du$_8$-e
32' [^{d}asal]-⸢lú⸣-ḫe igi im-⸢ma-an⸣-sig$_7$
33' ⸢a-a⸣-ni ^{d}en-ki-ra é-šè ba-⸢ši⸣-in-ku$_4$
34' g[ù] ⸢mu⸣-un-n[a-dé-e]
35' [a-a-mu zé-àm] ⸢ú-šim⸣-[gin$_7$ ki mu-un-dar]
gap
39' [muš agrun]-⸢na-ke$_4$⸣ zé s[ag nam-íl]
gap
42' . . . te]-⸢ni-ib⸣
43' . . . te-n]i-ib
gap
0'' [^{d}en-ki-ke$_4$ dumu-ni ^{d}asal-lú-ḫe-(ra)]
1'' [mu-un-na-ni]-⸢ib⸣-[gi$_4$-gi$_4$]
2'' [dumu-mu a-na-à]m nu-z[u a-na-na-ab-daḫ-e]
3'' ⸢^{d}asal-lú⸣-[ḫe a]-na-àm nu-⸢zu⸣ a-n[a-na-ab]-/-da[ḫ-e]

col. v

1 níg-gá-e zu-mu ù za-⸢e⸣ gin$_7$-zu
2 ù za-e gin$_7$-zu a-na-àm gin$_7$-zu
3 lag mun šu im-ma-an-ti
4 kaš-sag 1 sìla-ta-àm ù-mu-e-šub
5 [nam]-⸢giš-pa⸣ ù-me-ni-šub
6 [lú-bi igi] ^{d}utu-šè ù-mu-ni-nag
7 [še$_{10}$-gin$_7$ ḫé]-⸢du-re⸣
8 [bu-luḫ-gin$_7$ ḫé-si-il-le]
9 [im-gin$_7$ gu-du-ni-ta ḫé-em-ma-ra-du/è-dè]
10 [tu$_6$ én-é-nu-ru]

---

11 [ka-inim-ma] ⸢zé⸣

iv 20'–22' Gall it was, it burst through the ground like a plant. It raised (its) head as if it were a nanny-goat, like(!) a nanny-goat's kid it bore white (flecks). 23'–25' Flicking out its tongue like a water snake, like(!) a snake in a bedchamber,

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[1] Lambert Folio 29197 (kept in Lambert's offprint of Alster 1972a).

gall raised (its) head(!), like a snake in the kindling(!) pouring forth bile. 26'–28' "O gall, you (who) come here of your own will: be smashed like a pot, die down like a flame, die down of your own accord like a fire in the rushes! 29'–31' I say an incantation of Ningirimma: 'In the chamber of the Princely House Enki will release the spell of Eridu!'"

32'–34' Asalluḫe saw and went home to his father Enki, saying: 35'–43' "[O my father, gall it was, it burst through the ground like] a plant. [It raised (its) head as if it were a nanny-goat, like a nanny-goat's kid it bore white (flecks). Flicking out its tongue like a water snake,] like(!) [a snake] in a [bedchamber,] gall [raised (its) head, like a snake in the kindling pouring forth bile. 'O gall, you (who) come here of your own will: be smashed like a pot, die] down [like a flame, die] down [of your own accord like a fire in the rushes! . . .]'"

iv 1"–v 2 [Enki answered his son Asalluḫe: "My son,] what do you not [know, what can I add?] Asalluḫe, what do you not know, what can I add? What I know, you know too, and what you know is what(!) I(!) know too! 3–6 Take a lump of salt, drop it into a litre of best ale, cast the spell over it and give it [to that man] to drink [while] the sun is (still up). 7–10 He will void [(the gall) like a fart, he will burp it up it like a belch, he will expel it from his anus like wind." *Tu-Enenuru*-spell.]

11 [Incantation-formula against] gall.

Notes

iv 21'–22'. ú-d is syllabic for ud$_5$.

25'. muš-gin$_7$ BAD-ke$_4$ is corrupt for muš ki-bil/bíl/bí-il-la/lá-gin$_7$ in BM 64526: 9 and dupls., translated by Alster (1972a: 351) as "like a snake *of the dirty places*," and by Michalowski (1981: 4) as "like a snake of scorched-out places." I suggest instead that this ki-bil (etc.) is an unorthographic spelling of ^{gi}gi-bil "kindling wood," for a pile of dry wood is an attractive lair for a snake; cf. Akk. *ṣerri buli'ātim* in II.D.8 No. 27a: 20.

26'. ni-za-a syllabic for ní-za.

27'. du-ug-gin$_7$ ka-az-ba for dug-gin$_7$ gaz-ba.

30'. nam-giš-pa (also v 5) is for nam-šub: see the introduction to this volume.

31'. The line should be a wish, as in ll. 13–14 of the nineteen-line gall incantation (Alster 1972a: 350), and other incantations (*PBS* I/2 107 rev. 11'–12'; Um 712 obv. 3–5, ed. Waetzoldt and Yıldız 1986: 293). On the dag agrun-na (or é-nun-na), part of Enki's Abzu, see Caplice 1973: 302, and refs. collected in *PSD* A/3 65–66 (add No. 11b i 26').

0"–3". Restored after iv 10–13 (II.E.3) and vii 26–29 (II.J.1).

v 7–9. This three-line spell had wide currency in incantations against wind and other digestive disorders (Cohen 1976: 97–103 and the Sumerian passages collected in *PSD* B 167–68; bilingual *CT* 4 8a: 37–39; in Akkadian see Böck 2007: 219). The Sumerian version also occurs in No. 10d, at the end of an incantation against stomach pain (vi 1'–4'):

še$_{10}$-⌜gin$_7$⌝ [. . .
bu-luḫ-⌜gin$_7$⌝ [. . .
im-gin$_7$ gu-du-[ta . . .
ḫé-⌜em⌝-ma-ra-⌜è⌝

In the present instance [ḫé]-du-re (7) is for ḫé-dúr-re; si-il (8), literally "to split," is the standard idiom with bu-lu-úḫ "belch": see Cohen 1976: 102–3.

II.E.5. No. 7j (Pl. XXV) // No. 8l (Pl. XXIX)

One of the several incantations that are preserved on the two Old Babylonian collective tablets Nos. 7 and 8 is a Sumerian spell in partly corrupt form. It is already known in an abbreviated version on two Old Babylonian tablets now in Berlin, and an Akkadian version also exists on a Old Babylonian tablet from Sippar. These are transliterated after Nos. 7j and 8l. Given that the incantation follows two against gall on both manuscripts, and precedes a sequence of stomach-ache spells on No. 7, and that the Akkadian version bears the rubric *šipat* šà-mu (for šà-gig "stomach-ache"), it is very likely that

this text's function was also to counter digestive disorders. The text identifies a hostile force in conventional terms, as something that inflicts pain and attacks with overwhelming force. It then calls on Enki and Asalluhe, the gods of magic, to cast for the speaker a spell that will release the patient from affliction. Probably the divinely legitimated spell is then quoted, but damage and further corruption prevent full knowledge of the text's end.

No. 7j
col. v
12 am-gin$_7$ si! [du$_7$-d]u$_7$ g[ìri-gin$_7$ gu]b-ba-mu
13 a-gi$_6$-⸢a-gin$_7$ peš$_{10}$⸣-t[a u]r$_4$-ur$_4$-e
14 ^{giš}ig-[gi]n$_7$ ḫé-me-nu-è-a
15 izi-gin$_7$ ḫé-me-si-du
16 ^{d}en-ki lugal abzu-[k]e$_4$
17 ^{d}asal-lú-⸢ḫe⸣ dumu eridu^{ki}-ga-⸢ke$_4$⸣
18 nam-giš-pa šúm-[m]a-⸢ab⸣
19 ^{giš}ig in-ta me-e-š[i-(x)]-⸢è⸣
20 izi-g[in$_7$ x x] me-e-š[i-(x)-è]
21 šà ⸢x⸣ [. . .
22 mu [. . .
23 ⸢tu$_6$⸣-[. . .
24 tu$_6$ [én-é-nu]-r[u]

---

25 ka-inim-ma [zé?-ka]m

No. 8l
col. iv
20 [am-gin$_7$ s]i du$_7$-du$_7$ gìri-⸢gin$_7$⸣ gub-ba-mu
21 [a-gi$_6$]-⸢a⸣-gin$_7$ peš$_{10}$-ta ur$_4$-ur$_4$-e
22 [^{giš}i]g-gin$_7$ ḫé-me-nu-è
23 [iz]i-gin$_7$ ḫé-me-si-du
24 ^{d}en-ki lugal abzu-ke$_4$
25 ^{d}asal-lú-ḫe dumu eridu^{ki}-ga-⸢ke$_4$⸣
26 nam-šub šúm-⸢šúm-ma⸣
27 [x x] ⸢in⸣-ta me-e-⸢ši⸣-[(x)]-è
28 [x]-ta me-e-[ši]-⸢è⸣
29 [x x x] íd x [x x] x [x x]
30 [tu$_6$-du]g$_4$-ga na[m-šub eridu^{k}]^{i}-g[a-kam]
31 [tu$_6$ én]-⸢é⸣-[nu-ru]
32 [ka-ini]m-[ma x x]

[v 12–13] Goring like a wild bull, stuck in me like a knife(!), like a flood-wave eroding a river-bank! [14–15] May Enki(!) make you lie calm(!) [like] a river(!), extinguish you like a fire. [16–18] O Enki, lord of Abzu, O Asalluhe, son of Eridu, cast the spell for me! [19–22] Enki(!?) has sent out . . . against you, he has sent [. . .] out against you like fire. Inside [. . .] river [. . .] [23–24] [Incantation]-spell of Eridu. [*Tu*]-*Enenuru*-spell.
[25] Incantation formula [against gall(?).]

An abbreviated version of the incantation, consisting only of the opening lines, is known from two tablets now in Berlin, where it is the last of a sequence of three miscellaneous spells (for the first, *VAS* X 202 obv., see Finkel 1998: 83–84). These lines are written more conventionally, which greatly aids understanding of No. 7j. They have not been edited before, so their text is given here:

gud-gin$_7$ si du$_7$-du$_7$ gír-gin$_7$ gub-ba za
a-gi$_6$-gin$_7$ peš$_{10}$-ta ur$_4$-ur$_4$-re
^{d}en-ki-ke$_4$ íd-gin$_7$ ḫé-me-nú-e
i-zi-gin$_7$ ḫé-me-šed$_{10}$
VAS X 202: 11'–14' (edges) // 203: 17–21

Goring like an ox, sticking like a knife, (are) you, like a flood-wave eroding a river bank. May Enki make you lie calm as a river, extinguish you like a fire.

An Akkadian version of this short spell occurs, after incantations against Lamaštu (^{d}DÌM-ma-BAD[1]) and dogs (ur-gi$_7$-ra), at the end of an Old Babylonian tablet excavated in a dwelling house at Sippar (Al-Rawi and Dalley 2000: pl. 62 no. 134):

ši-ri ki-ma pa-at-ri-im
i-ta-ak-ki-ip ki-ma ⸢*alpim*(gud)⸣^{im}
ki-ma al-ma-at-ti-im
qú-tu-ru pa-nu-šu

---

1 Cavigneaux and Al-Rawi 1994: 74 l. 15 read ^{d}AD$_6$ (LÚ×BAD) BA-UG$_7$ "les divins trépassés."

ki-ma a-ge-em ú-ḫa-sí-ir ki-ib-ra-tim
. . . *ši-pa-at* šà-mu

Cavigneaux and Al-Rawi 1994: 82–84 rev. 32–41; Foster 2005: 185

My flesh has been [stabbed] as with a dagger, gored as by an ox.
Its face is smoked black, like a widow's.
Like a flood-wave it eroded the river banks.
. . . Incantation-formula for stomach-ache(!).

Notes

v 12 // iv 20. gìr "foot" instead of gír "knife," as in *VAS* X 202 // 203. The final -mu "my" might alternatively indicate a vocative address, for the parallel text has instead za, abbreviated from za-e me-en "you are."

v 13 // iv 21. The motif occurs in the hymn Sîn-iqīšam A 18: a-è-e maḫ peš$_{10}$ ur$_4$-ur$_4$-re "high overflowing water, eroding the river bank" (cf. Sjöberg 1973: 108 l. 15).

v 14 // iv 22. ^{giš}ig-gin$_7$ is disastrously corrupt for ^{d}en-ki-ke$_4$ íd-gin$_7$ (see *VAS* X 202 // 203); -nu-è-(a) for -nú-e. The scribe seems to have in mind a door that allows no exit, ^{giš}ig nu-è-a.

v 15 // iv 23. si-du syllabic for šed$_{10}$.

v 18 // iv 26. nam-giš-pa = nam-šub, see the introduction to this volume.

v 19 // iv 27. ^{giš}ig probably hides ^{d}en-ki again.

v 23 // iv 30. Restored after II.D.6 No. 7f iii 7'.

II.E.6. No. 25a (Pl. LXXI) and No. 7l (Pl. XXV) // No. 8e (Pl. XXVIII)

Each side of the Old Babylonian tablet No. 25 holds a self-contained text. The obverse is an incantation against stomach upset, which alternates between Sumerian, or an imitation of Sumerian, and Akkadian. Someone has fallen sick, but relief perhaps comes from heaven (1–3). These three lines are related to a short spell written on the two Old Babylonian collective tablets, Nos. 7l // 8e, and the text of these is given afterwards. Just as once heaven healed the animals by fertilization and impregnation, so the voice of the incantation No. 25a invokes the same strategy to heal the patient, who is to be identified by name (4–8). These five lines are related to the next incantation on the collective tablets, Nos. 7m // 8f, edited in II.E.7. The spell of No. 25a then diverges from the collective tablet, going on to demand the gods of healing and the mother goddess come to the sufferer's aid (8–14). The incantation on the reverse, against a snake, has been edited above, II.D.14. The handwriting is poor, with many signs unidentifiable, and consequent gaps in decipherment.

obv.

1 ú-a ab-gig lú-b[u]
2 ú-<a> ab-gig gig an-ta su[r-ra]
3 ki-te-x+KAK in-nu-z[i?-(x)]
4 *ki-ma an-nu šar ša-me-e ir-⸢ḫu⸣-[ú]*
5 *bu-ul* ^{d}*šákkan rēšam*(sag) *[l]u-šu-ri-ma*
6 ne-nam dumu ne-n[am] dingir-bi ne-nam
7 *ù* ama-^{d}innin-[bi] ne-nam
8 *lu-ra-ḫi-mi i-di ši-ip-tam*
9 ^{d}*da-mu be-el ta-ka-la-tim*
10 *bēlet-ilī*(dingir-maḫ) *be-le-et re-mi-im*
11 ^{d}*gu-la a-sú-ut a-we-le-e*
12 *⸢kap⸣-pa-šu lu-pu-ut*
13 *zu-qá-as-sú i-ši ti-bé-e!-mi / qí-bi-šum*
14 k[a!-i]nim-ma! šà-gig-ga

[1–3] "Woe!" was that man sick! "Woe!" was he sick, a sickness spewing upward, earth . . . [4–8] Just as Anu, king of heaven, inseminated the animals of Šakkan, I will impregnate the slave (lit. "head") and inseminate So-and-so, son of So-and-so, whose god is So-and-so, and whose goddess is So-and-so! Cast the spell! [9–11] O Damu, lord of the pouch, O Bēlet-ilī, queen of the womb, O Gula, doctor of men! [12–13] Touch his arm, lift his chin! Say to him, "Arise!"

[14] Incantation formula for stomach-ache.

No. 7l

col. v

34 lú šà ab-gig an-ta [sur-r]a
35 lú gi$_6$-gi$_6$ an-ta ⸢gi$_6$⸣

36 ki nu-túm tu$_6$ én-é-⸢nu⸣-[ru]

---

37 ka-inim-ma šà-gig-ga *ša-pa-ru-um*

No. 8e
col. ii
17' lú šà ab-gig lú-bi an-na sur-ra
18' lú gi$_6$ an-ta gi$_6$
19' ki?! nu-túm tu$_6$ én-é-nu-ru

20' ka-inim-ma šà-gig-ga

Notes

No. 25a 1. lú-bu syllabic for lú-bi (as in No. 8 ii 17'). The version of the incantation on Nos. 7l (v 34) // 8e (ii 17') has lú instead of ú-a: "a man's stomach was sick, that man was spewing upward." On sur as a verb describing the discharge of fluid from the body see a—sur "to urinate," zé—sur "to vomit," šà—sur "to have diarrhoea" (George 2015b: 97).

3. Probably a corrupt version of Nos. 7l v 36 // 8e ii 19'.

4–5. There is an allusion here to the motif in which cosmic fertility sets off mating among the animals; compare II.E.7 Nos. 7m v 39–40 // 8f ii 22'–23'. Other incantations begin *Anu irḫi'am šamê* "Anum fertilized (*or* begat) Sky" (e.g. OB *YOS* XI 5: 1, ed. Wasserman 2008: 73; later K 6057+ ii 29, ed. Böck 2014: 110), so that in our text *šar* might be an intrusion.

5. The form *lušūri* instead of *lušēri* belongs to literary language (see Lambert 1987: 198; *GAG*^{3} §97d). Before it, sag = *rēšum* evidently refers by synecdoche to the sufferer, unless it is a part of a writing ^{d}GÌR-sag for Šakkan, not previously attested (for spellings of the name of this deity, see now Lambert 2013: 513–23). Note sag meaning "human being" in the Song of the Hoe (l. 6: uzu-è/mú-a sag mú-mú-dè "in order to grow humans in U.").

8. The verb *reḫûm* "to inseminate" is a metaphor for making a spell enter a body and protect it, as in the several passages discussed by Cooper 1996 and Cavigneaux 1999: 258–70. Here it is the II/1 stem, with enclitic *-mi*.

No. 7l v 37. *šapārum* "to send a message (or messenger)" seems an unlikely word in a rubric, particularly in connection with stomach pain. It is assumed to be an error of metathesis for *pašārum* "to free, ease," which is one of the technical terms for healing (e.g. *BAM* 232 i 23: [*ana* . . .]x-*šu u mu-ru-uṣ* dù-a-bi *pašāri* (búr) "[to] relieve . . . all sicknesses").

II.E.7. No. 7m (Pl. XXV) // No. 8f (Pl. XXVIII)

This short Akkadian incantation, preserved on the Old Babylonian collective tablets Nos. 7 and 8, consists of two simple spells that both share content with II.E.6 No. 25a. The first spell ends with the formula én-é-nu-ru (v 42 // ii 25'), the other with tu$_6$ én-é-nu-ru (v 47 // ii 28'). Both give commands. The first begins with an unintelligible line, probably in a foreign language or abracadabra (v 38 // ii 21'). It then invokes the natural order in which Sky sends rain to impregnate Earth and the animals mate, tells the addressee to make a wish, perhaps implying that it will come true just as naturally (v 39–41 // ii 22'–24'). The second spell addresses an individual, obviously the sufferer, by name and commands him to drink a potion, the nature of which is unfortunately obscured by damage (v 43–46 // ii 26'–27', apparently without a line corresponding to 46). The rubric survives only in the barest traces on tablet No. 7 only (v 48), but the topic of what precedes and follows on both collective tablets is stomach pain, and the traces are restored accordingly.

No. 7m
col. v
38 lú sag-ga-ak-ra-áš a(*or* sà!)-pu-ṛa
39 *ša-mu-ú er-ṣe-ta-am ir-ḫu-ú*
40 *b*[*u*]-*ul* ^{d}šákkan *ir-ta-ak-*⸢*bu*⸣
41 *e-ri-iš ta-am-ma-ga-*[*a*]*r*
42 én-⸢é⸣-nu-ru
43 ⸢*an*⸣-[*na-an-n*]*a* dumu *an-na-an-*⸢*na*⸣
44 [*ša* dingir-*šu*] *an-na-an-*[*na*]
45 [*iš-ta-a*]*r-šu an-na-ni-*[*tum*]
46 [x x x] ⸢x x x-*tim*?⸣ *ši-ti-a-*[*am*]
47 [tu$_6$ é]n-é-nu-ru

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48 [ka-inim-ma šà-gig *pa-ša-r*]*u-u*[*m*]

No. 8f

col. ii

21' lugal sag-ga-ak-ra-áš sa-pu-ra
22' *ša-mu-ú er-ṣe-ta-am ir-ḫu-ú*
23' *bu-ul* ᵈšákkan *i-na ṣe-ri-im ir-ta-ak-bu*
24' *e-ri-iš ta-am-ma-ga-*⌜*ar*⌝
25' én-é-nu-ru
26' *an-na-an-*⌜*na* dumu⌝ *an-na-*<*an-na*> *ša* dingir-*šu an-na-an-na*
27' *iš-ta-a*[*r-šu*] *an-na-ni-tum*
28' ⌜tu₆! én⌝-[é-nu-ru x x x] ⌜x x x⌝
29' [. . . . . .]

v 38 *Lu(gal) sanggakraš sapura.* 39–42 Sky fertilized Earth, the animals of Šakkan mounted one another. Ask, you will be granted your wish! *Enenuru*-spell.
43–46 O So-and-so, son of So-and-so, whose god is So-and-so, whose goddess is So-and-so: drink . . . ! 47 *Tu-Enenuru*-spell.
48 [Incantation formula] to [ease stomach-ache.]

II.E.8. No. 7 o (Pl. XXV) // No. 8i (Pls. XXVIII–XXIX)

This incantation, again inscribed on both Old Babylonian collective tablets No. 7 and No. 8, is a version of one of the best-known incantations in Akkadian. In it the sun-god Šamaš finds in the mountains a plant called the "heart-grass," but it turns out to be a bad thing, gripping the "hearts" of all and sundry. Like the Sumerian gall incantations, the "heart-grass" spell has a long history, from the Old Babylonian period to the first millennium. Two unprovenanced Old Babylonian tablets bear versions of it, *YOS* XI 11 (ed. Farber 1990b: 308–9; Veldhuis 1990: 27–28) and 12 (ed. Veldhuis 1990: 28–29). Another version, adapted for toothache, is represented by II.E.13 No. 26c. In the Neo-Assyrian period two more versions appear in compilations of medical incantations (listed by Veldhuis 1990: 36). One is more nearly related to the Old Babylonian versions, the other, better attested, less so. The texts' literary qualities have been explored by Reiner (1985: 94–100) and Veldhuis (1990, id. 1993b: 50–51).

All versions of the spell begin with an aetiology of the "heart-grass" in mythical time. The wording differs slightly from version to version, but the underlying myth is the same. The sun-god found the beautiful "heart-grass" growing on a remote mountain and introduced it to the world. Three clauses describe how Šamaš brought the plant from its mountain: he took it up to the sky (here, No. 8i iii 2, *ana šamê uše*[*li'aššu*]), he "ferried" it from the mountain, as if across water (*YOS* XI 11: 1–2, *ištu š*[*adîm*] *ušēbiram*), and he brought it down from the mountain (*BAM* 574 iii 24, *ištu šadî ušēridam*[*ma*], cf. II.E.13 No. 26c ii 4'). The three verbs can all be understood in the context of the sun's daily passage across the sky. As he rose one morning in the eastern mountains, Šamaš spotted the "heart-grass," reached out and plucked it from the ground. He then rose into the sky with it (*šūlûm*) and took it across the sky with him (*šūburum*),[1] where it infected the moon. As he set in the west, he brought the plant down with him (*šūrudum*), and covered it with soil, where it infected the earth that buried it (No. 7 o vi 12, *libbi erṣetim qēbirtīšu iṣṣabat*).

Once planted in the world, the "heart-grass" was able to infect everything in the world. All versions of the incantation are characterized by a chain of objects: the "hearts" which the "heart-grass" seizes and afflicts, and whose release from its grip is sought as the incantation's outcome. The new version of the spell published here contains the longest sequence so far found (No. 7 o vi 10–22 // No. 8i iii 3–15, vi 29–41 // iii 20–32). The chain commonly ends with citation of the sufferer's name in the conven-

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1 The verb *ebērum* "to cross (water)" is also used when Marduk crosses the sky in *Enūma eliš* IV 141, *šamê ībir*. This squares with the Babylonian view that water lay over the sky, whence fell the rain (see further Horowitz 1998: 262–63).

tional formula, *annanna māri annanna ša ilšu annanna ištaršu annannītum iṣṣabat* (*YOS* XI 12, *BAM* 574 iii 30 and here, vi 23–25 // iii 16–17, 33–34), and the verbs reporting first the seizing of his "heart" and then its release.

The incantation's specific function has not previously been evident, beyond a literal interpretation of its key phrase as "seizure of the heart" (e.g. van Dijk *et al.* 1985: 22, Veldhuis 1993: 56). In tablet No. 8 it is identified by its rubric as a spell deployed against internal pain (šà-[gig]), so that the "heart" that is gripped by the "heart-grass" is not the organ that pumps blood, but the insides in general and the stomach and digestive system in particular. Confirmation comes from the incantation's use in the first millennium. One of its occurrences is in Tablet I of a series of medical spells and therapeutic rituals entitled after its incipit "If a man suffers from a painful cough" (*BAM* VI 574 i 1, iv 52). It holds both versions of the "heart-grass" spell (iii 23–31, ed. Veldhuis 1990: 38; iii 34–39, ed. Reiner 1985: 94). The tablet deals not only with cough, however, but also with what Köcher described as "innere Krankheiten wie Leibschmerzen, Magen- und Darmkoliken und Verdauungsbeschwerden" (1980: xxvii). Thus a firm functional context of the "heart-grass" spells is among remedies for pain in the digestive tract.

No. 7 o

col. vi

4–8 missing, see No. 8i below

9 *a-na ša-m[e-e ú-ši-li-a-aš-šu]*

10 *li-ib-⸢bi⸣ [^{d}sîn*(suen)] *⸢iṣ⸣-ṣa-ba-a[t]*

11 *li-ib-bi ⸢^{d}šamaš*(utu) *na-si⸣-ḫi-⸢šu⸣ iṣ-ṣa-ba-a[t]*

12 *li-ib-bi er-ṣe-tim qé-⸢bi⸣-ir-ti-šu / iṣ-ṣa-<ba>-at*

13 *⸢li⸣-ib-bi al-pi-im i-na sú-pu-ri-im*

14 *li-ib-bi im-me-ri-im i-na ta-ar-ba-/-⸢ṣi⸣-im*

15 *li-ib-⸢bi⸣ ka-al-bi-im i-na ru-ub-ṣi-šu*

16 *li-ib-bi ša-ḫi-im i-na ir-ri-ti-šu*

17 *li-ib-bi eṭ-lim i-na šu-le-em*

18 *li-ib-bi wa-⸢ar-da⸣-tim i-⸢na⸣ me-⸢lu-lim⸣*

19 *li-ib-bi nu-nim ⸢i⸣-na ap-sí-im*

20 *li-ib-bi iṣ-ṣú-⸢ri⸣-im i-na ap-pa-ri-im*

21 *l[i-i]b-bi ra-[a]q-qí-im i-na ru-šu-um-tim*

22 *li-ib-bi ši-le-ep-pi-im i-na sà-aḫ-/-sà-aḫ-tim*

23 *li-ib-bi an-na-an-na māri*(dumu) *an-na-an-na*

24 *ša il*(dingir)-*[š]u an-na-an-na*

25 *⸢iš⸣-ta-ar-šu an-na-ni-tum*

26 *iṣ-ṣa-ba-at*

27 *a-[n]u-um ⸢a⸣-na* ⸢^{d}⸣[a]sal-lú-ḫe *māri*(dumu) ^{d}en-ki

28 *qí-bi-a-ma*

29 *li-ib-bi ^{d}sîn*(suen) *i-na ša-me-e*

30 *li-ib-bi ^{d}šamaš*(utu) *na-sí-ḫi-šu*

31 *li-ib-bi er-ṣe-tim qé-bi-ir-/-ti-šu*

32 *[li-ib-bi al-pi-im i-n]a ⸢sú-pu-ri⸣-/-im*

33 *li-ib-bi im-me-ri-im i-na ta-ar-ba-/-ṣi-im*

34 *li-ib-bi ka-al-bi-im i-na ru-ub-ṣi-šu*

35 *li-ib-bi ša-ḫi-im [i-n]a ir-ri-ti-šu*

36 *li-ib-bi eṭ-lim i-na šu-le-em*

37 *[l]i-⸢ib-bi wa-ar⸣-da-tim i-na me-lu-lim*

38 *[li]-⸢ib⸣-[bi n]u-nim i-⸢na⸣ a[p-s]í-im*

39 *[li-ib-bi i]ṣ-⸢ṣú⸣-r[i-im i-na a]p-pa-ri-im*

40 *[li-ib-bi ra-aq-qí-im i-na] ru-šu-um-tim*

41 *[li-ib-bi ši-le-ep-pi-im i-na sà-aḫ-sà-aḫ]-tim*

gap

No. 8i

col. ii

40' *[ša-am-m]u-um ša li-i[b-bi-im]*

41' *[šu-sú]-⸢um⸣ da-ma-aq-[šu]*

42' traces

col. iii

1 ⸢^{d}*šamaš*(utu)⸣ *i-mu-ur-⸢šu* {x}⸣ *i[s-sú-uḫ-šu-ma]*

2 *[a]-na ša-me-e ú-ši-[li-a-aš-šu?]*

3 *li-ib-bi ^{d}sîn*(suen) *iṣ-[ṣa-ba-at]*

4 *li-ib-bi ^{d}šamaš*(utu) *na-sí-ḫi-šu i[ṣ-ṣa-ba-at]*

5 *li-ib-bi er-ṣe-tim qé-⸢bi⸣-i[r-ti-šu]*

6 *li-ib-bi al-pi-im i-na s[ú-pu-ri-im]*

7 *li-ib-bi im-me-ri-im i-na [ta-ar-ba-ṣi-im]*

8 *li-ib-bi ka-al-bi-im i-na [ru-ub-ṣi-šu]*

9 *li-ib-bi ša-ḫi-im i-na [ir-ri-ti-šu]*

10 *li-ib-bi eṭ-lim i-na [šu-le-em]*

11 *li-ib-bi wa-⸢ar-da⸣-tim i-na [me-lu-lim]*

12 *li-ib-bi nu-nim i-na a[p-sí-im]*

13 *li-ib-bi iṣ-ṣú-ri-im i-na a[p-pa-ri-im]*

14 *li-ib-bi ra-aq-qí-im i-na r[u-šu-um-tim]*
15 *li-ib-bi ši-e-le-ep-pi-im i-[na sà-aḫ-sà-aḫ-tim]*
16 *li-ib-bi an-na-an-na māri*(dumu) *an-n[a-an-na]*
17 *ša il*(dingir)*-šu an-⸢na-an!⸣-na iš-ta-[ar-šu an-na-ni-tum]*
18 *iṣ-ṣa-[ba-at]*
19 *a-nu-um-ma ⸢a⸣-na* ^{d}as[al-lú-ḫe *māri*(dumu) ^{d}en-ki *qí-bi-a-ma]*
20 *li-ib-bi* ^{d}*sîn*(suen) *[i-na ša-me-e]*
21 *li-⸢ib⸣-bi* ⸢^{d}*šamaš*(utu)⸣ *[na-sí-ḫi-šu]*
22 *⸢li-ib⸣-bi ⸢er-ṣe⸣-[tim qé-bi-ir-ti-šu]*
23 *li-⸢ib-bi al⸣-pi-im [i-na sú-pu-ri-im]*
24 *li-ib-⸢bi im-me⸣-ri-im i-n[a ta-ar-ba-ṣi-im]*
25 *li-ib-bi [ka]-al-bi-im i-⸢na⸣ r[u-ub-ṣi-šu]*
26 *li-ib-bi [ša]-⸢ḫi⸣-im i-na ⸢er-ṣe-ti⸣-š[u]*
27 *li-ib-b[i e]ṭ-lim i-⸢na šu⸣-[le-em]*
28 *⸢li⸣-ib-⸢bi wa-ar-da⸣-tim i-[na me]-l[u-lim]*
29 *⸢li-ib⸣-[bi] nu-nim i-⸢na⸣ ap-s[í-im]*
30 *⸢li-ib⸣-bi iṣ-[ṣú-ri-i]m i-⸢na⸣ ap-pa-r[i-im]*
31 *⸢li-ib⸣-bi ra-⸢aq-qí⸣-im i-na ru-⸢šu⸣-[um-tim]*
32 *[li]-ib-bi ši-e-le-ep-pi-im i-na i-na s[à-aḫ-sà-aḫ-t]im*
33 *[l]i-ib-bi ⸢an-na-an-na māri*(dumu) *an⸣-na-[an-na]*
34 *[š]a il*(dingir)*-šu ⸢an-na-an⸣-n[a iš-ta-a]r-[šu an-na-ni-t]um*
35 *l[i-wa-aš-š]i-[ir]*
36 [tu$_6$ é]n-⸢é⸣-[nu-ru]
37 [ka-inim-m]a ⸢šà⸣-[gig-ga]

[8 ii 40′–41′] [The] "heart-grass," [fair] was [its] beauty. [. . .] [iii 1–2] Sun saw it, he [pulled it up and took it] up to the sky.

[7 vi 10–26] It seized the insides of Moon,
it seized the insides of Sun, who had pulled it up,
it seized the insides of Earth, who had buried it.

It seized:
the insides of the ox in the stall,
the insides of the sheep in the fold,
the insides of the dog in its bed,
the insides of the pig in its sty,
the insides of the young man in the street,
the insides of the young woman in the dance,
the insides of the fish in the Deep,
the insides of the bird in the marsh,
the insides of the terrapin in the mud,
the insides of the turtle under the river-bank,
the insides of So-and-so, son of So-and-so, whose god is So-and-so, whose goddess is So-and-so.

[vi 27–35] Speak (pl.) now to Asalluḫe, son of Enki, so that he [frees]
the insides of Moon in the sky,
the insides of Sun, who had pulled it up,
the insides of Earth, who had buried it,
the insides of the ox in the stall,
the insides of the sheep in the fold,
the insides of the dog in its bed,
the insides of the pig in its sty,
the insides of the young man in the street,
the insides of the young woman in the dance,
the insides of the fish in the Deep,
the insides of the bird in the marsh,
the insides of the terrapin in the mud,
the insides of the turtle under the river-bank,
the insides of So-and-so, son of So-and-so, whose god is So-and-so, [whose goddess is So-and-so.]

[36] [*Tu*]-*Ene*[*nuru*-spell].

[37] [Incantation] formula for stomach-[ache.]

Notes

No. 7 o [vi] // No. 8i ii 41′. The restoration is encouraged by SB Gilgameš I 230: *šu-su-ma bi-nu-tú* "comely of figure" and, especially, Bullussa-rabi's hymn to Gula, l. 121 (Lambert 1967: 122): *šu-su-ma-ku ina dam-qa-a-ti* "I am the fairest among beauties."

vi 16, 35 // iii 9, 26. No. 8's *erṣetīšu* "its ground" (iii 26 only) is an obviously inferior corruption of *irritīšu*.

vi 17–18, 36–37 // iii 10–11, 27–28. This pair is a stock motif, occurring also among the victims of Lamaštu (*YOS* XI 19: 9–10): *i-ṣa-ab-ba-at eṭ-lam i-na ⸢šu-le⸣-em / wardatam*(ki-sikil) *i-na me-lu-li-im* "she seizes the young man in the street, the young woman in the dance."

An Old Assyrian evil-eye incantation from Kaneš knows a variant version (kt 94/k 520: 11–14): *eṭ-lam i-na sú-pu-im ta-ḫu-uz wa-ar-da-tám i-šu-wa-ri-im ta-ḫu-uz* "it seized the young man at prayer, it seized the young woman in the jig."

The juxtaposition of OB *šu-li-im* and OA *sú-pu-im* led the editors of the Old Assyrian tablet to parse the OB word as a variant of *sullîm* "prayer" (Barjamovic and Larsen 2008: 149). However, "street" and "dance" go together as the places of encounter for unmarried Babylonian youth (e.g. Sefati 1998: 187). It is a nearly universal scenario: when girls dance together in public, boys loiter in the street hoping to meet one of them afterwards. Sometimes the encounters went beyond admiration: in Ištar's Descent, because Ištar is dead (l. 88): *ar-da-tum ina sūqi*(sila) *ul ú-šá-ra eṭ-lu* "in the street, no young man gets a girl pregnant" (but that typically happened previously). It can be supposed on these grounds that OA *sú-pu-im* derives from a misunderstanding of OB *šulêm* as *sullîm*.

Note, finally, a change in the stock locations in a late version of the Heart Grass spell, where the boys dance and the girls are hidden from public view (*BAM* 574 iii 29): *iṣ-bat libbi*(šà) *eṭli*(guruš) *ina me-lul-ti iṣ-bat libbi*(šà) *ardati*(ki-sikil) *i-na ur-ši-šá* "it seized the insides of the young man in the dance, it seized the insides of the young woman in her bedchamber."

vi 22, 41 // iii [15], 32. These two lines give the first instance of the word *saḫsaḫtum* (*CAD saḫsaḫḫu*, *AHw saḫsaḫḫūtum*) in context. In lexical texts it explains peš$_{10}$(KI.A) "river bank": Proto-*Diri* (Oxford) 320–23: [KI].A = [*ki*]-*ib*-⸢*rum*⸣ "bank," *ka*-[*r*]*um* "quay," *na-ḫal-lum* "ravine," *sà-aḫ-sà-ḫa-tum*; other lexical entries do not add to the picture. The present line shows that *saḫsaḫtum* is the typical habitat of a *šeleppûm*-turtle, a reptile that other texts represent as dwelling in watercourses and lakes (e.g. in the incantation *VAS* XVII 12: 3, ed. Owen 1981: 42). When not swimming, aquatic turtles rest at the water's edge, and it is plausible to identify *saḫsaḫtum* as an alluvial shelf in the shelter of a river bank.

[vi 44] // ii 35. The restoration of part of *wuššurum* is encouraged by the plea in one of the other Old Babylonian versions (*YOS* XI 12: 9ff.): *lu-ú tu-wa-ša-ar* "(I adjure you, O 'heart-grass',) that you shall release (the seized insides)!" Here the agent is Asalluḫe (vi 27 // ii 19), so the verb is third person.

II.E.9. No. 7p (Pl. XXIV) // No. 8j (Pl. XXIX)

The "heart-grass" incantation edited in II.E.8 is followed on both collective tablets by traces of another Akkadian incantation. That on No. 8 is identified by rubric as again a spell against stomach-ache. Probably these are the fragmentary remains of the same incantation. It shares some vocabulary with the "heart-grass" spell of II.E.8 and, as there, asks that the sufferer be delivered by two or more beings acting in concert. It is given here for comparison, despite its poor state of preservation:

No. 8j
col. iii
38 traces
39–40 lost
41 . . . *n*]*a-ap-šu-ru*
42 . . .]x
43 . . .]x
44 . . .]x
45 . . .]-*ka-ma*
46 . . .]
47 . . .] ⸢x x⸣
gap

No. 7p
col. vii
1 *qá-at-ku-nu la t*[*u-pa-aš-ša-ra*]
2 *a-di li-ib-bi an-n*[*a-an-na māri*(dumu) *an-na-an-na*]
3 *ša il*(dingir)-*šu an-*[*na-an-na*]
4 ⸢*iš-ta-ar-šu an-na*⸣-[*ni-tum*]
5 [*tu-wa-aš-ša-ra*]

6 [tu$_6$ én-é-nu-ru?]

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7 ⸢ka-inim-ma šà⸣-[gig-ga]

(Beginning lost) vii 1–6 [O DN$_1$ and DN$_2$,] do not [release] your (pl.) grip until [you free] the insides of So-and-[so, son of So-and-so,] whose god is So-[and-so,] whose goddess is So-and-[so! *Tu-Enenuru*-spell.]
7 Incantation formula against stomach-[ache.]

II.E.10. No. 8d (Pl. XXVIII)

Only the tail end of this Akkadian incantation survives on the collective tablet No. 8. The rubric indicates that it is for use in cases where livestock suffer from bloat, making it a rare example of ancient Mesopotamian veterinary treatment.[1] Bloat in sheep is a dangerous condition brought on by grazing pasture with a high legume content, such as clover, which leaves the animal unable to release digestive gases in the normal way. The fragment of text above the rubric is clearly a spell to counter a harmful wind trapped in the body (ii 2'–3'), and demonstrates that the Babylonians understood the cause of bloat perfectly. Their explanation of the condition, however, was not lush pasture but a demonic stormwind, an aetiology for digestive disorders which has already been encountered in the texts cited in the introduction to this section. The present incantation concludes with a well-used legitimation formula attributing it to the goddess Ningirimma (4'–7'). It is followed by a therapy ("ritual") in the form of a salt-water flush: a strong solution of salt is forced into the animal and in due course, stimulated (perhaps unnecessarily) by the healer's carefully placed finger and by the magic effect of the spell, it expels it from its anus (10'–16'). The use of salt and saline solutions in Babylonian medicine is discussed in the introduction to this book. It can be assumed that the present procedure was believed to drive out of the animal's body, by the same route and at the same time, the "stormwind" or other force blamed for its plight.[2]

col. ii

1' traces
2' *ša-ra-am le-*<*em*>*-na-am*
3' *im-ta-am le-mu-ut-ta-am ša li-*⸢*ib*⸣*-bi-im!*
4' *ši-ip-tum ú-ul ia-tum*
5' *ši-pa-at* ^{d}nin-girim$_x$(TAR.ḪA.DU) *be-le-et ši-pa-tim*
6' ^{d}nin-girim$_x$ *iq-bi-i-*⸢*ma*⸣
7' *a-na-ku ad-di*
8' tu$_6$ én-é-nu-ru

9' ka-inim-ma *alpum*(gud) *immerum*(udu-níta) *em-ru-um!*
10' *ki-ik-ki-it-tum a-na* 1 *qa me-e*
11' ⅓ *qa ṭābtam*(mun) *ta-na-ad-di-ma*
12' *ta-ša-aq-qí-šu-ma*
13' *mu-da-ab-bi-ba-am i-na pi-šu ta-ša-ak-ka-an*
14' *ú-ba-an-ka a-na qí-in-na-ti-*⸢*šu tu*⸣*-ub-ba-al-ma*
15' *ši-ni-šu ši-ip-ta-am ta-na-ad-di-*⸢*šum*⸣*-ma*
16' *i-na šu-bu-ur-ri-šu ú-wa-aš-ša-ra-am*

---

ii 1'–8' . . . [release] the evil wind, the evil poison of the gut. The spell is not mine, it is a spell of Ningirimma, mistress of spells. Ningirimma spoke it, I cast it. *Tu-Enenuru*-spell.

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[1] Another incantation with a specifically veterinary use is *YOS* XI 7, for treating sheep affected by a serious ailment, perhaps cowpox (l. 17: ka-inim-ma udu gag-šub-ba). Incantations for conditions suffered by both human beings and animals, e.g. *maškadu* (*YOS* XI 14 rev. 1–6; 69 rev. 9'–12') and *samāna* (Finkel 1998), were probably also used to treat livestock; see in general Cunningham 1997: 112.

[2] Readers of Thomas Hardy will recall the episode in *Far from the Madding Crowd* (1874), when Bathsheba Everdene's sheep get into a field of clover and lie dying, horribly distended with bloat. Farmer Oak saves the situation by puncturing each animal's rumen with a lance in order to let the gas escape, "forcible enough to have extinguished a candle." His was a more violent (and dangerous) remedy even than that recommended by the healers of ancient Babylonia.

9′ Incantation formula for a distended ox or sheep.

10′–16′ Ritual procedure: you put one-third litre of salt into one litre of water, give it to (the animal) to drink and place a "speaker" in its mouth. You insert your finger in its bottom, cast the spell over it twice and it will void (solution and wind) from its anus.

Notes

13′. The *mudabbibum* "speaker" is otherwise unattested. Its etymology (II/1 participle, √*dbb*) suggests that it is an implement to aid the human voice. I propose that it is a simple voice projector, or loud-hailer, in the shape of a cone, and that it is used here as a funnel through which to introduce saline solution slowly into the sick animal after voluntary consumption is refused.

14′. The expression *ubānam ana* X *wabālum*, literally "to bring the finger to X," also occurs in Old Babylonian extispicy, where it denotes the insertion of the diviner's finger into an aperture during the physical exploration of the lamb's liver (*YOS* X 25: 13′): *ù ši-it-ta* ⸢*ú-ba*⸣*-na-ti-ia a-na libbi*(šà) *ub-ba-al* "and I can put two of my fingers inside." Other such passages use parts of the more explicit verb *erēbum* "to enter" (*YOS* X 24: 30): *a-na li-bi-šu ši-ta ú-ba-na-tu-ka i-ru-ba* "two of your fingers can go inside it"; (42 iii 31–32): *a-na pi-il-ši-šu ú-ba-ni ú-ši-re-eb* "I can insert my finger into its cavity." Medical examination by touch is expressed in hemerologies and diagnostic omens by the similar phrase *qātam wabālum* "to bring the hand" (*CAD* A/1: 19; see further Livingstone 2013: 274).

II.E.11. No. 30a–b (Pl. LXXXI)

These are two short Akkadian spells written consecutively on the same Old Babylonian collective tablet. Both are identified as ka-inim-ma libiš$_x$, which could mean to treat internal pain or to counter anger. The spells use simple language but how they deploy magic is not clear. In the second the bottle that is to be broken is perhaps a metaphor for a dysfunctional stomach that has to be encouraged to release its contents (cf. the brewing jar in II.E.12 No. 32a–c). This would suggest a digestive disorder as context, as would the reference to Asalluḫe healing the "heart" in the first incantation. Accordingly the two spells take their place in this section.

col. i

1 traces
2 [x x] bi ⸢x x⸣ du ⸢x⸣
3 [*pu-ḫ*]*u-ur i-la-ku*
4 [*na-ra*]*-am i-na e-bé-ri-šu-nu*
5 [*ú*]*-wa-ḫi-du-šu-ú-ma*
6 [*li-i*]*b-ba-am i-te-ez-bu*
7 [*i-n*]*u-un-šu-nu-ti-i-ma*
8 ᵈasal-lú-ḫe
9 *li-ib-ba-am ub-ta-al-li-iṭ*
10 ka-inim-ma libiš$_x$(ÁB.ŠÀ)

---

11 *i-ṣú-um ša ilim*(dingir)
12 *na-du-um ša a-we-lu-tim*
13 *li-iz-zi-iz i-ṣú-um*
14 *li-iḫ-ḫe-pi na-du-um*
15 ⸢tu$_6$ én⸣-é-nu-ru
16 ka-inim-ma libiš$_x$(ÁB.ŠÀ)

1–3 . . . they were travelling together. 4–6 When they crossed a river they singled the "heart" out and left it behind. 7–9 Asalluḫe punished them and revived the "heart." 10 Incantation formula for the gut.

11–14 Wood belongs to god, bottle belongs to man! Let the wood stand, let the bottle be smashed! 15–16 *Tu-Enenuru*-spell. Incantation formula for the gut.

Note

i 5. This verb, evidently √*wḫd* or √*w'd*, is presumed to be cognate with the adjective *wēdum* "solitary, alone," yielding a factitive II/1 stem, *wu''udum* "to make single, solitary."

II.E.12. No. 32a–c (Pls. LXXXIX, XCI)

The three incantations on Old Babylonian tablet No. 32 are in Akkadian. All are closed by the Sumerian formula tu_6 én-é-nu-ru, written *tu en-ni-nu-ri*, and all share the same topic: the *namzītum*. This was an essential piece of brewing equipment with, it seems, a dual function: in it barley malt could be steeped in hot water ("mashed") and also the resulting liquid ("wort") fermented. Consequently it is sometimes translated "mash-tub," sometimes "fermenting vat." Here I use the neutral term "brewing jar." It might be imagined that the context for the use of these incantations was a ritual or rituals in which temple breweries were purified and consecrated in order to ensure that the beer served to the gods was unpolluted. Such may have been the context of a Sumerian incantation with the rubric ka-inim-ma dug-<níg>-dúr-bùr "incantation formula for a brewing jar" (*YOS* XI 57: 1–10, ed. Sallaberger 1996: 86–87). However, the presence of Akkadian instead of Sumerian surely indicates a less sacred context, and the content has nothing to do with purity. Instead the three incantations all describe a *namzītum* that has become faulty in one way or another.

The first incantation (obv. 1–19) presents, after three damaged lines, a mythological scenario of the kind typical of incantations: the archetypal brewing jar was created by Ea in mythical time and given a function by Nuska. The tale is not told as narrative, as it would be in a regular Sumerian incantation, but emerges from an exchange of words between the afflicted vessel, whose identity only becomes clear in l. 18, and another party. The vessel speaks first, complaining of its lack of outlet, and the second party responds by recounting the vessel's origin, and how Ea made a journey, with the result that the brewing jar was set up in the tavern and the party began. He (or she) goes on to report having drawn beer from the brewing jar, removed the spent grain (for animal fodder), rinsed the vessel out in preparation for a new brew and disposed of the water (apparently for use with a spell). Then disaster occurs: the four winds occupied the empty brewing jar and "seized its mouth," i.e. rendered it unable to accept further liquids and solids. At this point in any Sumerian incantation that began with a story of mythical time, a dialogue between Asalluḫe and Enki would follow, and then the latter's recipe for a resolution of the problem. No such passage occurs here and we are left with the image of a brewing jar filled with wind.

The second incantation (obv. 20–rev. 5') is mostly lost, but concludes with an appeal for the *namzītum* to "run free to its jugs," just as young animals run to their mothers; evidently the problem countered here was a blockage in the vessel that prevented it from emptying. This is effectively a prayer, seeking the intervention of a deity or benign spirit who will fix the problem and get things flowing again.

The third incantation (rev. 6'–14') is an extraordinary dialogue. Someone asks a man where he is going and on whose business, and he replies that he is going to a tavern on Ea's business. He shows how his time in the country has left his hands dirty and pierced by thorns. Perhaps he has been clearing scrub from the fields, like the girl in II.I.2 No. 23b. However that may be, his interlocutor destroys his hopes of recreation, telling him that he (or she) has smashed the brewing jar and wrecked the tavern. As in the first incantation, the text ends with a bare statement of the problem, with neither prayer for divine intervention (as in the second) nor any practical advice for its resolution.

The purpose of these three unusual incantations was not cultic but medical. The brewing jar *namzītum* was a tall pot with a pointed bottom that rested on a stand. Liquids and solids were put in at the top, and the end product collected from a hole in the bottom. The hole could be closed with a stopper or plug (*purussu*). One of the Sumerian terms for it is ^{dug}níg-dúr-bùru (*Urra* X 213), explicitly "the pot with a hole in its bottom." It is easy to see that such a vessel

provides a functional analogue of the human digestive system, from mouth to anus. In Babylonian medicine the *namzītum* was accordingly a common metaphor for the stomach and digestive tract. The application of the metaphor occurs in incantations where ailments of the digestive system are described in terms of a broken brewing jar, either *namzītum* or its synonym *kakkullum*. Examples are: in a first-millennium Akkadian incantation against diarrhoea (BM 98584+ iii 6, ed. Böck 2014: 101): *ša* ^{dug}*nam-zi-ti ma-*⌈*qit pu-ru*⌉*-us-su* "the brewing jar's plug has fallen out"; in a bilingual Old Babylonian incantation against a digestive disorder (*CT* 4 8a 1–10 // 15–24; cf. Böck 2014: 120): šà gig-ga . . . gakkul-gin$_7$ ⌈ba?-ab?⌉-dul-la (// [x x]-tab-ba-ma?) a nu-mu-un-da-ku$_4$-ku$_4$ ninda nu-mu-un-da-ku$_4$-ku$_4$ // *li-ib-bu ma-ar-ṣú . . . ki-ma ka-ak-ku-li ka-ti-im a-ka-lu ù mu-ú ú-ul i-ir-ru-bu-šum* "the sick insides are closed over like a brewing jar, food and drink cannot enter them"; in a short spell in Assyrian that also counters constipation (*BAM* 574 iii 54; cf. Böck 2014: 121 n. 85): én *libbu*(šà) *nam-zi-tum šikaru*(kaš) *la-as-su-uḫ* tu$_6$-én "Spell. The (patient's) insides are a brewing jar; I will extract the beer. Incantation." Finally, the Old Babylonian incantation fragment *PBS* VII 87 (W. Farber 1981: 53 C1, id. 1984: 70) describes a faulty brewing jar that makes gas instead of beer (rev. 1–2: *nam-zi-is-sú ḫa-ar-*⌈*ra?-at?*⌉ *bi-il-la-as-sú ša-rum* "his brewing jar is churning(?), his brew is wind"), and probably had a similar medical application.

Against this background it becomes clear that the present text is a compilation of three Old Babylonian incantations for digestive disorders, which have in common the use of the brewing jar as a metaphor for the stomach and digestive tract.

No. 32a

obv.

1 [*i-na eperī*(saḫar)?]$^{bi-a}$ *ku-un* [*pû*(k]a!)*-ú-a*
2 [*ki-ir-ba-a*]*n eqlim*(a-šà)^{lim} *za-ap-pi* ⌈*ša*⌉*-ḫi-im*
3 [*mu-ṣa*]*-a-am ú-ul* ⌈*i-šu*⌉
4 [*ru-bu*]*-ú* ⌈*ib-ni*⌉*-ki* ^{d}*en-ki ú-*⌈*ra*⌉*-bi-ki*
5 [*iš-k*]*u-*⌈*un*⌉*-ki* ^{d}*nuska a-na ku-*⌈*ši*⌉*-ri*
6 [*a*]*-*⌈*na mu-uḫ*⌉*-ḫi* {*ḫi*} *ta-li*[*m*] *ša é-a é-a ir-ka!-ab*
7 *il-qé-e-ki sà-bi-tum ku-ru-*⌈*pu-ú-ki*⌉ *ma-aš-ḫu*
8 ⌈*ša-ak*⌉*-na-a-at i-na ka-an-nim*
9 *ša-ak-nu ki-it-tu!? a-pa-ri-ku ù* ⌈*pu*⌉*-ru-us-su*
10 *i-na li-ib-bi-*[*k*]*i*
11 *ú-še-et-bi-ki it-ti* ⌈*iš*$_8$*?-tár?*⌉ *a-*⌈*pa*⌉*-ri-ki* ⌈*uš!*⌉*-te-ṣi-a-am /* ⌈*qé*⌉*-ri-i-tam*
12 *pu-ru-us-sà-am aš-lu-um-ma ša-ra-am aš-ku-un*
13 *ut-te-e-er tu-uḫ-ḫi-ki a-na mi-nu-tim*
14 *me-e ša ra-as-na-at a-*⌈*na*⌉ *ši-ip-tim-ma aš-ku-un*
15 *i-na qí-bi-tim ša é-a ù* ^{d}asal-lú-ḫe
16 *i-na pi-i ez-zi-im i-na ru-uḫ-tim le-mu-ut-tim / ša a-wi-lu-tim*
17 *šu-ú-tum il-ta-nu ša-ad-du-ú-um a-mu-ur-ru*
18 *it-bu-ú iṣ-ba-tu pi-i na-am-zi-tim*
19 tu en-ni-nu-ri

---

obv. 1–3 "My [mouth] is stuck [in dirt — O clod] of the field, pig's bristle — I have no outlet!" 4–6 "[The prince] created you, Enki raised you, Nuska found you profitable work. Ea rode along on Ea's palanquin. 7–11 The ale-wife took you, your grain-hoppers were calibrated, you were set on a stand, *kittu*, *aparikku* and a plug were placed inside you. She stood you upright with Ištar(?), made(!) a party flow forth from the *aparikku*. 12–14 I pulled out the plug and let the air in. I have returned your spent grain to the reckoning. The water you were soaked with I have reserved for a spell." 15–18 By command of Ea and Asalluḫe, by the angry speech and malign spit of men, South Wind, North Wind, East Wind, West Wind rose up (and) seized the brewing jar's mouth. 19 *Tu-Enninuri*-spell.

No. 32b

obv.

20 *tu-ú-*⸢x⸣ [x] ⸢x x⸣*-ku-ú*

21 x[. . . . . .] ⸢x x x⸣*-iz*

22 . . .]x-*aḫ*

gap

rev.

1' ⸢*li-pa-aṭ-ṭi-ru*⸣ [x x x x x x]

2' [*k*]*i-ma bu-ru-ú id-*⸢*da*⸣*-a*[*r-ru-ú*] / *a-na li-a-ti*[*m*]

3' *id-da-ar-ru-ú la-lu-ú a-na en-*⸢*zé*⸣-[*tim*]

4' *na-am-zi-tum mārat*(dumu-munus) ᵈ*en-ki li-da-ri-ir / a-na te-er-ḫi-ša*

5' tu en-ni-nu-ri

20ff. *damaged . . .*

rev. 1' Let them undo [. . . !]

2'–4' Just as calves ran [free] to cows, (and) kids ran free to nanny-goats, let the brewing jar, daughter of Enki, run free to her jugs. 5' *Tu-Enninuri*-spell.

No. 32c

rev.

6' *eṭ-lu-um a-a-nu-um ta-al-la-ka-am*

7' *iš-tu ṣe-ri-im a-na na-ga-aš sà-bi-tim / pa-nu-ú-a ša-ak-nu*

8' *ši-pi-ir-tum-mi ša ma-an-ni-im*

9' *ša é-a ša-ar ap-sí-im*

10' *ù ṣé-e-ri-im ṣa-ar-ra-am* ᵈ*ištar*(inanna)

11' *am-ra-a ša qá-ti-ia ku-up-ta-ti-in*

12' *ṭi-i-di-im ù a-ša-ag ṣe-ri-im*

13' *i-ba-ak-ki sà-bi-tum eḫ-te-pe-e na-am-zi-tam*

14' *qú-ú-lam at-ta-di e-li ku-sí-a-tim*

15' *as-ku-up-pa-at bi-tim e-re-ba-am / ú-ta-am-mi*

16' [t]u en-ni-nu-ri

6' "Young fellow, whence do you come?"

7' "From the country! I intend to visit the ale-wife."

8' "On whose business?"

9'–12' "On Ea's, lord of the Apsû and the countryside, habitué of Ištar. See the dirt crust on my hands and thorns from the country!"

13'–15' "The ale-wife is weeping, I have broken the brewing jar. I have brought silence to the (bar)-stools. I have put a spell on crossing the building's threshold." 16' *Tu-Enninuri*-spell.

Notes

obv. 1. The restoration is driven by context. "My mouth," nominative usually *pīya* in Old Babylonian, is here in triptotic declension, *pû'a* (see *GAG*³ §65i).

2. These two phrases are assumed to be secular curses. Note more expansively, in an Old Babylonian spell against jaundice, *amurriqānum*, a set of four phrases (*YOS* XI 14 rev. 8–9): [*k*]*i-*⸢*ir*⸣*-ba-an eqlim*(a-šà)^{lim} *pa-ar ša-ḫi-i-im* [*za*]*-ap-pu ši-ik-ke-e ṣú-ru-ut ar-ra-bi-im* "clod from a field, pig's rind, mongoose's whiskers, dormouse's fart." Another slightly different set occurs in a spell to counter the scorpion (*YOS* XI 2: 3–6): *ki-ir-ba-an sú-qí-im e-pe-er šu-le-em še-er-ḫa-an ši-ki-im sú-um ki-ri-im* "clod from a street, dirt from a road, sinew of mongoose, rust of a palm-grove" (assuming that the fourth member of this set, ZU-*um*, is *sūmum* "red spot" and refers to the fungal disease of date palms characterized by brown "rust" spots on the fronds; for other interpretations see Cooper 1996: 48–49; Cavigneaux 1999: 265–66).

7. Sumerian *gurub*, a basket for bread, has been encountered in II.B.7 No. 46 obv. 8–9. The cognate Akkadian term *kuruppu* occurs in two related contexts. First is the phrase *mašīḫu ša k.*, which occurs in Late Babylonian documents as a standardized size of basket for measuring grain and dates by volume (see *CAD* K 581). The second is an incantation-prayer for good business at the tavern, which ends with the words (*KAR* 144: rev. 8 // K 3464+N 3554 rev. 12, ed. Panayotov 2013a: 293 l. 34): *lim-id ku-ru-up-pu ia-ši* "let the *k*.-baskets be many for me" (see also Farber 1986: 449). It is assumed that malted barley was measured into the brewing jar from such baskets, that they needed to be a standard size to ensure com-

pliance with a recipe and a consistent end product, and that a plentiful supply of them signified a rate of beer production that would meet the high demand of a large clientele.

9. This line evidently lists three parts of the *namzītum* that were fitted to it before use. Only the *purussu* "stopper" is well known: one attestation has been quoted in the introductory paragraphs. In Neo-Babylonian documents a *kittu* occurs as part of a metal bowl, *našappu* (*CAD* s.v. *kittu* B). The word written *a-pa-ri-ku* recurs in l. 11; derivations from √*prk* and Sumerian (ba-rí-ga?) have been considered but without a successful outcome.

11. *ušetbīki* is the only certainty in this damaged line. Ištar's presence in the tavern, alongside the brewing jars, was probably substantiated in the form of a pictorial representation. The last word of the line is probably *qerītam* "feast," because of the association of this word with beer (Sum. kaš-dé-a "beer serving" = *q.*) and taverns (e.g. *q*[*é-r*]*i-it áš-tam-me* "a party at the inn" in a proverb, Lambert 1960: 256 l. 9). If so, some clause describing how the brewing jar came to fulfil its destiny is required, and the reading offered is one response to that need.

12. *ašlumma* < *ašlup-ma*; *šāram aškun* is literally "I set wind/air in place."

rev. 10'. A **parrās*-stem from √*ṣrm* is proposed: *ṣarrāmum* "one who habitually applies himself." The first incantation has already made a connection between Ea/Enki and Ištar's tavern. Alternatively, emend to <*ú*>-*ṣa-ar-ra-am* ᵈ*ištar* "I am striving after Ištar."

II.E.13. No. 26c (Pl. LXXII)

The right-hand column of the cut-down Old Babylonian collective tablet No. 26 contains the key-words *šammum* and *mušēridu*, which identify it as related to the "heart-grass" spell. It is, however, very different from the other Old Babylonian exemplars (II.E.8 Nos. 70 // 8i, *YOS* XI 11–12 etc.). In this instance, no heart is mentioned, only head and teeth, so it would appear that the grass attacks those parts of the anatomy. The pattern determines that the plant affects those who eat it: first the god who discovers it and introduces it to the world (ii' 4'–6'), then an ox (7'–9'), finally a named individual, i.e. the patient (10'–14'). As the text breaks off, the ox is mentioned again, which suggests that the plea for healing has begun. The incantation was undoubtedly intended to relieve pain in the head and jaw, i.e. generalized toothache.

col. ii'

1' ⸢*ša-am-ma-am ša*⸣ x[x x x]
2' *i-iš-l*[*a-up*?]
3' *mi-nu-um ša-am-mu-u*[*m an-nu-ú-um*]
4' *i-lum* ⸢*mu*⸣-*ši-ri-is-sú* [*i-ku-ul-šu-ma*]
5' *qá-aq-qá-as-sú* [*iṣ-ba-at*]
6' *ši-in-na-šu* [*iṣ-ba-at*]
7' *al-pu-um* ⸢*i*!⸣-*k*[*u-ul-šu*]
8' *qá-aq-qá-as-sú* [*iṣ-ba-at*]
9' *ši-in-na-šu* [*iṣ-ba-at*]
10' *an-na-an-na māri*(dumu) [*an-na-an-na*]
11' *ša il*(dingir)-*šu an-na-an-na* [*iš-ta-ar-šu*] / *an-na-n*[*i-tum*]
12' *i-ku-ul-šu-*[*ma*]
13' *qá-aq-qá-as-sú* [*iṣ-ba-at*]
14' *ši-in-na-šu* [*iṣ-ba-at*]
15' *al-pu-*⸢*um*⸣ [x x x x]

rest lost

ii' 1'–3' . . .] The grass of [. . .] he pulled out: "What plant [is this?]" 4'–6' The god who brought it down [ate it and it seized] his head, [it seized] his tooth. 7'–9' An ox [ate it and it seized] its head, [it seized] its tooth. 10'–14' So-and-so, son of [So-and-so,] whose god is So-and-so, [whose goddess is] So-and-[so,] ate it [and it seized] his head, [it seized] his tooth. 15' The ox [. . .

Note

ii' 2'. No suitable verbs from √*šlX* have a preterite on the pattern *imḫaṣ*, so I suppose a broken writing of *išlup*, like *ir-ga-um* for *irgum* (Groneberg 1980: 159).

II.F. INCANTATIONS TO MEND BROKEN BONES

A small number of Old Babylonian incantations bear rubrics on the topic of bone. Three short spells in Sumerian are already published, *VAS* XVII 27, rubric ka-inim-ma g̀ìr-pad-rá-kam "incantation formula for bones," and *YOS* XI 76: 2 × rubric ka-inim-ma g̀ìr-pad-(rá) {ḫul}-gig-ga-kam "incantation formula for sick bones." The last of these three shares its incipit with spells preserved on two tablets now in the Schøyen Collection, No. 23a and No. 27b below, so is given here for comparison:

5 [ab] ⸢^{d}⸣nanše-kam še-nim an-na-kam
6 ⸢^{d}⸣ašnan-e kù ḫa-na-aš pi-ra-ak-ka
7 [k]a-inim-ma g̀ìr-pad-rá {hul}-gig-ga-kam

YOS XI 76: 5–7

The incipit also occurs in the Old Babylonian incantation catalogue now in Manchester (Wilcke 1973: 14 l. 16: ab ^{d}nanše-kam).

The most likely application of incantations for "(sick) bones" is to assist in the mending of fractures. The ending of No. 27b corroborates the hypothesis of a healing context.

II.F.1. No. 23a (Pl. LXIX)

Two of the three short texts on Old Babylonian tablet No. 23 are readily translatable. The first, in Sumerian, is identified by rubric as simply for "bones," and is presumably a charm employed to help heal a broken bone. The content is not narrative, but comprises a three-line pattern that leads to the steppe, where the image is conjured up of a man crying out (in pain?) and turning to heaven (for help?) (1–5).

obv.

1 a-ba ^{d}nanše-kam
2 kù ^{d}inanna-kam
3 šè-zu edin-na-kam
4 edin-na lú gù-di dé-a
5 an-né sag íl-la
6 [o] g̀ìr-pad-rá

1–5 The sea belongs to Nanše, silver belongs to Inanna, your excrement belongs to the steppe. In the steppe a man (was) shouting, raising his head to the sky. 6 Bone.

II.F.2. No. 27b (Pl. LXXV)

This very damaged Sumerian spell on the Old Babylonian collective tablet No. 27 shares incipit and topic with *YOS* XI 76: 5–7 and No. 23a but otherwise differs. It begins with Nanše, but adds her spouse Nindara. The restorations of ab and ki in ll. 11'–12' are motivated by prior knowledge of the incipit (see above) and by a suspicion that the spell alludes to their cult centre, Kiessa, which is normally spelled ki-ès(AB)^{ki}.

rev.

11' [ab] ^{d}[na]nše-kam
12' [ki?] [^{d}]nin⸣-dar-a
13' [inim?] gi-na-mu-uš
14' [lú-bi?] ḫé-en-sa$_6$
15' [ka-ini]m-ma ^{uzu}g̀ìr-pad-rá

11'–14' [The sea] belongs to Nanše, [the ground(?)] (belongs) to Nindara. By my true [command(?), may this person(?)] be fine! 15' [Incantation] formula for bones.

II.F.3. No. 30f–g. (Pl. LXXXIII)

One other Old Babylonian tablet in the collection bears a bone incantation. It begins as an unintelligible *Tu-Enenuru* incantation, perhaps syllabic Sumerian, in which the cereal deity Ašnan figures (iii 10'). The text is notable for the appended legitimation formula in Akkadian. An instruction for preparing a poultice follows, unusually formulated in the passive, presumably as a treatment for fracture.

col. iii

2'–11' fragmentary
12' tu$_6$ én-é-[nu]-r[u]
13' *ši-ip-tum ú-ul* ⸢*ia-tum*⸣
14' *ši-pa-at* ^{d}en-ki
15' ⸢*ù*⸣ ^{d}nin-girim$_x$(GIR.TAR.A.DU)
16' *be-le-*⸢*et*⸣ *ši-pa-tim*
17' *šu-nu im-nu-ú-ma*
18' *a-na-ku e-iš-me*

19' ka-inim-ma $^{\text{uzu}}$gìr-pad-rá

20' *pu-ud-ru-um*
21' *qá-du-tum*
22' *si-ḫu-um ku-up-[sú-um]*
23' *ku-uk-ru ù ba-lu!-ú[ḫ-ḫu]*
24' *iḫ-ḫa-aš-ša-a[l-ma]*
25' *in-na-ap-[pi-i]*

remainder lost

iii 2'–12' . . . *Tu-Enenuru*-spell. 13'–18' The spell is not mine: it is a spell of Enki and Ningirimma, mistress of spells. They recited it, and I listened.

19' Incantation formula for bones.

20'–25' Dung cake, beer sludge, wormwood resin, sesame bran, *kukru* and *baluḫḫu*-aromatics are crushed and sifted. [You steep them in beer (*or some other liquid*), and bind it on him . . .]

A similar poultice recipe, for dog-bite, is given on No. 29b 11–16 (Pl. LXXIX). It exhibits the usual active constructions:

11 [*pud*]*ram*([si-šu]rum) *qá-du-tam si-ḫa*!(za sup. ras.)-*am kupsam*(duḫ-še-giš-ì)
12 [*šamnam*(ì-gi]š) *ḫalṣam*(bára) $^{\text{šim}}$*baluḫḫam*(buluḫ)
13 [*ta-ḫ*]*a-aš-ša-*<*al*> *ta-na-ap-pi-i-ma*
14 [ud x]-kam? *i-na ru-qí ta-ra-ba-ak-ma*
15 [*iš-ti*]-*šu ù ši-ni-šu ta-ṣa-mi-is-sú-ú-ma*
16 [*te-ek?*]-*ki-im da-mi-iq*

11–14 [You] crush and sift dung cake, beer sludge, wormwood resin, sesame bran, pressed [oil] and *baluḫḫu* aromatic, and steep it [for *x* days(?)] in a kettle. 15–16 Then you bind it on him once or twice and [take it] away(?). He will be fine.

II.G. INCANTATIONS TO ASSIST CHILDBIRTH

Childbirth was a dangerous experience in ancient Mesopotamia, both for mother and for child. The responses to these dangers in Sumerian and Akkadian incantations are well described in comparative perspective by Marten Stol (2000). A study of the childbirth incantations in the Schøyen Collection will be made by Ulrike Steinert as part of her forthcoming book on gynaecology and women's medicine in ancient Mesopotamia. Childbirth incantations are often accompanied by the therapeutic measures ("rituals") taken when difficulties arose. The therapy is conventionally written out in the first millennium, but less commonly appended in the second. Here in II.G.3 we have another Old Babylonian example of that practice, appended to an Elamite incantation. The other two spells are in Akkadian.

Difficult labor was complicated by a belief that demons preyed especially on women giving birth and on their newborn; incantations to ward off Lamaštu, the principal threat, have already been presented above, under II.B.8–10.

II.G.1. No. 28a (Pl. LXXVII)

This is an Old Babylonian Akkadian incantation for easing difficult labor, similar to *YOS* XI 86: 1–28 (ed. van Dijk 1973a: 502–7) and II.G.2 No. 26a below. It projects the problem into the mythical past, when Asalluḫe had to deal with a baby that was stuck and reassured it that the way was clear and the midwife waiting. The reiteration of that episode, culminating in Asalluḫe's provision of the necessary form of words, would be held effective in treating any recurrence of the problem. The text is composed in regular Babylonian poetry, organized in six couplets that can be further identified as three four-line stanzas. The divisions into formal poetic units do not always coincide with line-breaks on the tablet, but the translation below is set out in a way that gives the poem's formal structure priority over the tablet's physical lineation. The first four-line stanza locates the baby (1–5). The second stanza reports, in one couplet each either side of the poem's halfway point, the problem and Asalluḫe's reaction

to it (5–10). The third is a command to the baby, as if voiced by Asalluḫe himself (11–18). Once again, the problem at issue is retrojected into mythical time, and a precedent invoked that had the favorable outcome required in the here and now.

obv.

1 ⸢*ì*⸣-[*na me*]-⸢*e*⸣ *na-ki-im ib*-[*ba-ni* (*e-ṣe-em-tum*)]
2 *i-na* ⸢*me-e ap-sí-im*⸣ *ru-qú-t*[*im*]
3 *i-na me-e a-a-ba ti-me-tim ra-a*[*p-ša-tim*]
4 *a-ša-ar ma-am-ma-an la* <*i*>*-du-*[*ú*]
5 *qé-re-eb-ša ṣe-eḫ-ru-um ku-u*[*s-sà-a*]
6 *i-da-šu ka-at-ma i-na-*⸢*a*⸣*-*[*šu*]
7 *mu-ṣa-a-am i-ši-*⸢*e*⸣*-*[*am*]
8 *i-mu-ur-šu-ú-ma* ^{d}asal-lú-[ḫe]
9 *ip-te-šum ṭù-da-am pa-*[*d*]*a-n*[*a-am*]
10 *iš-ku-un-šu*[*m*]
11 *ša-ki-in-kum pa-da-nu-u*[*m*]
12 *pe-ti-ku-um ṭù-ú-d*[*u-um*]
13 *wa-aš-ba-at-ku-um bēlet-ilī*(dingir.m[aḫ])
14 *ba-ni-a-at a-wi-lu-tim*
15 ⸢*mi-it-ḫa*⸣*-aṭ* [*i*]*t-ti e-ṣe-*⸢*em-tim*⸣
16 *ù ši-ir-ḫa-*⸢*ni*⸣*-im*
17 *ki-ma da-*⸢*di*⸣*-im*
18 *šu-lu-up ra-ma-an-*⸢*ka*⸣

---

19 ka-inim-ma [*a-li-it*]*-tum*

[(Bone)] was [formed] from the waters of intercourse,
in the distant waters of the Apsû,
in the waters of the Ocean, the wide seas,
a place whose interior no one knows.
The baby's arms were tied,
its eyes closed, it sought a way out.
Asalluḫe saw it,
he opened the way and made it a path.
"A path is made for you, a way opened for you!
Bēlet-ilī is waiting for you, who created mankind.
Struggle with bone and sinew,
unsheathe yourself like a darling!"
Incantation formula, [woman in] labor.

Notes

1. The parallel *YOS* XI 86 encourages the restoration of *e-ṣé-em-tum* after *ibbani*. In the present text there is too little room for both words on the line itself, but the right edge is missing where any overrun of l. 1 would be placed, so the option of restoring *eṣemtum* remains. As a piece of writing, the sentence is more satisfactory with an explicit subject.

3. With *ti-me-tim* for *ti'awātim* "seas" compare *ti-me-a-tim* and *ti-a-me-tum* in II.J.3 No. 7c i 19'–20'; *ti-me-a-tim rapaš*[*tim*] in *UET* VI 671 obv. 4 (OB); and *ti-me-a-ti* in a later expository list from Nineveh (*STC* pl. 61 ii 6–7, ed. Lambert 2013: 154); see further Lambert 2013: 469 on I 4.

13. The mother goddess is here in the role of the waiting midwife. The parallel line of *YOS* XI 86 can now be read (l. 18): *wa-aš-ba-at-ku-*⸢*um* dingir.maḫ⸣ *a-sú-tum*, where *asūtum* "medicine woman" is surely an error for *šabsūtum* "midwife." Feminine *asūtum* occurs also in II.E.6 No. 25a obv. 11: *a-sú-ut awīlê*, of Gula.

14. This is the epithet given the mother goddess in OB Atram-ḫasīs I 194, when she is charged with the task of creating mankind.

15. *mi-it-ḫa-aṭ* for I/2 imperative *mitḫaṣ*; for other examples of /ṣ/ written as /ṭ/ in Old Babylonian, including another form of *maḫāṣum*, see George 2013: 82–83 sub §VIII.15.

17–18. The language is suggestive: *šalāpum* is used of taking swords from their scabbards, and *dādum* is a euphemism for the male member that later in life is sheathed and unsheathed in the birth canal (see *AHw* 149 "Genitalien"; the key passage is SB Gilgameš I 186 *dādūšu iḫabbubū eli ṣēriki* // 193 referring to sexual intercourse, see George 2003: 797). Perhaps this is midwives' humor. Another idea, less vulgar, is that this *dādum* is the homophonous fish (or shellfish), coming down from the sea (Stol 2000: 11).

19. Or [*a-ru-uḫ*]*-tum* (Ulrike Steinert).

II.G.2. No. 26a (Pl. LXXII)

The cut-down remnant of the obverse of a large multi-column tablet has versions of two Old Babylonian incantations in Akkadian. The left-hand column has line-ends of a childbirth incantation very similar to No. 28a (II.G.1) from which the lines are freely restored.

col. i'

1' [*ṣe-eḫ-ru-um ku-us-sa-a i*]-⸢*da*⸣-[(*a*)]-⸢*šu*⸣
2' [*ka-at-ma i-na-šu mu*]-*ṣa-a i-ši-i*
3' [*i-mu-ur-šu-ma* ^{d}asa]l-lú-ḫe
4' [*pa-da-na*]-*am ip-te-šu*
5' [*iš-ku-un-šu ṭù*]-*da-am*
6' [*pe-ti-ku pa-d*]*a-nu-um*
7' [*ša-ki-in-ku ṭ*]*ù-ú-du-um*
8' [*wa-aš-ba-at-ku*] ⸢d⸣nin-ḫur-sag-gá
9' [*um-mu-um b*]*a-ni-a-at*
10' [*a-wi-lu-t*]*i-im*
11' [*mi-it-ḫa-aṣ? it-ti ši-r*]*i-im ù e-ṣé-/-*[*e*]*m-ti-im*
12' [*ki-ma da-di-im šu-lu-u*]*p ra-ma-an-ka*
13' [ka-inim-ma munus ù-t]u-ud-da-kam

i' [The baby's] arms were tied,
[its eyes were closed,] it sought a way [out.]
Asalluḫe [saw it,]
he opened a [path] for it, 5' [made it a] way.
"The path [is open, a] way [is made for you.]
Ninḫursag [is waiting for you, the mother who] created 10' [mankind].
[Struggle(?) with flesh] and bone,
[like a darling unsheathe] yourself!"
[Incantation formula for a woman] giving birth.

Note

i' 12'. Alternatively, *šu-ṣ*]*í ramānka.*

II.G.3. No. 21b (Pl. LXIII)

This is a completely preserved example of a spell in neither Sumerian nor Akkadian. It is a variant version of an incantation included, without rubric, on another Old Babylonian collective tablet, now at Yale (*YOS* XI 5: 15–19, ed. van Dijk *et al.* 1985: 20). The word division implied by the hyphenation in the transliteration below (23'–27'), and explicit in the transcription, does not presume a decipherment but highlights rhyming patterns in the spell that may or may not coincide with words. As van Dijk observed (1982: 101), the language is sufficiently like Elamite to be identified as such, but still the spell cannot be understood. In the present tablet a rubric identifies it as an incantation to aid childbirth (27' end). The rubric is followed by a therapy in Akkadian: the woman's belly and upper back are massaged with oil "straight down" (28'–29'), the oil having acquired special properties by the healer reciting the spell over it.

Rubbing the trunk with oil and other fats is found elsewhere in Mesopotamian treatment of women in labor: see the therapies added to other Old Babylonian birth incantations, No. 29d: 30 (Part I) and especially *VAS* XVII 33: 28–30 (ed. van Dijk 1975: 63): ka-inim-ma *a-ru-úḫ-tum ki-ki-ta-ša šamnam*(ì-giš) *ù ḫimētam*(ì-nun) *ta-ba-al-la-al-ma i-na šīr*(su) *bu-di-im ba-am-ti-ša ki-la-ti-in ta-pa-aš-ša-aš-ma it-ta-aṣ-ṣa-a* "Incantation for a woman caught short (by labor). Its therapy: you mix oil and ghee and apply it to the flesh of the shoulders and both her flanks, and (the baby) will come out" (further Scurlock 1991: 144–45; Stol 2000: 63, 124). By "straight down" in the present instance is meant in a downward direction, as becomes clear from a later birth compendium which instructs (*BAM* 248 iii 8–9, 53): *ultu*(ta) *e-la-niš/nu ana šap-la-niš/nu tu-maš-šá-'* "you massage (her with the magic oil) from above to below." Stroking in this way was no doubt thought to encourage the baby to move by sympathy in the same direction, but the purpose was not only magical, for massage in labor has genuine therapeutic value as a strategy for coping with pain.

obv.

23' ḫu-ub-tu-uk-ti-in ti-ik-ka-ak mu-ru-tu-uk-ti-in si-im-gi-ik
24' li-gi-tu-uk-ti-in ru-ur-sa-ak ḫu-um-ti-tu-uk-ti-in ṣe-ra-ak
25' ḫu-ub-tu-uk-ti-in šu-si-ik-ti mu-ru-tu-uk-ti-in pa-ar-ti-ik-ti
26' li-gi-tu-uk-ti-in ḫu-du-uk-ti ḫu-um-ti-tu-uk-ti-in ḫu-úḫ-pa-ak-ti

27' bi-il-la-ri uk-ku-ú-a bi-il-le-e[n ḫ]u-úḫ-pa-ak-ti ka-inim-ma munus ù-tu

28' *a-na šamnim*(ì.giš) *ta-na-ad-di-ma 7-šu mi-š[a-r]a-am pa-ap-pa-al-li-ib-bi-šu ta-pa-aš-ša-aš*

29' *7-šu mi-ša-ra-am bu-di-šu ta-pa-aš-ša-aš*

23'–27' *Hub-tuktin tikkak, muru-tuktin simgik. Ligi-tuktin rursak, humti-tuktin ṣerak. Hub-tuktin šusikti, muru-tuktin partikti. Ligi-tuktin hudukti, humti-tuktin huhpakti. Billari ukkua, billen huhpakti.* Incantation formula for a woman giving birth.

28'–29' You cast (the spell) on oil and apply the oil to her(! tablet: his) belly seven times straight down, and apply the oil to her(!) shoulders seven times straight down.

II.H. INCANTATIONS TO CALM CRYING BABIES

After childbirth, babies brought new anxieties, among them the problems of colic and persistent crying, and here too incantations were deployed (Farber 1989, 1990a, van der Toorn 1999, Heffron 2014). Old Babylonian incantations to soothe crying babies are rare, and usually in Akkadian. This section presents one in Sumerian and another in Akkadian. The former is accompanied by a ritual in Akkadian, another early example of a practice that later became standard.

II.H.1. No. 42 (Pl. CVII)

Sumerian and bilingual Sumero-Akkadian incantations to soothe crying babies are known from the first millennium, but this is only the second Sumerian incantation to occur on an Old Babylonian tablet. The other is *YOS* XI 84, rubric ka-inim-ma di$_4$-di$_4$-lá ḫun-gá-kam "incantation formula for calming infants" (see Farber 1989: 9). Both incantations are of the Asalluḫe-Enki type, in which Asalluḫe observed a problem in mythical time and reported it to his father, who told him the solution. Unfortunately the text of the incantation is largely destroyed on No. 42, so that on the obverse only the formulaic passages can be reconstructed (7–9, 15–18). It is clear, however, that the two incantations differ. As the text of No. 42 moves on to the reverse it becomes better preserved, and Enki's remedy is mostly extant (19–23). It prescribes mixing beer froth into milk of the baby's nurse so that the baby will settle down. The ritual prescription that follows repeats Enki's advice in an Akkadian paraphrase (24–26).

Mild intoxication of babies to counter colic and make them sleep is an old practice. Alcohol was one of the ingredients of gripe water until quite recently; in the United States alcoholic gripe water was banned in 1982, but a leading British brand contained alcohol until 1992 (Blumenthal 2000). Marten Stol noted the use of imagery of drunkenness in Old Babylonian baby incantations and posed the question, "Does this mean alcohol was administered to him?" (Stol 2000: 212). Beer froth probably did not deliver a large dose of alcohol, but the answer to his question is positive, and the history of beer and babies is extended back many centuries.

The text is concluded by a rubric in Akkadian.

obv.

1 . . .] ⸢x x x⸣ mu-ni-ib-zal-e

2 . . .]-⸢e⸣

3 . . . sa]g? ù-šu

4 . . . ba-d]a-an-šub

5 . . . gi$_6$]-⸢ù⸣-na

6 . . .-tag-tag-g]e

7 [^{d}asal-lú-ḫe igi im-m]a-/-[an-sì]

8 [a-a-ni ^{d}en-ki-ra é-šè ba-ni-in-k]u$_4$

9 [gù mu-un-na-dé-e]

10 [a-a-mu . . .] x [x] ⸢x sag?⸣ ù-šu

11 [x x x x] ⸢x x⸣ [(x) b]a-da-an-šub

12 [x (x) x]x di ba-[a]n-⸢da⸣-[k]ar

13 [x (x) x] dumu x [x x] ⸢x x⸣ gi$_6$-ù-na

14 [x x x] ⸢x x⸣ [x x-t]ag-tag-ge

15 [^{d}en-ki-ke$_{4}$ dumu-ni ^{d}a]sal-lú-ḫe / [mu-un-na-ni]-ib-gi$_{4}$-gi$_{4}$
16 [dumu-mu a-na nu-e-zu a-na a-ra-a]b-daḫ-e
17 [níg gá-e ì-zu-a-mu ù za-e in-ga-e-z]u
18 [ù za-e ì-zu-a-zu g]á-/-[e in-ga-e]-zu
19 [gen-na dumu-mu kaš ù-me-n]i-d[é]
20 [imḫur(IGI.KAŠ) šu] ⸢ù⸣-me-ti / {aš}

rev.

21 [$^{\textit{te-n}}$]$^{\textit{i-}}$⸢$^{\textit{iq?}}$⸣ga sú-ub éme(UM+ME)-ga-lá-ni-ta / ù-me-ni-lu
22 lú-u$_{18}$-lu dumu dingir-ra-na / ù-me-na$_{8}$-na$_{8}$
23 ù ḫé-em-{DIŠ}-gá-gá ù-di ḫé-em-ku-ku

---

24 *ki-ik-ki-ta-ša ḫu-ur-ḫu-ma-at ši-ka-ri / li-qé-e-ma*
25 *i-na ši-zi-ib mu-ši-ni-iq-ti-šu / tu-ba-al-la-al-ma*
26 *ṣú-ḫa-ru i-ša-ti-ma i-na-aḫ*

---

27 *ši-pa-at ṣe-eḫ-ri-im / ša i-ba-ak-ku-ma i-na-aḫ-ḫu*

[. . . $^{7-14}$ Asalluḫe saw] it and went [home to his father Enki, saying to him: "O my father, . . ." $^{15-18}$ Enki] answered [his son] Asalluḫe: "[My son, what don't you know? What can] I add? [What I know, you] know [too! What you know, I] know [too! $^{19-23}$ Go, my son,] pour [out some beer,] take [the froth,] mix it with milk sucked from his wet nurse and give it to the human, child of his god, and sleep will come, slumber will follow!"

$^{24-26}$ Its ritual: take beer froth and mix it with the wet nurse's milk. The baby will drink it and quieten down.

^{27} Incantation formula for a baby that is crying but will quieten.

Notes

20. Restored in the light of the Akkadian of l. 24; see OB *Diri* Nippur 136: $^{\text{im-ḫu-ur}}$IGI.KAŠ = *ḫu-ur-ḫu-ma-at ši-k*[*a*]*-ri-im*.

21. The signs before ga, written on the left edge and apparently added afterwards, are assumed to be an Akkadian gloss on ga sú-ub "sucked milk"; *tēnīqum* is usually the act of suckling, or the sucking baby, but other cognates of *enēqum* seem less suitable. sú-ub is an unusual spelling of the verb su-ub, sub "to suck."

27. Grammar leads us to expect *inuḫḫu*. *i-na-aḫ-ḫu* is written by dittography from the preceding line (indicative *inâḫ*). A similar rubric in the late compendium of baby incantations uses the indicative (Farber 1989: 52 l. 137): 2 *ši-pat šu-*[*me*]*-ri ša ṣe-eḫ-ri ba-ki-i ina-aḫ* "two Sumerian incantations for a crying baby (so that) it will quieten."

II.H.2. No. 31e (Pl. LXXXVII)

This Akkadian incantation about a baby occurs on an Old Babylonian collective tablet following three evil-eye incantations. This is probably not a matter of random selection, for the evil-eye incantation on an unprovenanced tablet now in London (BM 122691, ed. Farber 1981: 60–71) is also followed by an incantation to calm a baby.[1] The latter has attracted much attention (re-ed. Farber 1989: 34–35, further Farber 1990a, van der Toorn 1999, Heffron 2014). One other Old Babylonian incantation in Akkadian is known with the same purpose, a tablet in Oxford (*OECT* XI 2, ed. Gurney 1989: 19–21, Farber 1989: 34–39, 1990b: 309).

The present incantation has much language and theme in common with the two already known Akkadian incantations about crying babies. Some parallels will be remarked in the textual notes, but in general see Farber 1990. As in those incantations, this baby's crying prevents its parents from resting (iv 8–11), and as in those incantations, reference is made to how it fared in the womb, here as the opening lines of a passage addressed to the baby (12–15). The direct speech continues with an allusion to the baby's passage down the birth-canal, represented in the

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[1] On the relationship between the evil-eye and baby incantations on BM 122691, see van der Toorn 1999: 143; Heffron 2014: 88–93.

text as *kārum* "quay" (16–17). As restored here, the speaker then utters threats, to be carried out in the event that the baby does not stop crying (18–21). Damage then intervenes and denies all knowledge of how the incantation ends.

col. iv

8 *ib-ki ṣe-eḫ-ru-um id-da-li-ip*
9 *a-*⸢*ba*⸣*-a-šu*
10 *ḫa-ar-ra-an la ni-lim*
11 *u*[*m*]*-ma-šu uš-ta-li-ik*
12 ⸢*i-nu-ú*⸣*-ma i-na li-ib-bi*
13 [*u*]*m-mi-ka tu-ši-ba-am*
14 [*ḫ*]*a-al-pa-at re-e-ma-am*
15 [*l*]*u-ub-bu-*⸢*ša*⸣*-at ša-li-ta-*⸢*am*⸣
16 ⸢*a*⸣*-mi-i-ni ki-ma i-na-an-na*
17 [*wa?*]*-*⸢*ṣí?*⸣ *kār*(kar) *ḫa-*⸢*il*⸣*-ti*
18 [*la? ta?-q*]*ú-lam-ma ki-ma qá-ni pa-da-ni-im*
19 [*lu-ka-a*]*b-bi-is-ka*
20 [*ki-ma*] *as-ku-up-pa-tim*
21 [*lu-te-t*]*i-iq-ka*
22 . . .] ⸢x x⸣*-di-im*
23 . . .]*-tim*
24 . . .]x

[iv 8–11] The baby cried, it kept its father awake. It made its mother take the road of the sleepless. [12–15] "When you dwelt inside your mother, you were cloaked in the womb, clad in the amniotic sac. [17–21] Why (cry so) just now, [you who have come forth from(?)] the quay of a woman in labor? [If you do not hush(?)] for me, like a reed on the path [I will] tread you down, [like] a threshold slab [I will walk] all over you!" [. . .

Notes

iv 10. *ni-lim* is understood in the light of OB *Lu* A 160: [lú-nú-a "one lying down"] = *ni-i-lum*. The road of one who does not lie down is a journey in which there is no halt for the night, a suitable image for the mother, who is not only sleepless, like her husband, but active. A reading *ḫarrān lā ni-ši* "journey not (undertaken) by people/family" would seem less meaningful, despite the parallel line of *OECT* XI 2 (ed. Farber 1989: 36 l. 8): *s*[*ú-qá*]*-am ša ni-ši um-ma-ka tu-uš-bi-ḫu* "(instead of) your allowing your mother to go along the public street," i.e. to live a normal life.

17. The quay is a trope deployed in childbirth incantations, in which the unborn baby is a boat adrift on the current, and must be brought to a safe mooring at the river-bank, the *kar šul-me . . . kar balāṭi*(ti.la) "quay of safety, quay of life" (*BAM* 248 ii 51–52; cf. Stol 2000: 65). The word that qualifies *kārum* in this instance appears to be the hitherto unattested participle of *ḫi'ālum* "to suffer in labor," but defectively written (*ḫa-i-il-tim* would be expected).

18–21. This passage is reminiscent of an incantation against *uzzum* "fury," where some of the same vocabulary is deployed to express the intent of domination (Wilcke 1985: 202–4 ll. 96–97): *ki-ma as-*[*k*]*u-u*[*p-p*]*a-t*[*i*]*m lu-ka-bi-is-k*[*a*] *kima qá-aq-*[*qá-ri-i*]*m lu-te-et-ti-iq-ka* "I will tread on you like a threshold slab, I will walk all over you like the ground!"

II.I. INCANTATIONS TO AROUSE LOVE

Love incantations are a minor branch of ancient Mesopotamian magic. Such spells seek to influence the behavior not of any demon or malevolent force, but the emotions of a fellow human being. One Old Babylonian Akkadian love incantation in the Schøyen Collection (MS 2920) has already been published for its literary qualities (George 2009: 66–70 no. 11). Two more, one each in Sumerian and Akkadian, follow here.

II.I.1. No. 9k (Pl. XXXIII)

This is the only complete incantation surviving on Old Babylonian collective tablet No. 9. It is a short poem in appreciation of a girl standing in the street, which has been pressed into service as an incantation to win a woman's love. The opening phrase matches an incipit entered in the Old Babylonian incantation catalogue now in Manchester (Wilcke 1973: 14 no. 5: 12: ki-sikil sa$_6$-ga). Wilcke noted that the catalogue entry matched an incantation surviving on two Old Babylonian tablets, now in Edinburgh, Scotland, and Williams College, Mass., and edited by Falkenstein (1964: 113–29). Their text has now been re-edited, with some new readings, by Geller (2002). As it turns out, No. 9k is a close relative of that text, which begins with a longer version of the same poem, but then continues further with an addition modelled on the Asalluḫe-Enki pattern: a statement of the problem that has to be resolved,[1] the formulaic narrative of Asalluḫe's interview with Enki, and a divinely sanctioned ritual prescription to cure the problem. By contrast No. 9k is severely abridged and, in places, badly corrupt.

col. vi

5' ki-sikil sa$_6$-ga sila-a gub-ba
6' ki-sikil kar-kid-mu ^{d}inanna
7' é-éš-dam-ta gub-ba
8' šár-šár-ra
9' šár-šár-ra
10' abgal-šè
11' gá-a nundum-maḫ inim ^{d}en-ki-ga-ke$_4$
12' ki-sikil ama-a-ni kìri ḫašḫur úr-mu a
13' én-é-nu-ri

14' ka-inim-ma ki-ág

vi 5'–7' Pretty girl, standing in the street, my harlot-girl Inanna, standing in the tavern! 8'–9' Abundant, abundant! 10'–13' To the sage, mine, sublime lips, at the word of Enki, girl, her mother, nose, apple, my lap, O! *Enenuri*-spell. 14' Incantation formula (for) love.

The translation shows any reader that the text begins intelligibly but after l. 8' becomes steadily more incomprehensible. The nature and extent of the problem can readily be seen when the text is compared with the corresponding portion of the less corrupt version:

ki-sikil sa$_6$-ga sila-a gub-ba
ki-sikil kar-kid dumu (A om.) ^{d}inanna
⌜é-éš-dam-ma⌝ gub-ba (A) // ki-sikil dumu ^{d}inanna é-éš-dam-ma ⌜ba-gub⌝ (B)
áb (A) // ì (B) šár-ra-àm
áb (A) // gára (B) šár-ra-àm
áb gal$_4$-la šár (A) // gal$_4$-maḫ (B) ^{d}inanna-kam
gá-nun-maḫ ^{d}en-ki-ga-kam
ki-sikil tuš-a-ni ^{giš}kiri$_6$ ḫašḫur-a (A) // tir <ḫa>-šu-úr-ra (B) ul gùr-ru-àm
nú-a-ni . . . pa ^{giš}eren-na an-dùl ak-àm

ll. 1–8 after Falkenstein 1964: 114–15, Geller 2002: 135–36, only major variants noted

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[1] Line 17: [g]aba guruš-a gi-gin$_7$ ḫé-ra-ra "it (love-sickness) did strike the young man in the chest like an arrow." The image is more compelling when so rendered, *pace* Falkenstein 1964: 117 "wie mit einem Rohr," Römer 1987: 209 "wie (mit) einem Rohr," Leick 1994: 197 "like with a reed," Geller 2002: 130 "as with a reed." It is legitimate to assume that gi "reed" stands for "arrow" by synecdoche (it is the arrow shaft), as does its equivalent *qanûm* in Akkadian.

Pretty girl, standing in the street,
harlot-girl, Inanna, (*var.* child of Inanna, girl, child of Inanna,)
standing in the tavern!
She was a rich-yielding cow (*var.* oil), she was a rich-yielding cow (*var.* cream),
she was Inanna's rich-yielding vulva-cow!
She was Enki's sublime storehouse!
When the girl sat, she was an apple orchard (*var.* pine grove) bearing fruit,
when she lay down, . . . she was a cedar bough casting shade!

This version may not be completely free from corruption, but it paints a coherent picture of the girl in all her ripe fecundity, budding beauty and sensual promise that is almost completely invisible in the version presented first. Incantation No. 9k is a revealing case-study in corruption and shows how debased an Old Babylonian Sumerian incantation could become.

A second love-related incantation, now in London and published since Wilcke wrote, has a very similar incipit and gives it an Akkadian gloss (*CT* 58 10: 1): ki-sikil sig-ga e-sír gub // *wa-ar-da-tu i-na sú-qí-im iz-za-az* "a girl was standing in the street."[1] Thereafter the text diverges from Falkenstein and Geller's incantation // No. 9k, but both incantations personify the desired woman as the divine prostitute Inanna, thereby recasting the man's attraction to the girl as an episode in the archetypal courtship of Dumuzi and Inanna in mythical time. The topos of the pretty girl in the street emerges as a stock motif in love-related Sumerian incantations of the Old Babylonian period.

Notes

vi 6'. The possessive -mu stands where one of the better-written versions (B) has dumu "child."

7'. Our text matches A rather than B.

10'. abgal "sage" is corrupt for áb gal_4-(la) "vulva-cow."

11'. gá-a nundum-maḫ "mine, sublime lips" is a corruption of gá-nun-maḫ "sublime storehouse."

13'. ama-a-ni "her mother," instead of tuš-a-ni "when she sits," introduces a character conventional in love poetry, but is devoid of meaning here. kìri "nose" is a mistake for its homophone, $^{giš}kiri_6$ "orchard." úr-mu "my lap" is part of the vocabulary of love poetry but meaningless here. It and the exclamation a "O!" could derive from gùr-ru-àm "she is bearing," but the úr could also be a legacy of a one-time ḫa-šu-úr "pine, cedar" (cf. B).

II.I.2. No. 23b (Pl. LXIX)

The second text on the small Old Babylonian collective tablet No. 23 is Akkadian, and the content determines that it is a woman's address to a man. It falls between two Sumerian spells, one to heal bones and another of uncertain function, so it is undoubtedly an incantation. As such it makes a charming addition to the genre of Babylonian love magic (on which see briefly George 2009: 67). The speaker has made a decision to change her life, from one of misery (a thorny weed) to one of pleasure (a vine), thus putting an end to the anguish that has raged within her like fire (7–11). She needs the man's love, and asks only that he look for her, as one looks for lost sheep, and notice her (12–16). The imagery places the speaker in the fields, weeding and sowing, and in the home, tending to the hearth, while the object of her desire is out in the country, herding his flocks. In the poet's mind, the split between desert and sown, pasture and arable, will be mended when the woman gets her man.

Any reading, ancient or modern, will be informed by prior knowledge of the tales of the mythical courtship of the goddess Inanna and the shepherd Dumuzi. Some of the Sumerian poems that deal with this archetypal topic depict a "young girl, boisterous and full of vigor, seeking a loving husband who will provide her with

[1] The Akkadian translation ignores Sumerian sig-ga, which the parallels prove to be a syllabic spelling of sa_6-ga "pretty."

all her needs, and enable her to live a good, carefree life" (Sefati 1998: 109). This girl, animated by youthful yearning, is everywhere in literature, from Tolstoy's Natasha Rostova to the girl in our poem, and in more modern times is a staple of popular songs. A literary-critical response to the present example will appear in a book on Middle Eastern love poetry (George forthcoming a).

obv.

7 *a-sú-uḫ ba-aš-ta-am*
8 *a-za-ru-ú ka-ra-na-am*
9 *a-na i-ša-tim*
10 *e-ze-tim me-e*
11 *aš-pu-[u]k*
12 *ki-ma pu-<ḫa>-di-ka*
13 *ra-ma-an-⌜ni⌝*
14 *ki-ma ṣe-e-⌜nim⌝*
15 *na-as-ḫi-ra-am-ma*
16 *am-ra-an-ni*

[7–11] I uprooted a thistle, I shall sow a vine. I poured water on a raging fire. [12–16] Love me as (you love) your lamb! Seek me out as (you seek out) a flock and find me!

Notes

7. On *baštum* as a variant of *baltum*, a thorny weed, see II.D.9 No. 49: 4 and textual note. Probably the spelling in the present instance is deliberate, in order to add meaning through paranomasia: by throwing herself at a man, the woman will lose her *bāštum* "dignity, pride." An Old Babylonian incantation against anger uses the expression *bāštam nasāḫum* to describe one of its consequences (*UET* VI 399: 8–11, ed. Whiting 1985: 181): *is-⌜sú⌝-uḫ ba-aš-ta-am ša pa-ni-i-šu-ú iḫ-pe qú-li-a-am ša li-bi-šu-ú* "(anger) removed the dignified bearing of his face, shattered the still calm of his mind" (*qú-li-a-am* is a "broken" spelling of *qūlam*, of the kind noted for feminine nouns by Lambert 2013: 469; George 2003: 210–11; on OB *YOS* XI 5: 10 *tu-li-a-tum* for *tūlātum* "maggots" see Wasserman 2008: 82 on l. 10).

12. The dictionaries book *pūdum* or *būdum* as a type of sheep, but the word seems rather to denote a festival (George 2003: 833 sub 45). I have emended the text to give the normal Old Babylonian word for "lamb."

16. The word *amranni* also occurs as an invitation to love in an Old Babylonian love incantation from Isin (Wilcke 1985: 198 l. 24).

II.J. INCANTATIONS OF UNCERTAIN FUNCTION

II.J.1. No. 7q (Pl. XXIV) // No. 8k (Pl. XXIX)

This incantation, preserved almost intact on the two Old Babylonian collective tablets Nos. 7 and 8, is, because of apparent corruption, of uncertain topic, but its rubric suggests an application in healing. It is presented here in the hope that exposure will lead to its eventual elucidation. Its structure follows the Asalluḫe-Enki type. It tells how once upon a time some malicious entity returned (vii 8–12). The birds and animals made a loud noise (13–14), perhaps in protest, so that Asalluḫe noticed. An Asalluḫe-Enki formula follows, which gives a full repetition of the problem and even repeats the narrative line in which Asalluḫe came across the problem (vii 15–31 // iv 1–14). Enki's solution took the form of a practical ritual, as usual: it involved doing something in a field, but both manuscripts are broken at this point, and the continuation is uncertain (vii 32–34 // iv 15–17). The incantation concludes with tu$_6$ én-é-nu-ru and a rubric (vii 35–36 // iv 18–19). The rubric identifies the purpose of the foregoing as *šuḫḫuḫum*, which is an Akkadian verb used to describe physical disintegration: the falling out of teeth and hair, and the wasting of flesh.

No. 7q
col. vii

8 [ba]-⸢an-gi⸣-eš-à[m ba-an-gi-eš-àm]
9 níg naga KA ⸢ki⸣ g[u-ga KA]
10 ⸢ba⸣-an-gi-eš-⸢àm⸣
11 ⸢níg⸣-nu-gar-ra ki gìri kud-da
12 ⸢ba⸣-an-gi-eš-àm
13 [ug]a^{mušen} ⸢edin-na⸣ gum gig / kur-ra
14 m[áš]-anše níg-úr-límmu gù-gù ba-ni-in-gar
15 [^{d}a]sal-lú-ḫe ⸢igi⸣ im-ma-an-sig$_7$
16 a-a-n[i] ^{d}en-⸢ki⸣-ra é-šè ba-ši-in-/-ku$_4$
17 gù mu-un-na-dé-e
18 a-a-mu ba-an-gi-eš-àm ba-an-gi-eš-/-àm
19 níg naga KA ki gu-ga ⸢KA⸣
20 ba-an-gi-eš-àm
21 níg-nu-gar-ra ki gìri kud-da
22 ba-an-gi-eš-àm
23 uga^{mušen} edin-na gum ⸢gig⸣ / kur-ra
24 máš-anše níg-úr-límmu gù-gù ba-ni-in-/-gar
25 ^{d}asal-lú-ḫe igi im-ma-an-sig$_7$
26 ^{d}en-ki-ke$_4$ dumu-ni ^{d}asal-lú-ḫe
27 mu-un-na-ni-ib-⸢gi$_4$⸣-g[i$_4$]
28 dumu-mu a-na-gin$_7$-zu a-na-na-ab-daḫ-e
29 ^{d}asal-lú-ḫe a-na-gin$_7$-zu a-na-na-ab-daḫ-/-e
30 níg gá-⸢e zu-mu za-e-gin$_7$⸣-zu
31 ù ⸢za-e gin$_7$-zu-mu a-na⸣-[àm gin$_7$-z]u
32 a-šà-ga ⸢kid⸣ ḫé-em-dím-⸢e⸣
33 [x]-ḫa šu ⸢ḫur⸣-sag-gá ka-bi lú-ùlu-/-ra
34 [x ḫa]-ba-⸢an⸣-da-duḫ-a
35 ⸢tu$_6$ én-é⸣-nu-ru

---

36 [ka]-⸢inim-ma⸣ [. . .]

No. 8k
col. iv

1 [a-a-ni-ra] é-šè ba-ši-in-ku$_4$
2 [gù] mu-un-na-dé-e
3 [a-a-mu] ⸢ba-an-gi$_4$⸣-eš-àm ⸢ba-an-gi$_4$-eš⸣-à[m]
4 [níg naga K]A ki gu-ga ⸢KA ba-an-gi$_4$-eš-àm⸣
5 [níg-nu-gar-r]a ki gìri kud-da ba-an-gi$_4$-eš-àm
6 [ug]a^{mušen} edin-na gum gig kur-ra
7 [máš-anše níg-ú]r-límmu-e gù-gù ba-ni-in-gar
8 [^{d}asal-lú]-ḫe igi im-ma-an-sig$_7$
9 [^{d}en-ki-ke$_4$ du]mu-ni ^{d}asal-lú-ḫe
10 [mu-un-n]a-ni-ib-gi$_4$-gi$_4$
11 [dumu-mu] a-na nu-zu a-na-ra-ab-daḫ-e
12 [^{d}asal]-lú-ḫe a-na nu-zu a-na-ra-ab-daḫ-e
13 [níg-gá]-⸢e⸣ zu-mu ù za-a gin$_7$-zu
14 [ù] ⸢za-a⸣ gin$_7$-zu níg-gá-e zu-a
15 [a]-šà-ga kid ḫé-em-dím-e
16 [x]-ḫa-šu ⸢ḫur-sag⸣-gá ka-bi lú-ùlu-ra
17 [x]x ḫa-ba-an-da-duḫ-a

18 [tu$_6$] én-é-nu-ru

---

19 [ ] ka-inim-ma *šu-ḫu-ḫu-um*

[vii 8–14] They are back, they are back . . . they are back. Nasty things (from) where access is cut off, they are back. The crows of the steppe, . . . of the uplands, the animals and creatures cried out.

[15–25] Asalluḫe saw and went home to his father Enki, saying to him: "O my father, they are back, they are back . . . they are back. Nasty things (from) where access is cut off, they are back. The crows of the steppe, . . . of the uplands, the animals and creatures cried out. Asalluḫe saw."

[26–31] Enki said to his son Asalluḫe: "O my son, what don't you know? What can I add? Asalluḫe, what don't you know? What can I add? What I know, you know too, and what you know is what I also know. [32–35] In the field one should make a reed mat, [. . .] of the mountain, their mouths for the man [. . .] will undo." *Tu-Enenuru*-spell.

[36] Incantation formula against wasting away.

Notes

No. 7q vii 9, 19 // No. 8k iv 4. Unrecognizably corrupt, but apparently syntactically parallel to vii 11, 21 // iv 5: níg . . ., ki . . . The compound níg-NAGA also occurs in an incantation to consecrate a brewing jar (*YOS* XI 57: 7, ed. Sallaberger 1996: 87).

vii 11, 21 // iv 5. On níg-nu-gar-ra see the textual note on II.A.10 No. 6r vi 35.

vii 13, 23 // iv 6. gum gig seems corrupt. The sign read gum may be gaz "kill." In other Old Babylonian incantations in Sumerian the crow's epithet is uga$^{\text{mušen}}$ amar-sag $^{\text{d}}$suen-na "chick of Sîn": (*YOS* XI 61: 3; 69 rev. 4'; see further Veldhuis 2004: 299–300).

vii 14, 24 // iv 7. A similar line occurs in an Ur III incantation (*TMH* VI 9: 12): máš-anše níg-zi-pa edin-na níg-úr-limmu $^{\text{d}}$šakkan gù-b[i] im-ma-gar "the animals, beasts of the field and creatures of Šakkan gave voice" (differently Geller *apud* van Dijk and Geller 2003: 39). Note also the onomatopoeic compound verb ka-ka—dug$_4$ "to make a *kaa-kaa* sound," used of crows cawing in Enki and Ninhursag 13 (ed. Attinger 1984: 6 gù KA nu-mu-ni-bé).

II.J.2. No. 43 (Pl. CVIII) and 20d (Pl. LXI)

The Sumerian incantation inscribed on Old Babylonian tablet No. 43 is known from versions extant on two other unprovenanced tablets, one in Baghdad (*TIM* IX 64) and the other in Yale (*YOS* XI 77: 16–26). Van Dijk transliterated both but he did not not translate them, finding "too many uncertainties" (van Dijk *et al.* 1985: 47). The new manuscript, a square Old Babylonian tablet, does not resolve the difficulties in the opening lines. They are open to several interpretations besides the scenario envisaged by van Dijk, which made allusion to the heroic career of Gilgameš (see the notes on ll. 1–3). In this version it seems that some one went to town and sold an ox. The individual then found himself afflicted by some evil, for the exorcist enlists the help of Enki, who is asked to provide a ritual of purification and abasement (4–8). The exorcist finally invokes the authority of Namma and Asalluḫe, Enki's mother and son, whose magic spells cannot be undone (9–11).

No. 43

obv.

1 [unu]g$^{\text{ki}}$ ba-ku$_4$ úrim$^{\text{k}}$[$^{\text{i}}$ ba-ku$_4$]

2 [l]arsam$^{\text{ki}}$ ba-ku$_4$ úrim$^{\text{ki}}$ b[a-ku$_4$]

3 lú-diš-e gud ⸢in⸣-šá[m]

4 $^{\text{d}}$en-ki lugal abzu-a

5 lú-kin-gi$_4$-a ḫé-in-du

6 sig$_4$ šinig ḫé-gub-ba

7 a gi-sug-ka ḫé-nag-a

8 te-na in-sìg

9 $^{\text{d}}$namma ⸢nin⸣ eridu$^{\text{ki}}$-ga-[ke$_4$]

rev.

10 $^{\text{d}}$asal-lú-ḫe dumu $^{\text{d}}$en-ki-k[e$_4$]

11 l[ú na]m-da-búr-re-e

[1–3] He entered Uruk, [entered] Ur, entered Larsa, [entered] Ur: a certain man sold an ox. [4–8] "Let Enki, lord of the Abzu, send a mes-

senger, let him set up brick and tamarisk, let him drink water through a marsh reed." He slapped him on the cheek.

9–11 Namma, queen of Eridu, Asalluḫe, son of Enki: (the spell they have cast) no man shall undo!

An Akkadian version of this spell is included on the collective tablet No. 20. Unfortunately it is badly damaged:

No. 20d

obv.

14′ [. . .]x *a-na úrim*^{ki} *i-te-*⌜*li*⌝ [x x x x] ⌜x x⌝

15′ [. . .] x *a-ba-ra-ka-tim iṭ-ṭù-um iš-nu kar-ṣ*[*um*]

16′ [. . .]x-*am a-na pi-šu šu-uk-na-ma le-sú ma-aḫ-ṣa-m*[*a*]

17′ [. . .]x *li-it-ta-ra-ad* ka-inim-ma *iṭ-ṭù-*[*um*]

14′–16′ [. . .] went up to Ur, [. . .] of the housekeepers bitumen obstructed. Slander [. . .] "Put . . . into his mouth and slap (pl.) his cheek, 17′ so that [. . .] goes down!" Incantation formula for bitumen.

Notes

No. 43: 1–2. The parallel versions have ba-du-ud, ba-tu-ud "born" (// l. 1) and ba-an-tuk "acquired" (// l. 2), but ba-ku$_4$ seems preferable in the light of No. 20's *ana Urim īteli*. Where No. 4 has Larsa ([U]D.UNUG^{ki}), the others have ku-la-a-ba^{ki} and kul-aba(UNUG)^{ki}.

3. The sources disagree as to what was done to the ox. The other versions have gud ki-si-ga lul (read with copy) ša$_6$ "he . . . an ox (as?) a funerary offering" and gud ba-an-sìg "he struck an ox." Our in-šám could be a corruption of either or *vice versa*.

No. 20: 16′. This line of direct speech is the counterpart of a two-part Sumerian phrase which is fairly consistently reproduced by the three sources. In the light of No. 43: 7–8, I read *TIM* IX 64: 8–9: a gi gu íd ḫé-nag [t]e-⌜na⌝ ḫé-sìg // *YOS* XI 77: 21–22: [a] gi-sug-ka ḫé-nag-a [te]-na! ì-sa$_6$-[ga].

II.J.3. No. 7c (Pl. XXII)

This fragment of an Akkadian incantation is on the topic of wind, so could be a measure against digestive disorders, in which a stormwind often features as the aetiology. However, on the Old Babylonian collective tablet No. 7 it falls among spells for staying out of town (Nos. 7a, d) and for safety in the street (II.B.2 No. 7b). Since it is concerned with the sea, it is perhaps an apotropaion against sickness or accidents while aboard a boat. It is only a fragment but is edited here because of its novelty.

The opening passage relates an episode in mythical time when the wind struck the surface of the sea, anthropomorphized as a cuff to the head. The results of this mischief are not preserved, but surely included the ill effect of setting the sea in motion. It would then provide an early example of a mythological idea that otherwise informs a passage at the beginning of the Babylonian Epic of Creation (*Enūma eliš* I 105–10). Anu gives Marduk, his grandson, the winds to play with, and they create a wave in the ancestral Sea (Ti'āmat). For the purposes of narrative and plot the episode leads to the gods' discomfort, but it can also be read aetiologically to explain, like the present passage, the origin of the sea's eternal motion. The motif of more generalized conflict between stormwind and sea is of course prominent in much other ancient Near Eastern mythology (e.g. Jacobsen 1968, Day 1985, Durand 1993, Bordreuil and Pardee 1993).

col. i

19′ *ša-rum ti-me-a-tim ú-ṣi-i-ma*

20′ ⌜*ù*⌝ *ti-a-me-tum ip-pa-al-la-*<*sà*>*-šum*

21′ [*im*]*-ḫa-aṣ ú-ru-*{ras.}*-uḫ*

22′ [*ti*]*-wi-a-tim*

23′ [x x x x] x *ap-pa-ra-*⌜*ti*⌝

24′ ff. illegible traces

i 19′–22′ The wind went out (upon) the sea and the sea was staring at it. It cuffed the sea across the top of the head (*lit.* struck the sea's hairline). [. . .] marshes. *Remainder lost.*

Note

i 19', 20', 22'. The spell appears to play with variants of the Sea's name, *ti'āmtum*. For other similar spellings see II.G.1 No. 28a obv. 3 and textual note.

II.K. INCANTATION PRAYERS AND OTHER TEXTS

II.K.1. No. 47 (Pl. CXIV)

This is an Old Babylonian excerpt of four lines of the Incantation to Utu (92–95). This composition is not formally an incantation but part hymn to the sun-god Utu and part prayer, ending in a plea for him to attend to the speaker's client. As a text declaimed by an exorcist during a ritual ceremony, it was part of the exorcists' repertoire and falls within the interests of this volume. For the whole text and its interpretation see the edition of Alster 1991; another interpretation is Geller 1995.

The present excerpt (// ll. 92–95) is part of a list of the divine attendants who accompanied the sun-god Utu on his journey through the sky. As noted by Alster, the list is related to passages of the god-lists. A fifth line is appended to the excerpt, consisting of two damaged signs almost on the right-hand edge. Since a ruling separates these signs from l. 4, they are not an overrun from that line. The signs are compatible with the abbreviated phrase tu$_6$ én, which would indicate that the preceding passage was considered effective on its own as a spell or charm.

1 ⸢še⸣-er-zi-maḫ-an-na kuš$_7$
2 ḫa-mu-un si-si-si-e sa$_6$-g[a]
3 gu-ub-la igi-ta-al kaš$_x$(SUḪUŠ)-zu {x}
4 ad-[g]i-maḫ igi-bar sa$_6$-ga-⸢a⸣-z[u]
5 ⸢tu$_6$⸣ é[n]

$^{1–4}$ Šerzi-maḫ-anna the groom, lovely Ḫamun who leads the way, your couriers Gubla (and) Igital, your Adgi-maḫ, whose glance is favorable. ^{5} *Tu-en*-spell.

Notes

2. Ḫamun's epithet is given in Incantation to Utu 94a as igi si-sá-zu. In *An* III 166 he is ^{d}ḫa-mun igi si-sá // *muš-te-šir pa-ni* "who directs the face."

3. The phrase gu-ub-la igi-ta-al takes the place occupied in the Incantation to Utu by the pair ^{d}kar-(du)-ug and ^{d}sakar-du-ug, and in *An* III 163–65 by ^{d}kar-du/dug$_4$ ^{d}sa-kar-du 2 ^{lú}kaš$_4$ ^{d}utu-ke$_4$ "the two couriers of Utu." It is assumed here that the phrase expresses variant names of the same divine pair.

4. In *An* III 167 Adgi-maḫ appears as ^{d}ad-gi$_4$-gi$_4$ igi-bar sa$_6$-ga // *šá nap-lu-us-su dam-qa* "whose glance is favorable."

II.K.2. No. 59 (Pl. CXXXI)

This is an unusual Old Babylonian text which is provisionally identified as an incantation prayer. Col. i' holds names and epithets of goddesses, many or all being aspects of Ištar, in the style of a hymn or more elevated type of prayer. Col. ii' seems to begin with a command, *di-i*[*n*]-*š*[*u d*]*i-i-na* "judge his case!," addressed to a plurality of persons, perhaps the Ištar-figures of col. i'. The remainder of the column, and much if not all of col. iii', are taken up with a list of pairs of deities, starting with the primeval gods Earth and Sky and the ancestors of Anu and Enlil, and continuing with a considerable part of the Babylonian pantheon, organized in a conventional hierarchy.[1] The ancestors of Anu and Enlil are

[1] The predominance of this list led to the tablet, MS 3419, being booked as a list of divine names in *MSCT* V (Civil 2010: 284).

most recently studied by Lambert (2013: 405–26). The present list contains in col. ii 2'–11' a unique combination of these two sets of ancestors, somewhat disguised by corruption. The entries in ll. 2' and 6'–10' derive from the theogony of Anu; those in ll. 3'–5' and 11' from Enlil's.[1]

A key phrase in determining the genre of the text is the command *dīnšu dīnā*. This suggests at first a divinatory context, for *dīnum* "judgement, verdict" is a technical term in divination for the divine decision manifested in an oracle, and prayers that call on Šamaš, Adad and other gods to render a petitioner's *dīnum*, by providing an oracle for the diviner to decode, are well known. However, no divination prayer invites the whole pantheon to the task.

As a technical term in theurgy generally, the word *dīnum* also has a place in apotropaic and exorcistic ritual. Rituals of purification are often structured as court cases, in which the aggrieved party (the exorcist's client) brings his complaint before the divine judge Šamaš, with the plea *dīnī dīn* "judge my case" and the request that Šamaš purge him of the evil afflicting him (Maul 1994: 60–71). The third-person formulation *dīnšu dīn* "judge his case!" can also occur, as in the exorcist's incantation ᵈutu ud-ri-a-ta from the "third house" of the ritual series *Bīt rimki* (*Uruk* III 67 iv 9–10, ed. von Weiher 1988: 55): di-da-a-ni ku_5-da-ab ka-aš-bar-a-ni bar-ra-ab // *di-in-šú di-in pu-ru-sà-šú pu-ru-us* "judge his case, render judgement on him!" Powers other than Šamaš can be asked to pass judgement using the same phrase *dīnī dīn*, e.g. the fire gods Nuska and Girra in the anti-witchcraft series *Maqlû* (I 114, II 107, ed. Maier 1937), and a group of gods, probably the Igigi, in an Akkadian field-pest incantation (82-5-22, 532 ii 3'–4', ed. George and Taniguchi 2010: 100): *[d]i-ni di-na a-lak-ti lim-da* "judge my case, learn my predicament!" Many other passages of incantation prayers, *šuilla*s and *namburbi*s that employ the expression *dīnī dīn* "judge my case" are listed in Werner Mayer's study of the genre (1976: 221–22). In the present text, then, the phrase *dīnšu dīnā* is no hindrance to identifying it generically as part of the exorcists' repertoire.

Turning to the remainder of the text, it is unnecessary to cite the many examples of incantation prayers that begin with a hymnic-style address, often short but sometimes quite extended. Examples of lists of deities in incantations are also not hard to find. In exorcism, especially, it is common to invoke the aid of large numbers of gods. The usual formula consists of a list of deities, each name preceded by zi // *nīš* and followed by ḫé-pàd // *lū tamâta* "(O demon,) be adjured by the god DN!" Other forms comprise lists that are only intermittently interrupted with injunctions, e.g. *Šurpu* VIII 14–43 (ed. Reiner 1958: 39–41; Borger 2000: 75–84) and the similar litany K 2096 (*ABRT* 56–59, partly ed. Reiner 1956: 144–47). Usually the deities are listed in a hierarchical order, sometimes beginning with the primeval, ancestral deities, e.g. in the bilingual Gattung II and Gattung III (ed. Ebeling 1953: 381–403; see further Lambert 2013: 410–17). Groups of ancestral deities already occur in this context in the Ur III and Old Babylonian periods (Peterson 2009; Cavigneaux and Al-Rawi 1994: 74 ll. 9–10; eid. 1995b: 197; here No. 16 iii 5'–9', see Part I). Occasionally the deities are ordered in pairs, male and female, e.g. in a late *namerimburruda* incantation (Geller 1998: 130–31).

A hierarchy of gods in male-female pairs, beginning with the ancestral deities (ii' 2'–9') and moving on to the rest of the pantheon, ordered conventionally from An and Antum in the heavens (ii' 10') to the netherworld gods (iii' 11'–15'), is the main feature of the present text. The phrasing that defined the role of these gods in the text, and of the Ištar-figures in col. i', is missing, but the provisional assumption is that Ištar and the goddesses of col. i' are asked to intervene to determine the supplicant's fault or impurity—

[1] The theogony is studied further in George forthcoming c.

just as Šamaš was required to do in *Bīt rimki*—and the pantheon of cols. ii' and iii' are invoked as authorities who will be present to enforce the goddesses' verdict. On grounds of content and form, No. 59 can be provisionally identified as the remains of a long Old Babylonian incantation prayer.

On this tablet the sign ZI is routinely used for GI; the transliteration chooses the appropriate value without remark.

col. i

1' [x x x *an*]-⸢*nu-ni*⸣-*tum*
2' [*ù*] ⸢^{d}⸣*ul-maš-ì-tum*
3' [*uru*]*k*^{ki}-*tum* šu-bi kù-ge
4' [*i*]*š-ta-ri-tum a-ni-im*
5' [x] *iš*$_8$-*tár ki-li-li*
6' [*m*]*u-ši-ra-at a-pa-ti*
7' [*m*]*u-ki-la-at ši-bi-ir* / *uqnîm*(za-gìn) *ellim*(kù-ge)
8' [*m*]*u-bi-ra-at ma-ta-ti*
9' [*m*]*u*-x-*qá*?-*at a-ša-at mu-/-ti*
10' [x (x)-*š*]*i-in-ti ku*-x-*ti-/-ši*
11' [x (x)]-*ti šu-mi-ši-in*
12' [x x] *i-na ki-ṣí-ši-in*
13' [x *t*]*e*? *li-qá*?/*iq-tum*
14' [x]x-*ri* ⸢*ù*⸣ *ṣí-ti-ši*-[/-*in*]
15' [x]x-*tum* la? x im
16' [*mu-um*]-*mi-da-at* ⸢*ta*⸣-*am*-/⸢*ḫa-ri*⸣
17' [x] x x-*li*-⸢*it*⸣ / *li*-⸢*li*⸣-[*im*]
18'–23' very poor
24' [*tu-u*]*ṣ-ṣi*!-*i-ma* [(x x)] ⸢*a*?⸣-*na di-ni-šu*
25' [x *l*]*e-mu-ta-am*
26' [x x x] ⸢*sa*⸣-*ra-am*
27' [x x x]x-*ni-im*

gap

col. ii

1' *di-in-š*[*u d*]*i-i-na*
2' ki *ù* an
3' en-ki *ù* nu-mu-un-ki
4' en-ge-re-eš nu-ge-re-eš
5' en ^{d}en-líl *ù* nu-mu-un
6' *du-úr ù da-ar*
7' *lu-úḫ-mu ù lu-ḫu-mu*
8' *an-ša-ar ù* dumu-*ša-ar*
9' *a-la-la ù be-li-li*
10' *an ù an-tum*
11' ^{d}*en-líl ù* ^{d}*nin-líl*
12' ^{d}*nin-ḫur-sag-gá ù* ^{d}*šul-pa-è*
13' ^{d}*en-ki ù* ^{d}*d*[*am*]-*gal-nun-na*
14' ^{d}*suen* ⸢*ù* ^{d}*nin*⸣-*gal*
15' ^{d}⸢x *ù*⸣ ^{d}sig$_4$?
16' ^{d}[x] *ù* ^{d}x[(x)]
17' ^{d}⸢x-*ba*$_4$⸣ *ù* ^{d}*ba*-⸢*ú*?⸣
18' ^{d}⸢*nin*⸣-*urta ù* ^{d}nin-nibru^{ki}
19' ^{d}*pa-bíl-sag*-⸢*gá*⸣ *ù* ^{d}⸢nin⸣-tin-[ug$_7$-g]a
20' ^{d}*da-mu* ⸢*ù*⸣ ^{d}*gu*-⸢*la*⸣
21' [^{d}*ni*]*n-giš-zi-da ù* ^{d}*a-z*[*i-mú-a*]
22' [^{d}*l*]*ugal-ma-ar-ta* ⸢*ù*⸣ ^{d}n[in-zu-an-na]
23' ^{d}*nu-muš-da ù* $^{d!}$*n*[*am-ra-at*]
24' ^{d}íd-gal *ù* ki-is-[sà]
25' ^{d}utu *ù* ^{d}*a-a*
26' ^{d}nin-si$_4$-an-na *ù* ^{d}*kab*-[*ta*]
27' ⸢^{d}⸣iškur *ù* ^{d}⸢x x⸣
28' ⸢^{d}⸣*li-lu-um ù* ^{d}*še-e-d*[*um*]
29' [*m*]*u-šu-um la ga-mil*
30' [x]x x-*ši-im uq-ni-im*

gap

col. iii

1' *i-la-an* [. . .]
2' ga ab [. . .]
3' ^{d}muati *ù* [. . .]
4' *ìl-a-ba*$_4$ [*ù* . . .]
5' *ma-li-i*[*k* . . .]
6' ^{d}*be-el*-x[. . .]
7' i ti la [. . .]
8' *e-di-il* [. . .]
9' ^{d}*li*-x[. . .]
10' *ù* ^{d}[. . .]
11' ^{d}*mu-ú*[*ḫ-ra* . . .]
12' *ù* ^{d}x[. . .]
13' ^{d}*èr-ra* [*ù* . . .]
14' ^{d}*šu-bu-l*[*a ù* . . .]
15' ^{d}*i-šum* [. . .]
16' [^{d}g]alga ⸢*ù*⸣ [. . .]

Remainder very poor

Notes

i' 3'. Perhaps *qāssa ellet* "her hand is pure."

5'–6'. With Kilili *muširrat apāti* "who leans through windows" compare the first-millennium *lipšur*-litany K 2096 (*ABRT* I 57: 32:

^{d}*ki-li-li mu-ši-ir-tum šá a-pa-ti*), and the incantation incipit, *at-ti ki-li-li šá a-pa-ta ú-šar-ru* "You, K., who leans through the window" (Farber 1977: 57 l. 22).

9'. Perhaps *muriqqat aššat muti* "who keeps wife and husband apart."

ii 3'. This is the oldest ancestral pair in Enlil's theogony, usually rendered as Enki and Ninki or Nunki (Alster 1970; Selz 1995: 270; Sjöberg 2002: 237 n. 14; Peterson 2009; Lambert 2013: 414, Rubio 2013: 6), but once, in an Old Babylonian zi—pàd incantation from Sippar, as en-ki-in *ù* nu-mu-e-ki-in (Cavigneaux and Al-Rawi 1994: 75 l. 9). To explain this nu-mu-e-ki-in Sjöberg posited a development from "old numun$_x$ > nun (cf. *enmen$_x$ > en)" and wondered whether nu-mu-e was a scribal error for nu-mu-un. The current spelling gives a positive answer to his question.

5'. Since Enlil and Ninlil appear later in the list, at ii 11', this line is certainly an abbreviated version of the summary that often rounds off lists of Enlil's ancestors. A conventional rendering is: en ama a-a ^{d}en-líl-lá nin ama a-a ^{d}nin-líl-lá "lord mothers and fathers of Enlil, lady mothers and fathers of Ninlil." However, the formula exists in considerable variety, as listed by Lambert 2013: 410–11, to which add, in a zi—pàd incantation from Mê-Turan (Cavigneaux and Al-Rawi 1995b: 197 MB 17'): en ama ^{d}en-líl-lá-ke$_4$-ne nun ama ^{d}en-líl-ne. nu-mu-un for nun (< nin) also occurs in ii 3', q.v.

17'. Zababa is expected.

27'. Apparently neither Medimša nor Šala.

II.K.3. No. 61 (Pls. CXXXII–CXXXVI)

The main text on this Neo-Assyrian tablet is a version of a well-known incantation prayer to the gods Ea, Šamaš and Marduk (in his identity as the exorcist god Asalluḫe), no. 13 in Werner Mayer's inventory of incantation prayers (1976: 383–84). The text appears on four amulet-type tablets from Aššur, none of which is as well preserved as this one. The others were written for the benefit of Bābu-aḫu-iddina (*KAR* 35) and three individuals whose names are lost (*KAR* 36+261, *LKA* 129, *KAL* II 40). An abbreviated version was included in the inscription incised on an Assyrian demon's head amulet now in the Louvre (Heeßel 2002: 111 ll. 6–17). A synoptic edition and German translation of the four witnesses then known was presented by Maul (1994: 181–84); the fifth is copied and edited by Daniel Schwemer in *KAL* II (2007: 99).

The version of the text on No. 61 matches the previously known text in ll. 1–15 (// Maul 1994: 181–83 ll. 1–22) with only slight differences. The following passage (ll. 16–25), comprising the middle of the incantation prayer, is new, for the duplicates are all broken or silent; some phrases recur on an amulet tablet found in Tarsus (ed. Maul 1994: 186–87 D). The ending (ll. 26–34) deviates from what little is preserved on *KAR* 35 // 36+261. It has several clauses in common with another amulet tablet prepared for a certain Bulālu (*KAR* 37, ed. Maul 1994: 187), without being an exact match, and is thus also without a true duplicate. It becomes clear that the opening passages of apotropaic texts written on amulet tablets at Aššur were standardized, but their continuations exhibit considerable variation. Unfortunately, the new closing passage on the present exemplar is not fully preserved.

The prayer written on the lug is spoiled by some major corruptions, but can be read in conjunction with those on the other exemplars. From a combined reading the whole sense emerges—the prayer asks Išum, the divine night watchman, to protect the house of the amulet's beneficiary as he goes about his rounds. In composite it reads *Išum nāgir ilī bēl sūqi sūqa ina bâ'īka eli bīti ša* PN *šukun andulla* "O Išum, herald of the gods, lord of the street, as you pass along the street place protection on PN's house!" In No. 61, however, such is the level of corruption that *Išum* has become his master, Erra, his title *nāgir ilī* has turned by metathesis into Nergal, his epi-

thet *bēl sūqi* has become *a-giš*, and *eli bīti* has been perverted into *lubā'* "let me pass" and *ištim* (meaningless). In addition, *šukun andulla* has been replaced by *ina šakān tapdê* "when granting mercy," and an extra clause is added, *gimil napšassu* "spare his life." Only *sūqa ina bâ'īka* "as you pass along the street" is faithful to the original prayer.

The beneficiary of the text on No. 61 is named in ll. 12 and 31 as Nabû-zēru-iddina. The prayer written on the lug also names him, or, more exactly, his house. Nabû-zēru-iddina was a common name in Assyria (Baker 2001), but it is interesting to note the existence of another clay amulet tablet inscribed with an incantation prayer for the benefit of a Nabû-zēru-iddina: *KAR* 120 (VAT 11241 in Berlin). A third amulet tablet, *LKA* 128 (Ass. 10457 in Istanbul), edited by Maul with *KAR* 120 and duplicates prepared for other individuals (Maul 1994: 185–89), was formerly considered to be written for Nabû-zēru-iddina, but recent collation has yielded the name Nabû-zēru-iqīša instead (Panayotov 2013b).

A private archive belonging to a man called Nabû-zēru-iddina was excavated at Aššur in 1906. It is described by Olof Pedersén in his catalogue of libraries and archives excavated in the Assyrian religious capital (1986: 131–35 N33) and has since been edited by Karen Radner (1999). Most of the tablets in the archive relate to the commercial activities of the goldsmith Nabû-zēru-iddina and his colleagues in the last four decades of the Assyrian empire, but an amulet tablet of baked clay was also found in the house (N33 no. 61 Ass. 13867, ed. Radner 1999: 195–96). This very damaged exemplar has since been published in cuneiform copy (*WVDOG* 98 = Jakob-Rost *et al.* 2000 no. 61), where obv. and rev. should be exchanged.

An overview of the extant Neo-Assyrian amulet-type *namburbi* tablets is given by Stefan Maul (1994: 178–81). The findspots at Aššur of tablets of this type, published and unpublished, have been reconstructed by the same scholar (Maul and Strauß 2011: 4 n. 25). Maul proposes, on grounds of handwriting and physical appearance, that the present addition to the corpus originally came from Nabû-zēru-iddina's house, alongside *WVDOG* 98 no. 61, the one amulet tablet certainly found there, and two others, *LKA* 128 and 129.

Text of main inscription:

obv.

1 én $^{\text{d}}$*é-a* $^{\text{d}}$*šamaš*(utu) $^{\text{d}}$*asal*(KA×X)*-lú-ḫe* *ilū*(dingir)$^{\text{meš}}$ *rabûtu*(gal)$^{\text{meš}}$

2 *šūpûtu*(è)$^{\text{meš}}$ *ṣīrūtu*(maḫ)$^{\text{meš}}$ *ašarēdūtu*(sag-kal)$^{\text{meš}}$ *da-i-nu di-nu*

3 *pāris*(kud)^{is} *purussê*(eš-bar)$^{\text{meš}}$ *mu-šim šīmāti*(nam)$^{\text{meš}}$ *mu-ṣi-ru uṣurāti*(giš-ḫur)$^{\text{meš}}$

4 *mu-si-qú iš-qé-te šá šamê*(an)^{e} *u erṣeti*(ki)^{tim} *at-ta-[n]u-ma*

5 *šipta*(én)*-ku-nu balāṭu*(ti-la) *mû*(a)$^{\text{meš}}$*-ku-nu šulmu*(silim)^{mu} *epiš*(dù)^{iš} ⸢*pî*(ka)⸣-<*ku-nu*> *balāṭum*(ti)*-ma*

6 *āmir*(igi-lá)*-ku-nu iballuṭ*(ti-la) *ḫa-sis-*[*ku*]*-nu išallim*(silim)^{im} *mupallis*(igi-bal)-<*ku-nu*> *idammiq*(sig$_{5}$)

7 ^{mu}*munakkirū*(kúr)^{ru} *lum-nu šākinū*(gar)^{nu} *dumqi*(sig$_{5}$) ^{mu}*mupašširū*(búr) *kišpī*(uš$_{11}$) *ruḫê*(uš$_{11}$) *rušê*(uš$_{11}$)

8 *upšašê*(níg-ak-a)$^{\text{meš}}$ *lemnūti*(ḫul)$^{\text{meš}}$ *ša a-me-lu-te*

9 ki-ág-gá <ḫul>-gig di-bal-a zi-kud-da

10 ka-dab-bé-da šúr!-ḫun-gá sag-ki-dab-ba

11 dima!(KA.<ḪI>)-kúr-ra *ṣu-ud pa-ni šá-nim ṭè-me là še-mu-u*

12 ⸢*ša*⸣ *ina bīt*(é) $^{\text{md}}$*nabû*(muati)-*zēru*(numun)*-iddina*(aš) *mār*(dumu) *ili*(dingir)*-šú itta*(giskim) *lemna*(ḫul) *īpušu*(du)^{uš}

13 $^{\text{d}}$*é-a* $^{\text{d}}$*šamaš*(utu) $^{\text{d}}$*asal*(KA×IGI)*-lú-ḫe* *ilū*(dingir)$^{\text{meš}}$ *rabûtu*(gal)$^{\text{meš}}$

14 [*š*]*a at-tu-nu tīdâ*(zu)^{a} *ana-ku là īdû*(zu)^{u}

15 [*li*]*b-bal-kit-su-nu-ti-ma eli*(ugu)*-šú-nu lik-tu-nu*

16 [*a-d*]*i sur-riš a-na* $^{\text{d}}$*girra*(giš-bar) *a-ri-ri pi-iq-da-šú-n*[*u-te*]

17 [$^{\text{d}}$*gi*]*rra*([giš]-bar) *liq-mu-šú-nu-te* $^{\text{d}}$*girra*

(giš-bar) *lik-šu-⸢su-nu-te⸣*

18 [^{d}*gir*]*ra*([giš-b]ar) *li-nar-šú-nu-ti* ^{d}*girra*(giš-bar) *li-s*[*uḫ*?-*šú-nu-t*]*e*

19 [^{d}*girr*]*a*([giš-ba]r) *liṭ-ru-su-nu-ti* ^{d}*girra*(giš-bar) *l*[*iḫ*?-*mu*?-*s*]*u-nu-t*[*e*]

20 ^{d}*èr-ra ina* ^{giš}*kakki*(tukul) *dan-ni bāba*(ká) *l*[*i-še-ṣi*]-*šú-nu-t*[*e*]

21 *liṭ-ru-su-nu-te li-suḫ-*[*šú-nu-te*]

22 *nāra*(íd) *li-še-bir-šú-nu-te š*[*á-da-a liš-bal-kit*]-/-*su-nu-*[*te*]

rev.

23 ^{giš}*bīnu*(šinig) *eṣemti*(gìr-pa[d-rá]) [*ilī*(din-gir)^{meš} *li-li-il-šú*]

24 ^{d}*šá-maš qud-du-šú* [. . . *li-bi-ib-šú*]

25 $^{ú!(d)}$*maštakal*(ina-úš) ^{mu}*mupa*[*ššir*(bú[r]) *kišpī*(uš$_{11}$) *ruḫê*(uš$_{11}$) *rusê*(uš$_{11}$) *lip-šur-šú*]

26 *ša ina bīti*(é) *šu'āti*(bi) *irrubu*(ku$_4$) [*uṣṣû*(è) *lalê balāṭi lišbi*]

27 *kib-si tal-lak-t*[*e uṣ-ra ina pîkunu ša lā uttakkarū ina*]

28 *šaptī*(nundum) *eb-ba-ti te-*[. . . *ina bīti šu'āti lūšir*]

29 *lu-ud-me-eq šá* x[. . . *arḫu āṣû lumna*]

30 *lit-bal šattu*(mu-an-na) *ēri*[*btu*(k[u$_4$]) *dumuqša lukallimanni*]

31 *ana-ku* ^{md}*nabû*(muati)-*zēru*(numun)-*iddina*(aš) *mār*(dumu) *ili*(ding[ir])-[*šú pa-liḫ ilu-ti-ku-nu rabi*(gal)-*ti*]

32 *nar-*{*bit*}-*bi-ku-nu* ⸢*lu*⸣-[*šá-pi dà-lí-lí-ku-nu lud-lul*]

33 *a-me-lu lìb-bi bīti*(é) *šu'āti*(bi) ⸢*lu*⸣ *b*[*a-liṭ*? *lu šá-lim*?]

34 *a-na ṣa-at* [*u$_4$-me*]

1–4 Incantation. Ea, Šamaš, Asalluḫe, great gods, exalted, sublime leaders who pass judgement, give decisions and determine destinies, who delineate fates and allocate the lots of heaven and earth, are you! 5–6 Your incantation is health, your water is well-being, your utterance is health. One who sees you gets better, one who thinks about you stays safe, one who gazes on you has good fortune. 7–15 (You are) the ones who remove evil and bring about good fortune, who undo spells, witchcraft, black magic and the wicked machinations of human beings. (Spells for) loving, hating, justice-perverting, throat-cutting, mouth-seizing, anger-calming, forehead-seizing, mind-losing, head-dizzying, loss of senses, hearing-loss, that cause evil consequences in the house of Nabû-zēru-iddina, son of his god, that you great gods, Ea, Šamaš, Asalluḫe, know but I do not know, may he surmount them and remain firm against them! 16–22 Consign them quickly to the blazing (fire-god) Girra, so Girra shall burn them, Girra shall overcome them, Girra shall slay them, Girra shall [uproot(?)] them, Girra shall drive them away, Girra shall [scorch(?)] them, so Erra shall [expel] them through the doorway with (his) mighty club, drive them away, uproot [them,] send them across a river, [send] them [over] a [mountain!] 23–26 [May] tamarisk, bone of [the gods, purify him! May] the holy sun-god [. . . cleanse him! May] soapwort, which undoes [spells, witchcraft and black magic, release him! May] he who enters [and leaves] this house [enjoy the best of health!] 27–30 [Watch over] my footsteps, my coming and going! [By your command that cannot be altered, by (your)] pure utterance [. . . in this house let me thrive,] let me have good fortune! [. . . May the outgoing month] take away [ill-favor, may] the incoming year [reveal to me its good fortune!] 31–34 I, Nabû-zēru-iddina, son of his god, [who fears your great divine majesties,] shall [extol] your greatness [and sing your praises!] May a man inside this house be [safe and sound] for all future time!

Text on lower rev. and lug:

rev.

35 dingir silim-ma-mu

36 *ilu*(dingir) *mu-šal-limi* ^{d}*marduk*(amar-TE)

37 ^{d}asal(KA×IGI)-⸢lú⸣-ḫe

lug obv.

1 dingir ti nam

2 LU bar-meš

3 ^{d}*èr-ra*
4 ^{d}*nergal*(u-gur)
5 *a-giš*
6 *sūqa*(sila) *ina bâ'i*(dib)-*ka*
7 *lu-ba-'*
8 iš tim

rev.
1 *šá* ^{md}*nabû*(muati)-*zēru*(numun)-*iddina*(aš)
2 *mār*(dumu) *ili*(dingir)-*šú*
3 *ina šakān*(⌜gar⌝)^{an} *tap-de-e*!?
4 *gi-mil / nap-šá-su*

$^{35-37}$ The god who keeps me safe and sound is Marduk (Sum. Asalluḫe). $^{\text{lug obv. 1–3}}$ Namtila(?) (is) the one who . . .

$^{4-9}$ O Erra-Nergal, when you go in anger down the street, let me pass! $^{\text{rev. 1–4}}$ When you grant mercy to(!) the household(!) of Nabû-zēru-iddina, son of his god, spare his life!

Notes

Main text

1. The four other amulet tablets inscribed with this incantation prayer write Marduk (^{d}ŠÚ, ^{d}amar-utu) where this one has ^{d}*asal-lú-ḫe*. No doubt the latter name was read *Mar(ū)duk* by some, and the Sumerian name ^{d}*asal-lú-ḫe* understood by them as an orthographic rather than a substantive variant.

11. Maul's reading *še-ga-a* in *KAR* 35 obv.! 16 (Maul 1994: 183 l. 16; 184 "Raserei") must now be corrected to [*là*] *šemâ*(še-ga)^{a}.

16. I owe the restoration [*a-d*]*i* to Daniel Schwemer, who draws attention to a close parallel in *KAR* 36 obv. 18–19 (read from an unpublished photograph): . . .] / ⌜*a*⌝-*na* [^{d}*gíra a-r*]*i-ri piq-*[*da-šú-nu-ti*].

18–19. Final verbs restored at Schwemer's suggestion.

23–25. Related passages occur in many other purification contexts, e.g. in an amulet tablet with a different prayer (Maul 1994: 187 ll. 14'–16'): ^{giš}*bi-ni li-lil-šú* / ^{ú}ina-úš *li-bi-ib-šú* / ^{giš}šà-gišimmar *lip-šur-šú* "may tamarisk purify him, soapwort cleanse him, and palm-heart release him!" and in *Bīt rimki* (Laessøe 1955: 58 ll. 90–91): [^{giš}*b*]*i-nu li-lil-an-ni* [^{ú}i]n-nu-uš *lip-šur-an-ni* ^{giš}šà-gišimmar *šèr-ti lit-bal* "may tamarisk purify me, soapwort release me, palm-heart take away my wrongdoing!" Other plants occur in place of palm-heart, e.g. *suḫuššu* and *qan šalāli* (Maul 1994: 65). In our text a trio of plants is also expected, and the sun-god looks suspect, especially in the presence of a clear corruption of the soapwort *maštakal*, ^{ú}ina(AŠ)-úš(BAD) to ^{d}*dili*(AŠ)-*pát*(BAD), the planet Venus.

25. Emended and restored from *KAR* 37 rev. 1: [^{g}]^{iš}ina-úš (*pace* Maul 1994: 187, [d]i$^{?}$-kud) ^{mu}búr $uš_{11}$ $uš_{11}$ $uš_{11}$ *lip-šur*.

26. Restoration from *KAR* 37 rev. 4: *ša ina bīti*(é) *šu'āti*(bi) (*pace* Maul 1994: 187, *lìb-bi*) *irrubu*(ku_4) *uṣṣû*(è) *la-lu-ú balāṭi*(ti!) *liš-bi*.

27–29. Cf. *KAR* 37 rev. 5–7: *kib-si tal-lak-a-te uṣ-ra ina pî*(ka)-*ku-nu elli*(kù) *šá là uttakkarū* (kúr)^{ru} *ina šaptī*(nundum)-*ku*!-*nu eb-bat qí-ba-a* <*ina*> *bīti*(é) *šu'āti*(bi) *lu-šir lu-ud-me*!-*eq ana ṣa-at* u_4-*me* "Watch over my footsteps, my coming and going! By your holy command that cannot be altered, by your pure utterance, say that in(!) that house I shall thrive (and) have good fortune for all future time!"

29–30. Restored from the Tarsus amulet 28–29 (ed. Maul 1994: 187 ll. 17'–18'); cf. also *KAR* 37 rev. 2–3, where *ludmeq* is followed directly by *ana ṣa-at* u_4-*me*. As an alternative to the latter part of l. 29 Schwemer suggests *upš*[*āšê* (níg-a[k-a^{meš}]) *arḫu āṣû*] *lit-bal* "may [the outgoing month] take away (any) magic wrought (on me)."

31. Restored from *KAR* 37 rev. 12.

32. Emendation suggested by Schwemer; see *KAR* 37 rev. 12–13.

34. Restored from *KAR* 37 rev. 7, 11.

Lug

obv. 1–2. This passage has no parallel on the amulet tablets from Aššur but an exemplar of *Erra* V from Nineveh has a lug bearing a very similar text (King 1896b: 58, cf. Reiner 1960: 153): dingir silim-mu ^{d}asal-lú-ḫe dingir nam-

ti-la dab! bar meš. Schwemer, who brought this parallel to my attention, suggests reading ^{d}*nam-ti-(la) ṣābit? aḫûti*? "N. is the one who seizes enemies."

3–5. On other exemplars this passage reads ^{d}*i-*[*šum*] GÍŠ+U dingir (*KAR* 35: 7–8) and ⸢^{d}*i-šum*⸣ *nāgir*(GÍŠ+U) *ilī*(dingir) *bēl*(en) *sūqi*(sila) (*KAR* 37: 17): "O Išum, herald of the gods, lord of the street." On our tablet *a-giš* is an unexpected writing of *aggiš* and is more probably corrupt for "lord of the street," which rings truer.

6–7. *KAR* 37: 18 has a garbled version of this clause: [*sūqa ina bâ'i*]-*ka* šá ku-*ba-'*.

8. iš tim corrupt for *eli bīti*; cf. *KAR* 35: 10 (Maul 1994: 177): ugu é; *KAL* IV 23: 4': ugu [é]; and A 114: top (lacking in *LKA* 128, see Panayotov 2013b): ugu é.

rev. 3. This phrase takes the place of *šukun andulla* "place protection" in other amulet tablets: *KAR* 35: 13; 120: 3–4; *LKA* 128: 3–4. The word *tapdû* is a *hapax legomenon*, cognate with *padû* "to show mercy."

II.K.4. No. 54 (Pl. CXXIII)

This is a collection of Sumerian phrases with Akkadian interpretation inscribed on a small Old Babylonian tablet. The Sumerian phrases are all drawn from the practice of exorcistic magic, but do not cohere as a spell as they are. In addition, the Akkadian phrases are not literal translations of the Sumerian, but use etymological manipulation to yield different meaning. Probably this is a school tablet from a class which discussed basic elements of the Sumerian repertoire of the exorcist. The topic was evidently holy water and ablution rites. The Akkadian would be the teacher's oral explanations, noted down by an apprentice. The text thus offers a glimpse of a hidden subtext that could accompany conventionally written texts and extract additional meaning from them. Such subtext was usually handed down orally, but it finds written form in late commentaries and expository texts.

	obv.	rev.
1	a-mu šub-ú	⸢*mu*⸣*-ú-a ra-bu-tum*
2	zi pàd-dè	[*p*]*a*!*-at-tu-ú na-pi-iš-ti*
3	nam-giš-{ras.}-pàd sikil-la	*bu-ur-ti el-le-tum*
4	tu-ra íb-zi-zi-dè	*mu-na-*⸢*sí-ḫa-at mu-ur*⸣*-ṣi*

Sumerian

1–2 Cast down my water, make an adjuration!

3–4 The pure spell will get rid of diseases.

Akkadian

1–2 My great waters, bucket(?) of life!

3–4 My sacred well that gets rid of diseases!

Notes

1. a-mu (a-gu$_{10}$) = *mû'a*, but then mu is reused to give *rabûtum*: see the common lexical entry mu = *rabû* "big" (*A* III/4 11, *Antagal* G 274, *Izi* G 7).

2. zi—pàd "to swear an oath on the life," in Akkadian normally *nīš* X *tamûm*, here yields zi = *napištum* "life" and pàd = *pattûm* "exor-

cist's pail." The healer's water vessel is normally $^{\text{giš/gi}}$ba-an-du_8-(du_8) in Sumerian, from which Akk. *pattûm* is borrowed, but note $^{\text{gi}}$pàd-(da) = *pattûm* in lexical texts (*Urra* IX 194, 380, *Nabnītu* IV 15).

3. nam-giš-pàd is for nam-šub: see the main introduction. sikil-la = *ellum*, of course, but it is not clear whence *būrtum* derives.

4. The Akkadian derives from conventional equivalences.

II.K.5. Nos. 55–58 (Pls. CXXIV–CXXIX)

These four Old Babylonian texts, ostensibly bilinguals, are like nothing else known to me. In all four, the sections that are Akkadian are declarations in the first-person singular. In most, the sections that precede the Akkadian are gibberish, but in places they contain a Sumerian word or phrase that seems to match something in the Akkadian (No. 56: 11 ud // 12 *inūma* "when"; 58: 1 é-a laḫ_4 // 2 *ina bītīya allik*, 4 ḫé-gál // 6 *ḫé-gál-la*), a Sumerian word in isolation (No. 55: 10 lú-ùlu; No. 56: 2 lú-ùlu, 11 lú, 13 ù-ši-in-dab_5; No. 58: 4 me-luḫ-ḫa ù-luḫ-ḫa), or a succession of Sumerian words, syllabically spelled, that appear to make sense (No. 56: 15–16). The smattering of Sumerian speaks for an intention to pass the gibberish off as Sumerian, and I shall refer to it as "pseudo-Sumerian." Presuming that the Akkadian text is primary, there seem to be two different strategies for generating the pseudo-Sumerian part: (a) outright gibberish made by rhythmic patterns of repetitive syllables (No. 55: *sasali sal u sasal* etc., *uddul ulla uddulla ulla, husi husisi husi u husi* etc.; No. 56: *ermeš erimeš ermeš u* [*ermeš*], *appa ina lalla u lappala, halla hal hila u palla palili pali palla*; No. 57: *zalla zal zalla u zalla, zilalam zilalam zalam u zalam*); and (b) learned gibberish made by interspersing such text, to a greater or lesser degree, with Sumerian words and phrases. The first type resembles closely the abracadabra-type formulae present in some incantations. The second type is also encountered in incantations, where it has been called "mock Sumerian."[1] These resemblances are a *prima facie* reason for identifying these tablets as related to the practice of magic.

Fortunately, the Akkadian text makes sense. In No. 55 the speaker identifies himself as the weapon of the warrior god Ningirsu. He boasts of his prowess in word and deed, promises to subdue enemies for his interlocutor, and recalls two mythological episodes: one when he slew *igitallûm* "Monoculus" and the other when he saved the gods from manual labor. The slaying of the monoculus is attributed in omen texts to Nergal (George 2012), but victories over chaos-monsters were routinely claimed by any number of warrior gods, and it is unproblematic that Ningirsu (and the divine weapon that is his proxy) should also be held up as victor. The second mythological episode is an allusion to the mutiny of the gods when the manual work later performed by men became too much for them. In the extant Babylonian literature the story forms the first part of the poem of Atraḫasīs, and the composer of the present text apparently directs our attention to that composition by paraphrasing its incipit, *inūma ilū awīlum* "when the gods (were) man" in l. 15: *inūma ilū kīma awīli* "when the gods (were) like man."[2] In the version of the myth elaborated in Atraḫasīs, the mutinous gods had been digging out the rivers Tigris and Euphrates[3] and were saved by Enki's ingenuity. The present text situates the gods'

[1] On abracadabra and pseudo-Sumerian in ancient Mesopotamian incantations see Veldhuis 1999: 46–48; Farber 1989: 144–45; Schwemer 2014: 266. The interfaces between abracadabra spells and incantations in little-known languages like Elamite and Hurrian have been explored by van Dijk 1982; id. *et al.* 1985: 3–4; Prechel and Richter 2001.

[2] A later version of Atraḫasīs current in Assyria had an incipit that is even more like l. 15 (Lambert 1969: 534): *e-nu-*[*ma*] *ilū*(dingir)$^{\text{meš}}$ *ki-i a-mi-li*. It cannot be excluded that this incipit goes back to an Old Babylonian version of the poem that is lost (unlike the version that begins *inūma ilū awīlum*), and that the present text is not paraphrasing but quoting verbatim.

toil in another episode of mythical time, when the gods were building the mountains.

The Akkadian texts on Nos. 56 and 57 do not reveal the speaker's identity (or identities), but what survives of his boasts is very compatible with Ningirsu and his weapon. In No. 57 the speaker invokes three deities, all of which are forms of Ningirsu-Ninurta. More revealingly, the speaker of No. 56 boasts in l. 6 of defeating the mountains and letting out the water. These are well-known accomplishments of Ningirsu in his persona as Ninurta. His triumph over the mountain is most prominently reported in *Angim* 134–35, where two of his weapons are níg kur gul-gul // *mu'abbit šadî* "mountain-destroyer" and níg kur gúr-gúr // *mukanniš šadî* "mountain-subduer (other refs. George 1992: 276). The release of the waters trapped behind the mountain is described in the other bilingual poem in Ninurta's honor, *Lugale*. After his victory over the Azag-monster in the mountains, Ninurta remodelled the terrain so that the waters retained behind the mountains were channelled into a new river—the Tigris—and brought fertility to the land, as well as relief to the gods (347–59). What is especially interesting for the present discussion is that the passage of *Lugale* preceding the creation of the Tigris describes the "gods of the land" laboring apparently to direct water from the mountains towards the plain (*Lugale* 334–41). Their work was in vain, for the land was parched (342–46). This episode, in which the gods struggled to construct mountains, not to dig rivers, is evidently the one to which the text on No. 55 refers as taking place "when the gods were like man."

The speaker of No. 58 also refers to events in the mountains, in which he played a role as a result of which a third party brought salt to the land. In *Lugale* Ninurta's weapon, there called Šarur, plays the part of the cautious servant, counselling his master against going into battle with the Azag. There is no evident connection between the two episodes of mediation, and the myth or other narrative to which No. 58 alludes remains unidentified.

Having described the form and content of Nos. 55–58, it remains to consider their purpose. Formally the texts are presented as bilinguals, in which a passage of abracadabra or pseudo-Sumerian is provided with a translation in Akkadian. These short texts demonstrate that ancient healers attributed meaning to the abracadabra formulations and other unintelligible passages that occur in incantations. The key fact to my mind is that in Nos. 55–57 passages of pseudo-Sumerian gibberish are understood to be Ningirsu's weapon speaking in person and boasting of its power and past exploits. Armed with the knowledge that he is bringing into play the weapons of the champion of the gods, the healer turns the unintelligible into the most powerful force for order in the cosmos. In his struggle against evil and malignant powers, he could have no better ally.

When this principal is applied wholesale, any incantation that consists of incomprehensible words—whether abracadabra or Hurrian, Elamite or any other alien language—can be accounted the voice of the very weapon of Ningirsu. If these alien utterances, whether based on real languages or wholly invented, were interpreted as messages announcing to the forces of evil that Ningirsu's weapon opposed them, then it stands to reason that they were intended to be understood by those forces. Accordingly, the presence of Hurrian and Elamite incantations in Babylonia may not be simply a matter of cultural-historical influence, arising, as van Dijk supposed (1982), from the import of foreign spells. It also speaks for an intellectual conceit, that alien beings naturally spoke alien languages and could be addressed effectively in alien languages. This would seem an explanation that fits well the use by the Babylonian healer, alongside the sacred Sumerian and native Akkadian, of

3 This detail, lost in a lacuna of the Old Babylonian text, is provided by the SB recension at Tablet I 21–26 (George and Al-Rawi 1996: 158–59).

languages alien, like Hurrian and Elamite, languages debased, like pseudo-Sumerian, and languages wholly invented, like abracadabra. The demons understood.

No. 55

obv.

1 [x x x *sà*]-⸢*sà-li sà-sà*⸣-*li sà-al / ù sà-sà-al*

2 [x x x]⸢*ù sà*⸣-*li-sà-al sà-li-sà-al / ù sà-sà-al*

---

3 [x x x x x] ⸢x⸣ [*e-mu-q*]*á-*⸢*am*⸣ *i-*⸢*šu*⸣ *a-ḫa-am /* ⸢*e*⸣*-li-a-ku ù gi-it-ma-la-ku*

4 [*a-wa-t*]*i da-an-*⸢*na-at*⸣ *ra-bi-a-at / ù mu-uš-ta-la-at*

---

5 [x (x) x] ⸢x⸣ *la-*⸢*al*⸣ *ka-al-la mi-ti-na*

6 [x (x) x] *ši ḫu* gud *a* ⸢x⸣ *i-sà-al ù a-sà-al*

7 [x x] x *e-ez pa-nu-ú-*⸢*a* ^{giš}*kakki*(tukul)⸣ ^{d}*nin-gír-sú / a-na-ku*

8 [*la-a*] *pa-li-ḫi-ka a-ka-ma-ku-um / a-ka-sà-ku ù e-re-de-a-ku-um*

rev.

9 [*ud-d*]*u-ul ul-*⸢*la*⸣ *ud-du-ul-la ul-la*

10 [x]x *la sà-pa la sà-*[*pa-a*]*l-sà ù* lú-ùlu

11 [*qá-ar*]*-du-um la-sí-*⸢*mu-um ba*⸣*-nu-um ù na-ṣi-ru-um*

12 [*i-n*]*a da-an-nu-ti-ia i-gi-ti-li-a-am / a-du-uk an-du-ra-ar i-li aš-ku-un*

---

13 [x] *ḫu-si ḫu-si-si ḫu-si ù ḫu-si*

14 [(x)] *ḫu-uš-ḫu-ús-si*! *ḫu-si ù ú-ús-si*

15 *i-nu-ma i-lu ki-ma a-wi-li a-na-ku da-an-na-ku*

16 *ša-di-i* ⸢*ú-ša*⸣*-pa-ku-ma tu-up-ši-ka-am / ú-ša-ad-di*

1–2 [. . . *sa*]*sali sasali sal u sasal* [. . .] *u salisal salisal u sasal.*

3–4 [. . .] I have strength, I am high of arm and superb. My [word] is strong, great and judicious.

5–6 [. . .] *lal kalla mitina* [. . .] . . . *isal u asal.*

7–8 [. . .] fierce is my visage, I am the weapon of Ningirsu. I shall subdue those who do [not] fear you, I shall bind them for you and lead them to you.

9–10 [*udd*]*ul ulla uddulla ulla* [. . .] *la sapa la sa*[*pa*]*lsa u* human being.

11–12 Valiant one, runner, fine one and guardian: in my might I slew the monoculus, I established the gods' freedom.

13–14 [. . .] *husi husisi husi u husi hušhussi husi u ussi.*

15–16 When the gods were like man I was strong(est). They were heaping up the mountains but I enabled (them) to throw down the earth-basket.

No. 56

obv.

1 *er-me-eš e-ri-me-eš er-me-eš ù* [*er-me-eš*]

2 *e-ri-me-eš* lú-ùlu *er-me-eš* ⸢*ù*⸣ [*er-me-eš*]

3 *i-na li-*⸢*ib*⸣*-bu e*[*r-ṣ*]*é-tim* ⸢*ù*⸣ [*ša-me-e ra-bi*]

4 *šu-mi na-ṭi-lum* [*n*]*a-ṣi-ru* x[x x *a-na-ku-ma*]

---

5 *ap-pa i-na la-al-la ù* ⸢*la-ap-pa-la*⸣ [x x x x]

6 *a-nu-ma ša-di-i e-né-*⸢*ru*⸣ *ša-*⸢*di*⸣*-*[*i* x x x x x] */ na-ši-a-ku ta-*⸢x⸣*-ik-*x[x x x]

---

7 *se-er-mi-iš se-ri-*⸢*mi-iš šu*⸣-[x x x x x x]

8 lú *la-al ak-ka-*⸢x x x⸣ [x x x x x x]

9 *i-na e-ze-zi-ia i-ru-ru* ⸢x⸣ [x x x x x x]

10 *it-ta-ak-ṣa-ra i-šu-*⸢x x x x x⸣ [x x x x]

rev.

11 ud *il-li* lú *li-la-a-al-la* lú *li-la / il-li-lu-la*

12 *i-nu-ma mi-e ep-te-a-am i-lu it-ti-ia ú-la il-*[*qú-ú*] */ zi-ta-am ki-ma ka-li-šu-nu*

---

13 *ḫa-al-la ḫa-al ḫi-la ù pa-al-la pa-li-li pa-li / pa-al-la* ù-ši-in-dab$_5$

14 *a-na se-bé-šu zi-ta-am él-qé i-na qá-ra-du-ti-ia*

---

15 ti-il-la ù nam-ti-il é na-mi-nu-ka za-za-ag-mé-e[n]

16 nam-ti-il ^{d}nanna-ma-an-šúm ú nam-ti-il ù *aš-š*[*a-ti-šu?*]

17 *ge-er-re-et ma-ti-im a-na aš-ri-im aš-ku-un ra-bu-u*[*m*] */ šu-mi*

18 *ma-li-ku-um ba-nu-um na-ṣi-ru-um a-na-ku-ma*

1–2 *Ermeš erimeš ermeš u* [*ermeš*] *erimeš* human being *ermeš u* [*ermeš*]

3–4 In the heart of the earth and [heaven, great is] my name. Watcher, guardian, [. . . am I.]

5 *Appa ina lalla u lappala* [. . .]

6 When I slew the mountains, the mountains [. . .] I carry . . . [. . .]

7–8 *Sermiš serimiš* [. . .] human being *lal akka* . . . [. . .]

9–10 In my fury they quaked [. . .] was constructed . . . [. . .]

11 When *illi* human being *lilalla* human being *lila illilula*.

12 When I opened the waters, the gods did not take a share with me all alike (*lit.* like all of them).

13 *Halla hal hila u palla palili pali palla* after he seized thither.

14 I took a sevenfold share through my warriorhood.

15–16 Living and life, in the house of lordship (i.e. é nam-en-na-ka) I am the *zazag*. Life of Sîn-iddinam and life of [his] wife(?).

17–18 I set in place the paths of the land. Great is my name. Adviser, fine one, guardian am I.

No. 57

obv.

1' trace

2' [za-a]l-⸢la⸣ za-al-za-al-la ù za-al-l[a]

3' [z]i-la-lam zi-la-lam za-lam ù za-la[m]

4' [^{d}M]ÙŠ.EREN ^{d}sag-kud ^{d}sag-mes-unug^{ki}-ga *ki-ma* ^{d}*en-l*[*íl*]

5' [*a-w*]*a-ti ra-bi-at ka-ab-ta-at ù ma-li-ka-a*[*t*]

2'–3' [*Za*]*lla zalzalla u zalla zilalam zilalam zalam u zalam*.

4'–5' Inšušinak, Sagkud, Mes-sanga-unug (am I?). Like Enlil my word is great, important and shrewd.

No. 58

Previous edition: *MSCT* II = Alster 2007: 52–54.

obv.

1 é-a laḫ$_4$ lú a-sur la-ba-an-laḫ$_4$

2 *i-na bi-ti-ia al-li-ik-šum-ma*

3 *i-na ša-di-i ut*(sup. *ú*)*-te-ra-aš-šu*

4 me-luḫ-ḫa ù-luḫ-ḫa ^{kúr}ma-ma? ḫé-gál$^{ḫa-ab}$ ab

5 *ki-ma ú-te-ra-aš-šu ḫi-iš-ba-am na-ši-i*

6 *ḫé-gál-la ša ṭá-ab-ti-im*

1 In the house went human being *asur labanlah*.

2–3 In my house I went to him and in the mountains I sent him back.

4 *Meluhha uluhha mama hegal ab*.

5–6 As I sent him back he was bearing plenty, an abundance of salt.

II.K.6. No. 60 (MSCT IV pl. LXIII)

This Old Babylonian tablet, formerly catalogued as a mathematical tablet, was published in *MSCT* IV as a Tablet of Riddles (George 2009: 156 and pl. 63). As was subsequently reported (George 2010a), its text was soon discovered to share vocabulary and phrasing with a spell about a scorpion that survives on an Old Babylonian tablet of incantations from Mari published by Antoine Cavigneaux (1994). A revised edition of it is therefore given here. Its genre remains open to debate. Despite its clear intertextual relationship to the Mari spell, it has none of the formal characteristics of an incantation and, as a succession of short, slightly puzzling statements without explicit mention of the subject, it could yet be a riddle. On the other hand, the statement *qarnī īšu qaqqadam ul īšu* "it has horns but no head" finds a structural parallel in the incipit of an Akkadian incantation against *ṣibit šadî* "mountain seizure," known from an unpublished Late Babylonian tablet (BM 64526 obv. 1–2; Lambert Folio 10240): én-é-nu-ru *pa-na i-šu ar-ka-tam ul i-šu* "it has a front but no back."

obv.

1 *qá-qá-da-am ú-la i-šu*

2 *ú-ul-da-šu-ma*!

3 *a-sú-ru-um ge$_6$-eš-pa*!*-ar*

4 *pu-ti-im qá-ar-ni*

edge

5 *i-šu qá-qá-da-am*

rev.

6 *ú-la i-šu mu-ut-ta-aḫ-*

7 *li-lu-um mu-ma-ṣi*

8 *i-ga-ra-tim*

[1–3] It has no head, a drain gave birth to it. [3–6] A snare on the forehead, it has horns but has no head. [6–8] One that creeps about, that opens wide (cracks in) walls.

Notes

2–3. The Mari spell determines the correct reading of this phrase (Cavigneaux 1994: 155 obv. 6): *ul-da-aš-šu a-su-ru-um*. The common word *asurrûm* denotes a void or drain under the floor which received waste water and provided a haven for snakes, mongooses and worms (George 2015b).

3–4. For *ge$_6$* as a phonetic value of the sign MI in the OB period, see George 2010a. Instead of the phrase *gešpar pūtim*, literally "forehead-snare," the Mari spell probably has the phonetically similar *na-aš-pa-ar mu-ti*?!-[*im*] "envoy of death." Both phrases are rhetorical expressions for the scorpion, one alluding to the lethal effect of its sting, the other to the two pincers that pin down its prey. The snare is qualified by *pūtum* "forehead" because a scorpion's pincers (Akk. *qarnā* "horns") seem to sprout from its body where a head should be, as both spells aver.

4–6. Restore the Mari spell accordingly (Cavigneaux 1994: 155 obv. 8): *q*[*a-ar-ni i*]*-šu qa-qa-da-*⸢*am ú*⸣*-ul i-*[*šu*]. Another insect that appeared to the Babylonian eye to have no head occurs in a simile on a Nippur school tablet (Veldhuis 2000: 74 sub 2.5): *ki-ma up-lim mu-uḫ-ḫa ul i-šu* "like a louse it has no skull."

II.L. MEDICAL THERAPIES

In Babylonian medicine incantations were complemented by medical remedies in the treatment of many problems; the remedies were often appended to incantations as therapeutic "rituals" (*kikkiṭṭu*). Such rituals are much less common on Old Babylonian tablets than they are later. Examples in this volume have been listed in the introduction. A genre related to incantation rituals is medical prescriptions. These set down therapeutic and pharmaceutic remedies, sometimes in multiple form for a given complaint and often interspersed with the incantations that went with the remedy. Old Babylonian examples are extremely rare, numbering only five or six at last count.[1] Two more are published in this volume, together with a Late Babylonian medical text.

II.L.1. No. 72 (Pl. CXLII)

This medical therapeutic text stands alone on a square Old Babylonian tablet. It begins with an unconventional second-person protasis in which the person addressed is envisaged as coming across a person who has been stung (ll. 1–3); two similar second-person protases are embedded in a spell for scorpion's sting edited above (II.D.10 No. 30d). The text then advises

[1] See Wasserman 1996: 2 and fn. 4; not all agree that *BAM* 393 is a genuine Old Babylonian tablet, as against a later product emulating older sign-forms. A new edition of *BAM* 393 has been published by Geller 2006; see further the translation by Schwemer 2010: 36–38; edition of obv. 1–3 and rev. 13–14 in Abusch and Schwemer 2011: 65–66.

relieving the pain by applying dough, not just to the sting but also to the armpit and neck (4–8). Pain in nearby lymph nodes is a well-known consequence of a scorpion's sting. The treatment concludes with the healer's recitation of an unspecified incantation (9). Probably the text as a whole is a traditional piece of exorcists' lore handed down orally and written out in haste on a spare lump of clay, either by a healer to ensure correct procedure or by an apprentice to demonstrate his knowledge.

Treatment for scorpion's sting is only a rare concern of medical texts. A first-millennium tablet from Aššur collects therapies for the eventuality, [DIŠ *amē*]*la*(na) *zuqaqīpu*(gír-tab) *ilput*(tag)-*su* "[¶ (If)] a scorpion attacks a man" (Scheil 1918: 76 obv. 14). These include rubbing the sting with the blood of a lizard (l. 14) or a gecko (l. 18), coating it with the slaver of an ox (l. 17 *ru-pu-uš-ti alpi*(gud)!), and administering potions by mouth, either alone (ll. 16, 21) or in combination with salving the sting (ll. 22–24). The application of ox saliva is the sole remedy for a scorpion's sting given in a second-millennium medical tablet from Nippur (*BAM* 393 obv. 19–20). An Old Babylonian scorpion incantation is followed by a ritual that prescribes the application of donkey's earwax (*ša libbi uzun imēri*) to the sting (*YOS* XI 4: 20–22, ed. van Dijk *et al.* 1985: 18). Another Old Babylonian tablet holds two short incantations on its obverse and a remedy for a sting, probably by scorpion, on its reverse; the remedy is the same (Nougayrol 1972: 141–43; l. 10 *ša li-ib-bi* uzu-*ri* corrupt for *ša libbi uzun imēri*!). As documented in these texts, the medical treatment for such a sting was by means of medication applied to the sting, or taken by mouth, or both.

Other Old Babylonian remedies involved the application of dough. Two incantations against a scorpion on tablet No. 30 (i 17–ii 27) report treatment with dough. One is followed by a therapy involving dough softened in water (No. 30c, see the description in Part I). The second specifies the application of dough to the armpits and groin (No. 30d, edited above, II.D.10). The present text also reveals that dough was applied not only to the sting but also to other parts of the body. The application of dough was a common medical practice briefly documented by Pablo Herrero in his study of Babylonian medical therapy (Herrero 1984: 26–27, also *CAD* L 216). Its use in treating scorpion sting combines two approaches, seeking (a) to relieve pain at the site of the sting and at the lymph nodes, and also (b) to restore purity by transferring the scorpion's harm to another material (dough). The magic is reinforced by (c) the recitation of an incantation to rid the body of harm. Incantations that seek magically to banish the harm done by a scorpion have been discussed by I. L. Finkel, alongside those which seek to protect against a sting in the first place (Finkel 1999).

obv.

1 *šum-ma a-na mu-ḫi*
2 *ša zu-qí-qí-pu-um*
3 *iz-qú-tù-šu ta-am-ta-qú-ut*
4 *li-ša-am a-na ša-la-ši-šu*
5 *i-na mu-ḫi me-ḫi-iṣ-tim*
6 *i-na ša-ḫa-ti-šu*
7 *ù i-na ki-ša-di-šu*
8 *li-ša-am ta-ša-ak-ka-an*

rev.

9 *ù ši-ip-tam ta-ma-an-nu*

1–3 If you happen on someone whom a scorpion has stung, 4–8 you apply dough three times, dough on top of he sting, in his armpit and on his neck, 9 and you also recite an incantation.

II.L.2. No. 73 (Pls. CXLIII–CXLV)

The script of this oblong tablet is Old Babylonian in date and the spelling suggests that it was written somewhere in southern Babylonia. The tablet is inscribed with twenty-two medical remedies, set out in twenty-three lines of text. Many lines are too long for the tablet's width, and their continuations are indented. Unfortunately, the tablet's surface is poor and in places

missing entirely, and not all its text can be successfully recovered. The ailments presented in the text range from problems such as dog-bite, sores, skin conditions of the scalp and body, and toothache, to psychological afflictions attributed to sorcery. No hierarchical order can be detected; for example, scalp conditions occur in three separate places in the text: §§8–10, 19 and 22. The material is much less homogeneous than that found in later medical texts. Not only is the organization of the problems seemingly arbitrary, but also the successful outcome is expressed sometimes as *iballuṭ* "he will get better," sometimes as its synonym *inī'aš* "he will get well."

In addition, the different sections use a variety of syntactical constructions. Many sections presuppose omission of *šumma awīlum* (perhaps all of §§1–14, 16, 18–22), one presupposes omission of initial *ana* (§15), and at least one section lacks a verb of predication, perhaps *ṣabit* (§§10?, 16) or *maruṣ* (§§8–9?). One section is set out not as the conventional protasis and apodosis but as a statement of fact in a single clause (§17); another is not a medical recipe at all, but a prognostic omen (§7). Those that are recipes give instructions for therapy in second-person and third-person future forms, or a combination of these; three sections use the imperative mood (§§3, 4, 9). It seems probable that, as elsewhere, the second-person forms address the healer, whether in the future or the imperative; the third person is the patient. The significance of recipes that combine second and third-person instructions is often that the trained doctor prepares a remedy and leaves the patient to apply it himself. Remedies that address a trained party such as a doctor naturally came to be written down as part of the trend in Babylonian professional life toward committing technical knowledge to writing. The remedies expressed entirely in the third person are evidently examples of self-treatment (§§2, 5, 6, 8, 13?, 20?, 21). That they were collected in writing demonstrates the intellectual curiosity of the medical profession rather than any altruistic motivation.

A full edition of the text will be published by I. L. Finkel in a forthcoming study of Babylonian medical texts. In the meantime, I give the following brief synopsis.

§1 (ll. 1–2). A man is diagnosed as bewitched by sorcery (*kašip*). The doctor makes a potion by heating a variety of herbal remedies in a liquid. In the morning the patient clarifies the potion, adds colocynth and drinks it.

§2 (l. 3). Treatment for the same condition. The ingredients of the potion are more commonplace and prepared by the patient himself, but the therapy is otherwise much the same.

§3 (l. 4). Treatment for a man who, if I understand correctly, finds it difficult to talk. The therapy involves showing him something three times in order to restore him to good spirits.

§4 (l. 5). An ailment of uncertain nature. The treatment seems to consist in part of exposing the patient to the squeals of a slaughtered pig.

§5. (l. 6). The patient keeps calling out at night. The remedy is for him to rub himself with a salve based on oil.

§6 (l. 7). Dog bite. The patient rubs the wound with gecko fat.

§7 (l. 8). The patient is generally infirm and complains of headache. If there was a treatment, it is lost in an illegible passage. The section ends with a statement that the patient is incurable and, if a child, likely to die young.

§8 (l. 9). Treatment of a condition of the scalp (*gurastum*). A herbal remedy is applied to the newly shaven head, in powdered form, not as an oil-based salve.

§9 (l. 10). The same ailment as §8. The remedy, expressed in imperatives, involves charring some substance, applying it in oil to the shaven head, and bandaging.

§10 (l. 11). A similar scalp condition (*kurārum*). The doctor applies various dried herbs in powdered form, no doubt to the shaven

head. For another Old Babylonian remedy see Wasserman 1996, id. 2007: 56.

§11 (l. 12). Damage to the tablet renders the nature of the patient's complaint difficult to determine. Treatment is by the application of powdered medication.

§12 (l. 13). This entry is too damaged to reveal anything much about the medical problem and its remedy.

§13 (l. 14). Treatment for fever (*išātum*) by the application of powdered medication.

§14 (l. 15). Treatment for a wound (*simmum*) that will not heal, by the application of powdered medication prepared from dried leaves of the grapevine(?).

§15 (l. 16). A wound on the ankle is treated with a powder made from two kinds of dried leaf.

§16 (l. 17). A skin condition (*kurārum*) on the finger is treated by the application of crushed weevil. Treatment of *kurārum* by this means is also known from a first-millennium source (*BAM* 494 iii 66'–68').

§17 (l. 18). This section sets out the remedy for alleviating pain in the jaw prior to and after the extraction of a tooth: camomile (*kirbān eqlim*) and probably raw pork are applied repeatedly in a potsherd bound to the jaw. Crushed potsherd also serves to apply *materia medica* in an Old Babylonian remedy for *kurārum* (Wasserman 1996: 3 l. 10).

§18 (l. 19). Treatment for an eruption of boils (*umṣatum*) on the trunk with an oil-based salve.

§19 (l. 20). Treatment for the scalp condition known as "sweet louse" (*kalmatum matuqtum*) by means of an oil-based salve containing myrrh. The same remedy is known from first-millennium medical texts (Labat 1959: 8 ll. 35–36; cf. *BAM* 494 i 30'–31', *CT* 23 50: 5).

§20 (l. 21). Complaint uncertain, remedy taken by mouth in a mash.

§21 (l. 22). Treatment of a lesion by means of bandaging.

§22 (l. 23). Treatment for a scalp condition by shaving and the application of a poultice containing a mixture of herbs for a two-day period.

II.L.3. No. 74 (Pl. CXLVI)

This square tablet bears a medical therapeutic text written in a Neo- or Late Babylonian hand. No colophon is subscribed, for the tablet was left unfinished. Scribal annotations indicate that the tablet was copied from a broken original (ll. 14, 26), and that one line contains at least one mistake (l. 10). The tablet's format and ductus are similar to Late Babylonian medical tablets from Uruk in southern Babylonia, and it can be assumed that the tablet derives from one of the scholarly libraries that have been found at that site. The ailments are specified as suffered by boys, all in the area of the lower abdomen. A full edition of this text is planned by I. L. Finkel. In the meantime it may be useful to give the following brief synopsis:[1]

§1 (ll. 1–5). Treatment for scrotal hernia (*miqit irrī*) by potion and oil-based salve, both made with a field insect. If the treatment fails, heat is applied to the shoulder-blade on the opposite side to the affected testicle. This section duplicates and restores two fragmentary tablets from Kuyunjik (*AMT* 62 no. 1 i 7'–11' // 61 no. 5 obv. 12'–14'). The application of heat to the shoulder-blades finds a parallel in *BAM* 3 ii 8, where heat is applied to *da-da-ni-šú ti-ik-ki-šú* "his neck and shoulders" as a treatment for a condition of the head.

§2 (l. 6). Treatment for the same condition: cooked lizard. A similar cure for *miqit irrī* is also attested in the tablets from Kuyunjik, among other ailments of the adult testes (*AMT* 62 no. 1 i 2'–6' // 61 no. 5 obv. 7'–11').

[1] The text was read in July 2015 by the Keilschriftseminar of the BabMed project at the Freie Universität Berlin. Several important improvements in understanding that came from this exercise were kindly communicated to me by M. J. Geller and H. Stadhouders.

§3 (l. 7). Treatment for the same condition: the boy sits up to his waist in sesame.

§4 (ll. 9–12). Treatment for swollen scrotum (*iškāšu napḫā*): application of a concoction of powdered barley and other ingredients in fresh cress. If it is summer the remedy is applied with cold water (a gazi^sar = *mê kaṣûti*! courtesy Stadhouders); if winter, with warm water.

§5 (ll. 13–15). Treatment for the same condition: the boy sits all day in a warm bath and an oil-based salve is applied. The treatment lasts for ten days, unless his abdomen is also swollen, in which case he must undergo it for a minimum of twenty days.

§6 (ll. 16–26). Treatment for prolapse of the rectum (*šuburrašu ibbalakkat*): the remedy suffers from damage but it seems that various ingredients are used to warm the boy's rectum and a hot poultice is applied above his anus.

§7 (ll. 27–31). Treatment for persistent abdominal pain (*qablāšu ītakkalāšu*), symptomatic of various ailments, including sore kidneys, swollen testes, inability to sit normally, flatulence, muscle pain in the abdomen, kidney or groin. The text is unfinished, for no treatment is prescribed.

II.M. TABLES OF FAVORABLE DAYS AND MONTHS

Hemerologies are lists of favorable days. Their connection with incantations, magic and medicine is slight generically, but knowledge of favorable and unfavorable days was a necessary requirement for healers, for it informed their choice of day for the performance of exorcisms and apotropaic rituals. The correspondence of the Assyrian kings and their scholars demonstrates how the intellectuals at the Neo-Assyrian court, among them exorcists and physicians, relied on the traditional calendar texts, including hemerologies, to determine what days were suitable for a range of activities, from healing the sick to setting out on campaign (Livingstone 2007, 2013). The Schøyen Collection houses two hemerological texts.

II.M.1. No. 75 (Pl. CXLVII)

The Babylonian text on this stone tablet is a version of a well-known list of favorable days as they occur in each of the twelve months of the ideal Babylonian lunar year, set out as a table. The numbers of the days are well carved, but some of the month names are ineptly rendered. The text's data are entered under MS p in Alasdair Livingstone's tabular presentation of the extant sources of the list in his study of the Babylonian almanacs and hemerologies (2013: 84). Functionally the text is a précis of the Babylonian Almanac, which gives favorable and unfavorable comments on every day of the year (see Livingstone 2007, id. 2013: 5–82). Another copy of the list on stone was found at Nimrud and published as *CTN* IV 55 (Wiseman and Black 1996: 14 and pl. 29; Livingstone's MS N).

As Livingstone's tabular presentation demonstrates, several different versions of the list circulated. The favorable days of the months according to the text on tablet No. 75 are:

obv.			
I	Nisannu	^{iti}bára	1, 4 half, 6 half, 11, 16 half, 23 half
II	Ayyaru	^{iti}gud	2, 6, 8, [10,] 12, 15, 16, 20, 25, 28, 29
III	Simānu	^{iti}sig$_4$!	4, 5, 9, [11, 12, 1]3, 15, 16, 21, 25, 27, 28, 30
IV	Du'ūzu	^{iti}šu	1, 3, 7, [11, 13, 1]7, 19, 21, 22, 26, 27, 28, 29
V	Abu	^{iti}ne	1, 2, [6 half, 10,] 12, 14, 16
VI	Ulūlu	^{iti}kin!	1, 3, [5, 7, 9, 11, 14, 15,] 17, 19, 22, 27, 29
rev.			
VII	Tašrītu	^{iti}du$_6$!	1, 4, [6, 7, 8 half, 9, 11, 13 half, 14,] 16, 21, 22, 26, 29
VIII	Araḫsamna	^{iti}apin	2, 6, [7, 9, 11, 13, 16, 1]8, 20, 24, 26, 28, 29
IX	Kislimu	^{iti}gan!	1, 4, 9, [11, 13, 16, 1]8, 21, 23, 26, 29, 30
X	Ṭebētu	^{iti}ab	3, 7, 8, [. . .], 16, 21, 22, 23, 25 half, 26, 28, 29
XI	Šabāṭu	^{iti}zíz	1, 7, 10, 11, 1[4, 17,] 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 26, 27, 29 half
XII	Addaru	^{iti}še	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, ⌜6, 9⌝, 10, 11, 12, 13, 15, 16, 20, 22, 24, 26, 30

The notation "half" that follows the numbers of some days has been understood to signify that only half the day in question was considered favorable. A more plausible idea is that it corresponds to the Babylonian Almanac's phrase *mišil ūmi magir* "favorable at midday" (Livingstone 2013: 7) and limits the period of favor to the time around noon.

II.M.2. No. 76+K 98 (Pl. CXLIX)

This tablet of hemerological and menological lore is the lower half of a Neo-Assyrian tablet. The tablet was broken into pieces in antiquity, and two fragments are extant. One is now in London (K 98), the other in Norway (MS 2226). The text presents material from the calendrical omen series *Iqqur īpuš* "(If) he demolishes, (if) he builds." The information is set out in tabular form, as on many other tablets of this composition (see Weidner 1957: 187–88; Labat 1965: 11–13). On the obverse is (a) a table listing various activities known from omen protases of *Iqqur īpuš* and the months in which it was favorable to do them. The reverse begins with (b) a complete list of favorable days drawn from the Babylonian Almanac (*Abšegeda*), also set out in tabular form. The rest of the reverse holds (c) the beginning of an explanatory commentary on topics from *Iqqur īpuš*, and (d) a colophon. The colophon records that section (c) was twenty-five lines long, of which parts of seven remain below the twelve of (b). Eighteen lines of text are thus wholly missing from rev. i, which translates into about half the tablet as a whole.

(a) favorable months for activities drawn from protases of *Iqqur īpuš*, tabulated by month:

obv.

1'	*aššat*(dam)-*su ana bīti*(é)-⌜*šú ušērib*(ku$_4$)^{ib}⌝	⌜bára⌝ [. . .] ⌜apin gan še zíz še še⌝
2'	*šerra*(lú-tur) *ūlid*(ù-tu)	gud sig$_4$ ne apin zíz še še
3'	*še-gu-u is-si*	bára gud sig$_4$ ne du$_6$ apin zíz še še
4'	*ṣubāt*(túg)-*su ubbib*(dadag)	bára gud sig$_4$ ne du$_6$ apin zíz še še
5'	*kurummat*(pad)-*su ana ili*(dingir)-*šú iškun*(gar)^{un}	bára gud sig$_4$ šu ne kin du$_6$ apin gan zíz še še
6'	*parṣa*(garza) *ilqe*(ti)^{qé}	bára gud sig$_4$ du$_6$ zíz še še
7'	*akala*(ninda) *iddin*(šúm)^{in}	bára gud sig$_4$ du$_6$ zíz še še

8'	*parakka*(bára) *uddiš*(gibil)^{iš}	bára gud sig$_4$ kin zíz še še
9'	*lu muḫra*(kun-sag-gá) *lu ibrata*(ub-líl-lá) *lu parakka*(bára) *lu parasigâ*(bára-si-ga) *lu pitiqta*(im-dù-a) *īpuš*(dù)^{uš}	zíz še še
10'	*il-šú lu ila*(dingir) *šul-pu-tú ud-diš*	bára gud sig$_4$ kin du$_6$ apin zíz še še
11'	*qubūra*(ki-maḫ) *īpuš*(dù)^{uš}	šu ab zíz še še
12'	*būrta*(pú) *ipte*(bad)^{te}	sig$_4$ ne du$_6$ apin zíz še še
13'	*kinūna*(KI.NE) *iddi*(šub)^{di}	bára gud kin du$_6$ apin zíz še še
14'	*karpat*(dug) *ṭābāti*(a-geštin-na) *iškun*(gar)^{un}	ne zíz še še
15'	^{giš}*kirâ*(kiri$_6$) *iz-qup*	bára gud sig$_4$ ne kin du$_6$ apin gan ab zíz še še
16'	^{giš}*kirê*(kiri$_6$) *gišimmari*(giš-nimbar) *iz-qup*	bára gud sig$_4$ šu kin du$_6$ zíz še še
17'	^{giš}*kirâ*(kiri$_6$) *uddiš*(gibil)^{iš}	bára gud sig$_4$ šu kin apin gan zíz še še
18'	^{giš}*kirâ*(kiri$_6$) *ud-diš*	gud sig$_4$ kin apin zíz še še

1' (If) he takes a wife into his house: Nisannu, [. . .], Araḫsamna, Kislimu, Šabāṭu, Addaru are favorable.

2' (If) he has a baby: Ayyaru, Simānu, Abu, Araḫsamna, Šabāṭu, Addaru are favorable.

3' (If) he recites a *šigû*-prayer: Nisannu, Ayyaru, Simānu, Abu, Tašrītu, Araḫsamna, Šabāṭu, Addaru are favorable.

4' (If) he cleans his garment: Nisannu, Ayyaru, Simānu, Abu, Tašrītu, Araḫsamna, Šabāṭu, Addaru are favorable.

5' (If) he donates his food to his god: Nisannu, Ayyaru, Simānu, Du'ūzu, Abu, Ulūlu, Tašrītu, Araḫsamna, Kislimu, Šabāṭu, Addaru are favorable.

6' (If) he takes on a prebendary office: Nisannu, Ayyaru, Simānu, Tašrītu, Šabāṭu, Addaru are favorable.

7' (If) he donates bread: Nisannu, Ayyaru, Simānu, Tašrītu, Šabāṭu, Addaru are favorable.

8' (If) he renews a cult-dais: Nisannu, Ayyaru, Simānu, Ulūlu, Šabāṭu, Addaru are favorable.

9' (If) he builds either an outdoor altar, an outdoor shrine, a cult-dais, a cult-platform or an earthen platform: Šabāṭu, Addaru are favorable.

10' (If) he renews his god or a desecrated god: Nisannu, Ayyaru, Simānu, Ulūlu, Tašrītu, Araḫsamna, Šabāṭu, Addaru are favorable.

11' (If) he builds a tomb: Du'ūzu, Ṭebētu, Šabāṭu, Addaru are favorable.

12' (If) he opens a well: Simānu, Abu, Tašrītu, Araḫsamna, Šabāṭu, Addaru are favorable.

13' (If) he lays a hearth: Nisannu, Ayyaru, Ulūlu, Tašrītu, Araḫsamna, Šabāṭu, Addaru are favorable.

14' (If) he sets up a vinegar jar: Abu, Šabāṭu, Addaru are favorable.

15' (If) he plants a plantation: Nisannu, Ayyaru, Simānu, Abu, Ulūlu, Tašrītu, Araḫsamna, Kislimu, Ṭebētu, Šabāṭu, Addaru are favorable.

16' (If) he plants a date plantation: Nisannu, Ayyaru, Simānu, Du'ūzu, Ulūlu, Tašrītu, Šabāṭu, Addaru are favorable.

17' (If) he replants a plantation: Nisannu, Ayyaru, Simānu, Du'ūzu, Ulūlu, Araḫsamna, Kislīmu, Šabāṭu, Addaru are favorable.

18' (If) he replants a (date) plantation: Ayyaru, Simānu, Ulūlu, Araḫsamna, Šabāṭu, Addaru are favorable.

(b) favorable days from *Abšegeda*, tabulated by month (MS O in Livingstone 2013: 84)
rev. col. i

1	$^{\text{iti}}$*nisannu*(bára)	1 4½ 6½ 8 10 11 14 16 23½	še "favorable"[1]
2	$^{\text{iti}}$*ayyaru*(gud)	2 6 8 10 12 15 16 18 20 22 24 26 28 29 30	
3	$^{\text{iti}}$*simānu*(sig$_4$)	3 5 9 11 12 13 15 16 22 24 27 30	
4	$^{\text{iti}}$*du'ūzu*(šu)	3 7 11 13 17 19 21 22 26 27 28 29	
5	$^{\text{iti}}$*abu*(ne)	1 2 6½ 10 12 15 16	
6	$^{\text{iti}}$*ulūlu*(kin)	1 2 3 5 7 9 11 14 15 17 19 22 27 29	
7	$^{\text{iti}}$*tašrītu*(du$_6$)	1 4 6 7 8½ 9 11 13½ 14 17 19 21 22 23 26 28 29	
8	$^{\text{iti}}$*araḫsamna*(apin)	2 6 7 9 11 13 1[5] 17 19 20 22 24 26 28 30	
9	$^{\text{iti}}$*kislimu*(gan)	1 5 9 11 13 16 ⸢18⸣ 21 23 25 29 30	
10	$^{\text{iti}}$*ṭebētu*(ab)	7 11½ 13 14 17½ [2]1 22 23 24½ 25 26 27½ 28 29	
11	$^{\text{iti}}$*šabāṭu*(zíz)	1 7 10½ 11 14 17 19 ⸢21⸣ 22 23 25 26 28 29½	
12	$^{\text{iti}}$*addaru*(še)	1 2 4 5 6 8 9 12 13 1[4/5] 16 20 22 24 25 27 30	

(c) Commentary on key phrases from protases of *Iqqur īpuš*, // *KAR* 398 obv. 1–6, cf. *BRM* IV 24.
rev. col. i

13	DIŠ *bīta*(é) *īpuš*(dù)$^{\text{uš}}$	*šá* [$^{\text{gi}}$]$^{\text{š}}$*dalta*(ig) *i-zaq-qa-pu*
14	DIŠ *bīta*(é) *iq-qur*	*šá labira*(sumun) *unakkaru*([k]úr)*-ma ešša*(gibil) *ip-pu-šu*
15	DIŠ *bīta*(é) *iṣ-ṣi*	*šá si-*⸢*i*⸣*-ri i-ḫal-la-šu*
16	DIŠ *bīta*(é) *is-suḫ*	*šá lìb-bi bīti*(é) *ú-šap-pa-lu*
17	[DIŠ *bīt*(é)*-su*] ⸢*unakkir*(kúr)$^{\text{ir}}$	*šá la-pa-an itti*(giskim) *uṣṣû*(è)⸣*-ma ana bīti*(é)*-šú šanîm*(man)[2]*-ma ir-ru-bu*
18	[DIŠ *ana bīti*(é) *šanîmma ikkirma iḫīṭ ša ana bīti*]-⸢*šú šá-nim*⸣*-ma it-ti-qu*	
19	[DIŠ . . .	. . . *i*]-⸢*leq-qu*⸣*-u*

13 ¶ "(If) he builds a house" (refers to) one who sets the door in place.
14 ¶ "(If) he demolishes a house" (refers to) one who removes the old and builds new.
15 ¶ "(If) he pulls down a house" (refers to) one who scrapes off the mud plaster.
16 ¶ "(If) he digs out a house" (refers to) one who lowers the inside of a house.
17 [¶ "(If) he] changes [his house"] (refers to) one who leaves when given notice and enters another house of his.
18 [¶ "(If) he moves into another house and watches over it" (refers to) one who] passes across [into] another [house] of his.
19 [¶ "(If) . . . " (refers to) one who] takes [. . .]

[1] This sign, given here only once, is actually repeated at the end of every line of the table.

[2] Reading established by Jeannette Fincke from BM 68428 (unpub.) obv. 2–3: *šá-ni-im-ma*.

(d) Colophon

rev. col. ii

1 *ūmū*(ud)$^{\text{meš}}$ *ṭābūtu*(dùg-ga)$^{\text{meš}}$
2 *šá ana epēš*(dù)$^{\text{eš}}$ *ṣibûti*(á-áš)
3 *ù amēlu*(lú) *mim-ma*
4 *ṣibût*(á-áš)*-su*
5 *ikaššadu*(kur)$^{\text{ad}}$ *ṭābū*(dùg-ga)$^{\text{meš}}$
6 *a-di* 25 *šumāti*(mu)$^{\text{meš}}$
7 *mu-kal-lim-ti-šú*
8 *nis-ḫu*
9 *lìb-bi* DIŠ *iq-qur īpuš*(dù)$^{\text{uš}}$
10 *ki-i pî*(ka) *ṭuppāni*(dub)$^{\text{meš}}$
11 *man-du-ú-ti*
12 DIŠ *ālu*(uru) *ina mēlê*(sukud)$^{\text{e}}$ *šakin*(gar)$^{\text{in}}$
13 *iq-qur īpuš*(dù)$^{\text{uš}}$
14 *ù* ab-še-ge-da
15 gaba-ri tin-tir$^{\text{ki}}$
16 *šá* $^{\text{md}}$*nabû*(nà)*-zu-qup-kēnu*(gin)
17 $^{\text{lú}}$*tupšar*(dub-sar)
18 [*ana tāmarti*(igi-du]ḫ-[a])?$^{\text{⌜ti⌝}}$
remainder lost

ii 1–5 Favorable days which are good for accomplishing plans and for a person to achieve his goals, 6–9 together with twenty-five lines of its explanatory commentary, extracted from "¶ (If) he demolishes, (if) he builds," 10–15 according to several tablets of "¶ (If) a city is situated on a height," "(If) he demolishes, (if) he builds" and "It will be favorable," master copies from Babylon, 16–18 which (I) Nabû-zuqup-kēnu the scribe [wrote out for] the [perusal] of [my son Ištar-šumu-ēriš(?), . . .

The colophon of No. 76 adds to our knowledge of how hemerological tables were compiled, for it cites as sources "several tablets"[1] of the terrestrial omen series *Šumma ālu*, the hemerological series *Iqqur īpuš* and the Babylonian Almanac (*Abšegeda*). The production of an authoritative text through the collation of multiple exemplars is an academic procedure already established for calendrical lore by rubrics preserved on *KAR* 177, a Neo-Assyrian tablet from the singers' house at Aššur (Pedersén 1986: 39 no. 33, ed. Labat 1939: 146–81, Livingstone 2013: 177–92). Its cols. iv–v contain two lists of favorable days, one deriving from a text collated for the Babylonian King Nazimaruttaš, ostensibly from the traditions of seven different Babylonian cities (reading obv. iv 25 *pî*(ka) 7 d[ub$^{\text{meš}}$] with Labat, // VAT 11609: 2′: k]a 7 *ṭup-pa-a-*[*ni*; see Heeßel 2011: 172–73), and another list copied from a local Assyrian exemplar.

The colophon of No. 76 also reveals it as a further addition to the extant corpus of tablets written or owned by Nabû-zuqup-kēnu, a well-known Assyrian scholar active in the late eighth and early seventh centuries about whom much has been written (e.g. Hunger 1972, Lieberman 1987: 204–17, Frahm 1999, Baker and Pearce 2001). At least some of his library was incorporated in the royal libraries at Nineveh, where the right-hand part of the present tablet (K 98) was excavated. The extant tablets connected with his name show that his main interests were omens, commentaries and other scholastic esoterica, though his best-known tablet is probably a manuscript of Gilgameš XII. MS 2226+K 98 is the first hemerology attributable to him, but the topic belongs firmly in the mainstream of Babylonian and Assyrian scholarship, and his interest in it is not surprising.

The end of the colophon is missing, but traces at the break suggest that it can probably be restored after the manner of the colophon on Nabû-zuqup-kēnu's manuscript of the esoteric text *I-namgišḫur-ankia*, which he wrote in 683 BC *a-na ta-mar-ti* $^{\text{md}}$*ištar*(inanna)*-šumu*(mu)*-ēriš*(kam)$^{\text{eš}}$ *māri*(dumu)*-ia* "for the perusal of my son Ištar-šumu-ēriš" (K 2670, ed. Hunger 1968: 92–93 no. 299; Livingstone 1986: 28–29).

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[1] The spelling *man-du-ú-ti* in rev. ii 11 is a dissimilated form of *maddūti* < *mādūti* "many."

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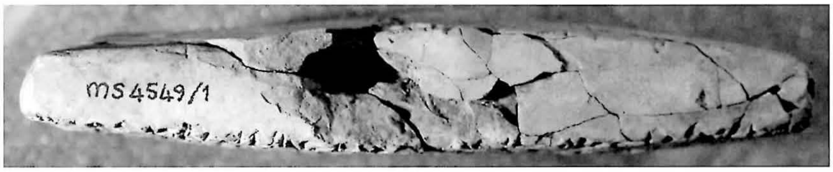
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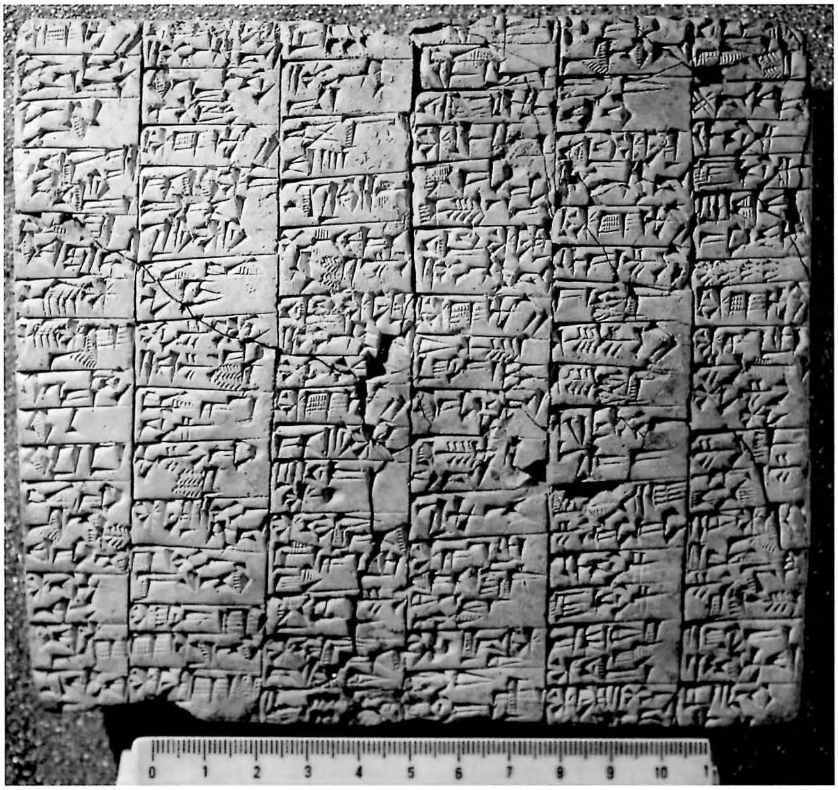
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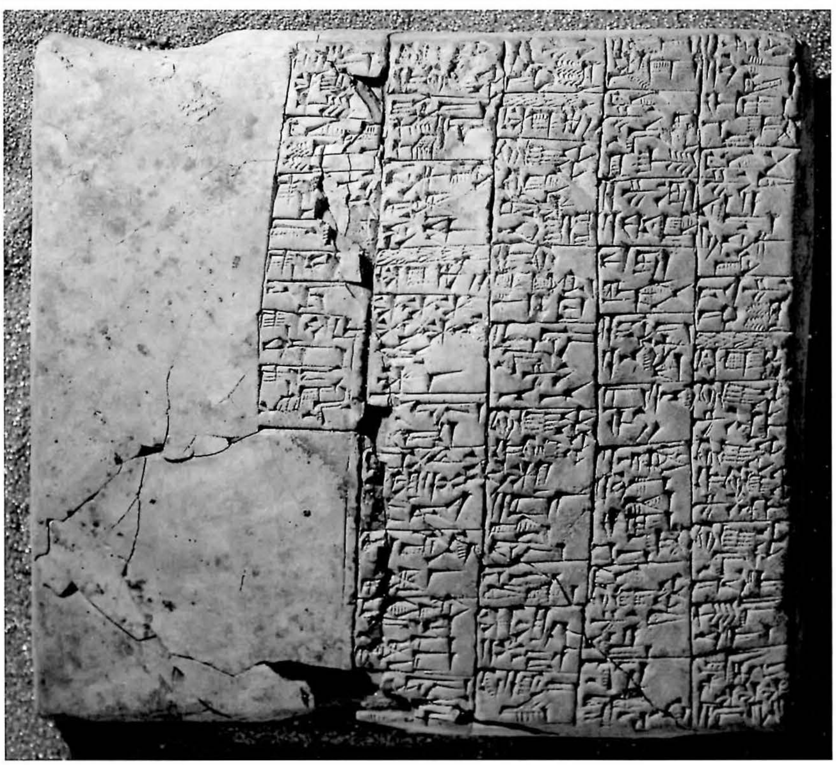
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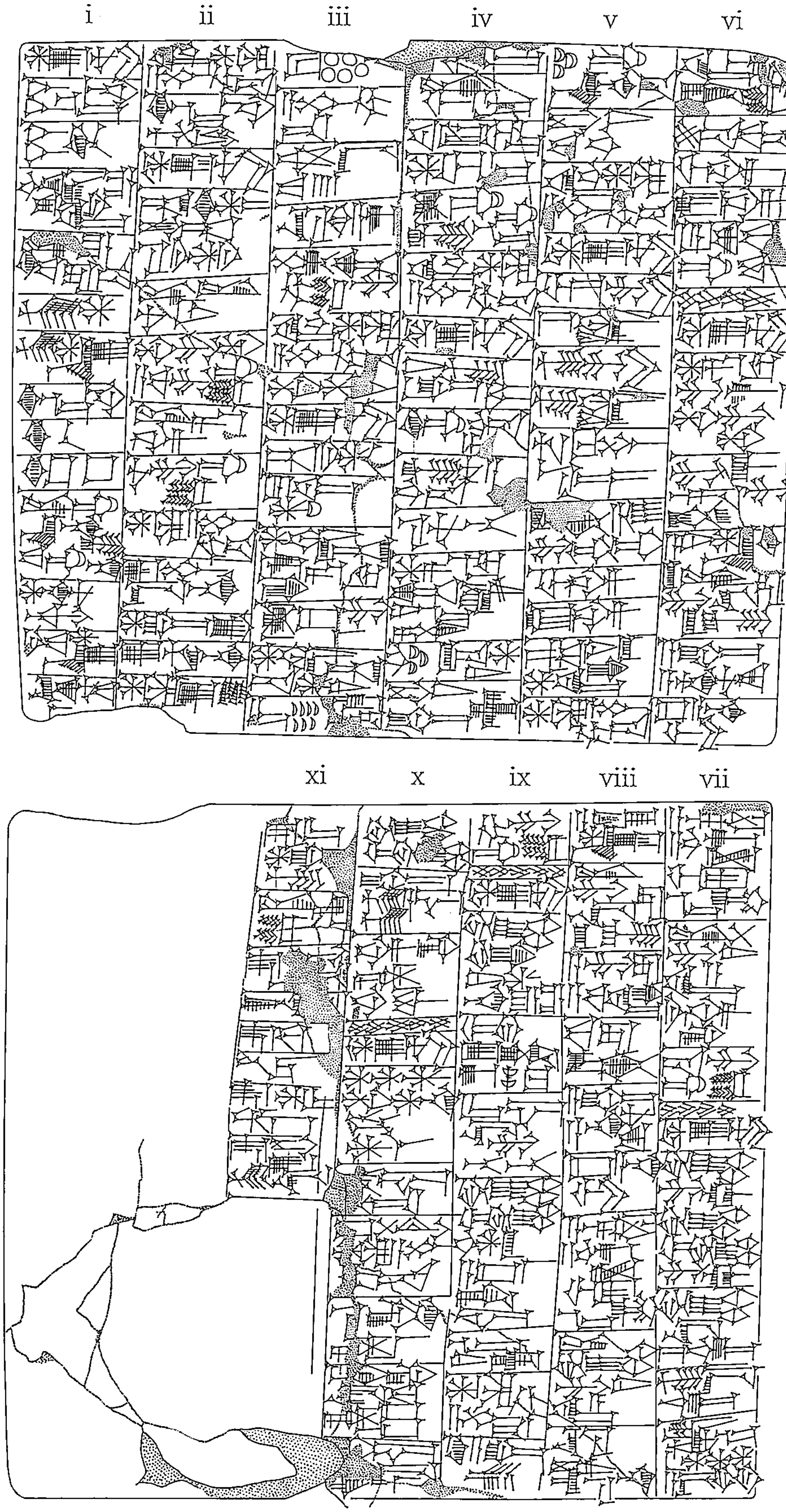




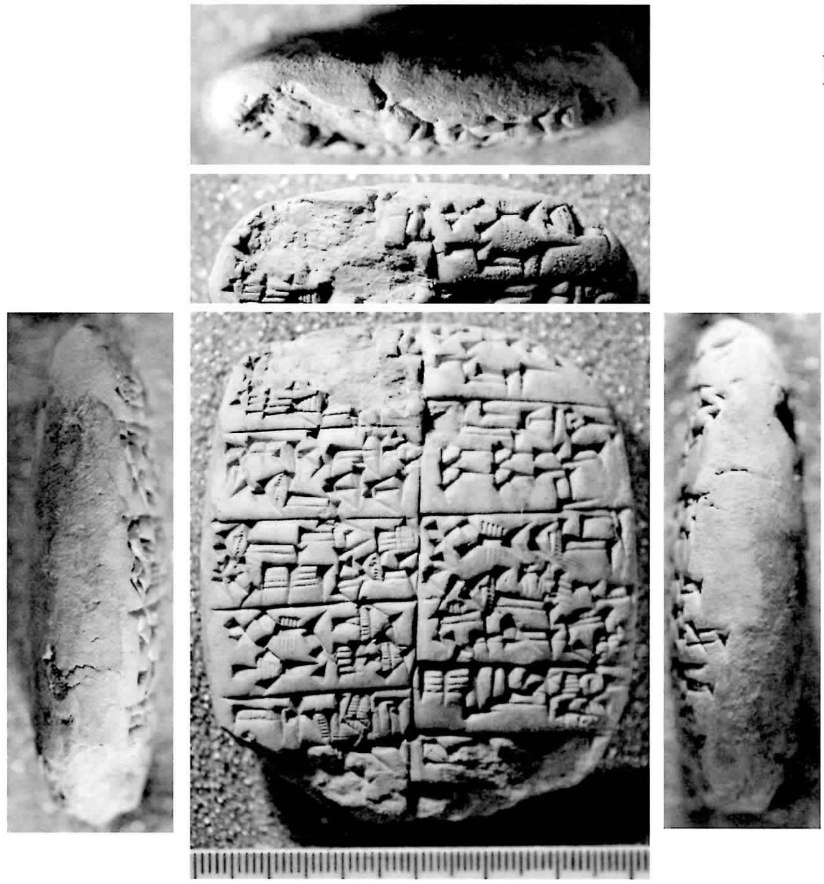




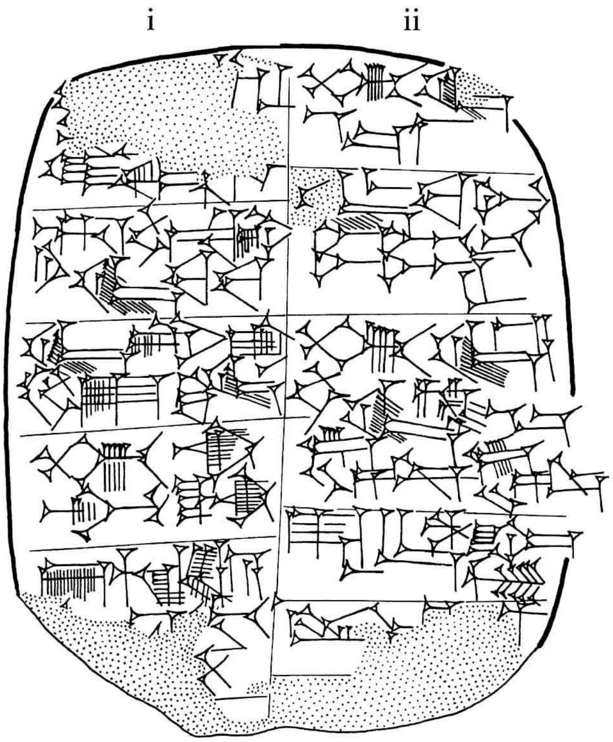
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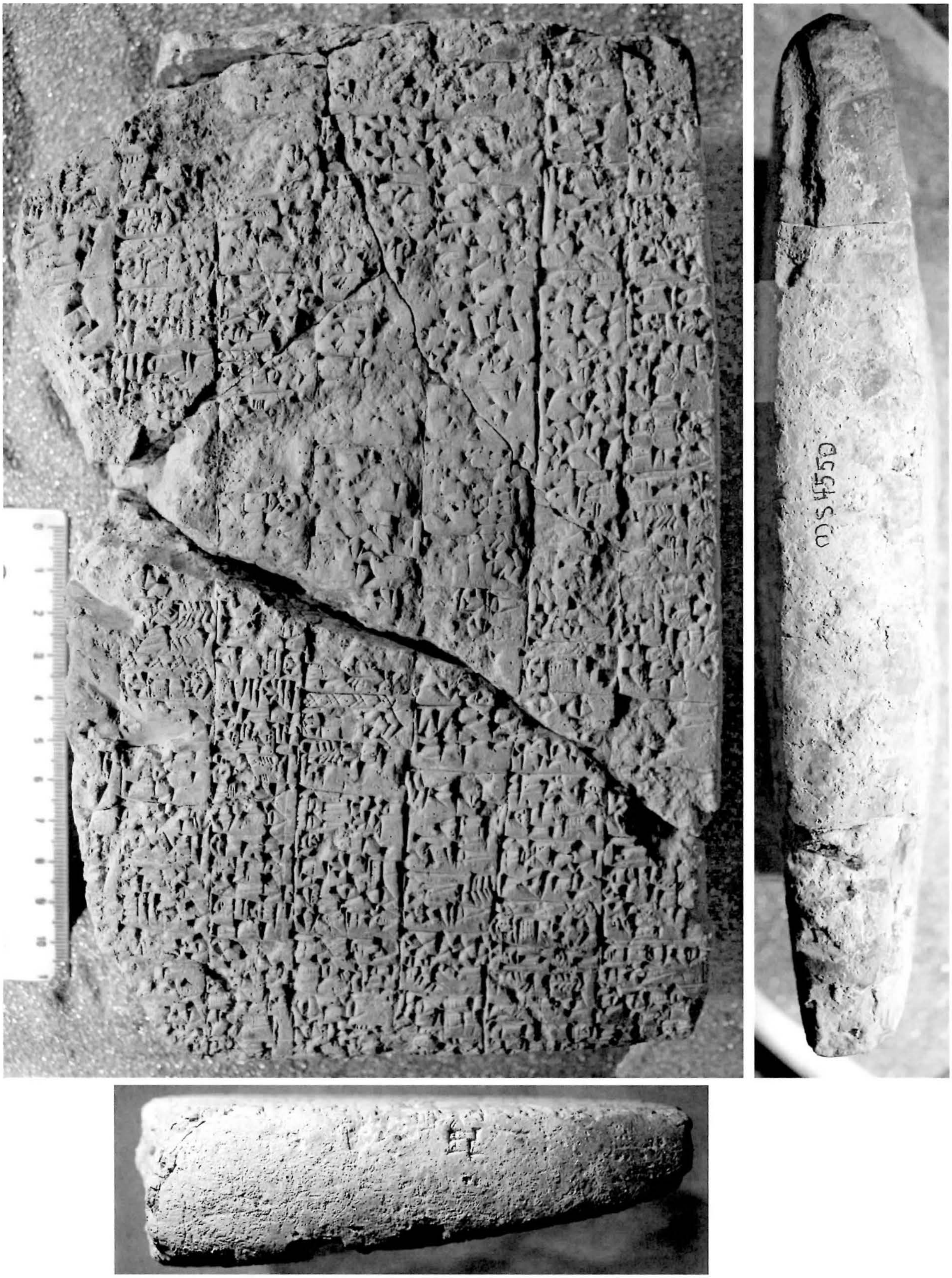
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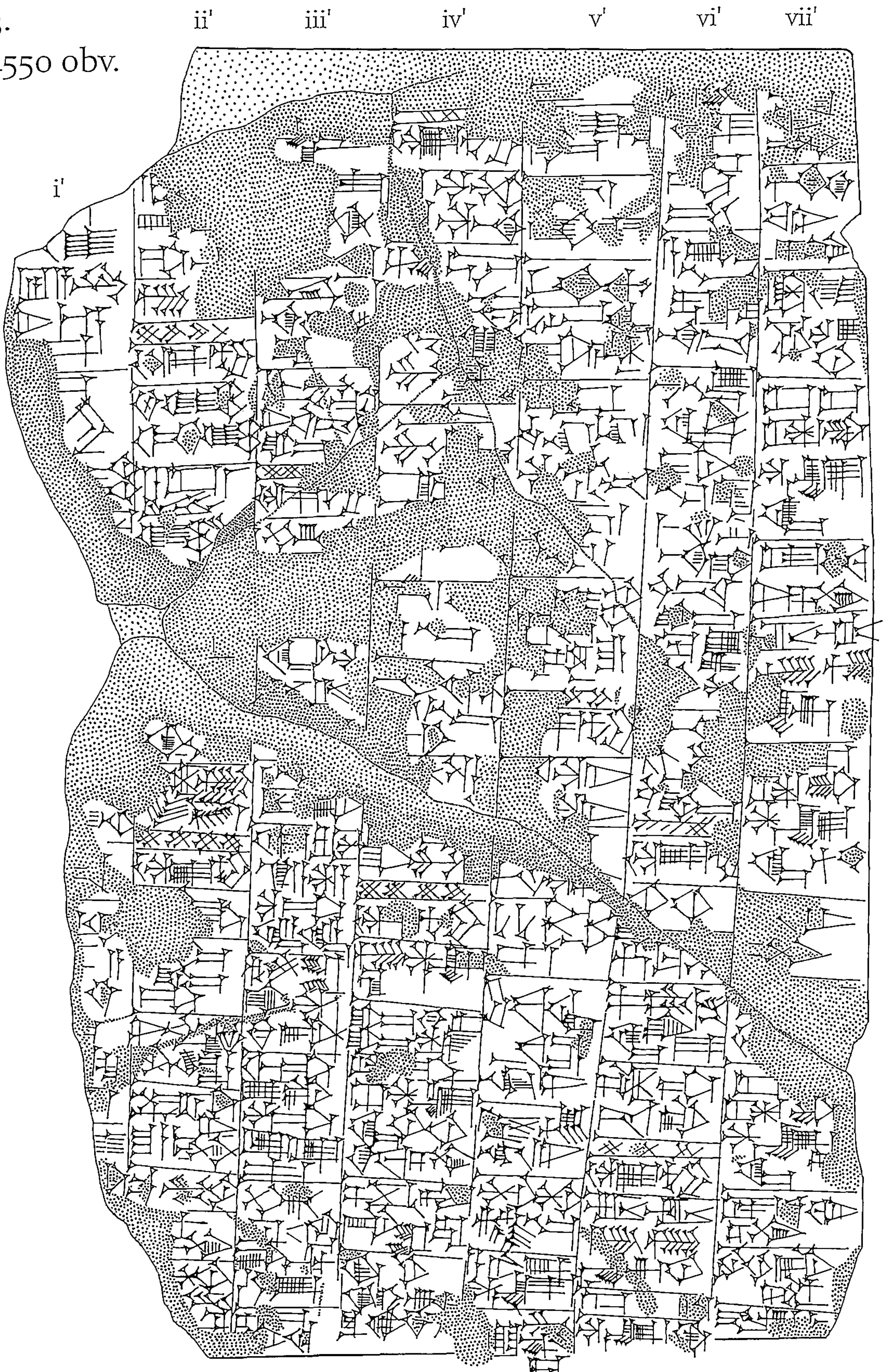




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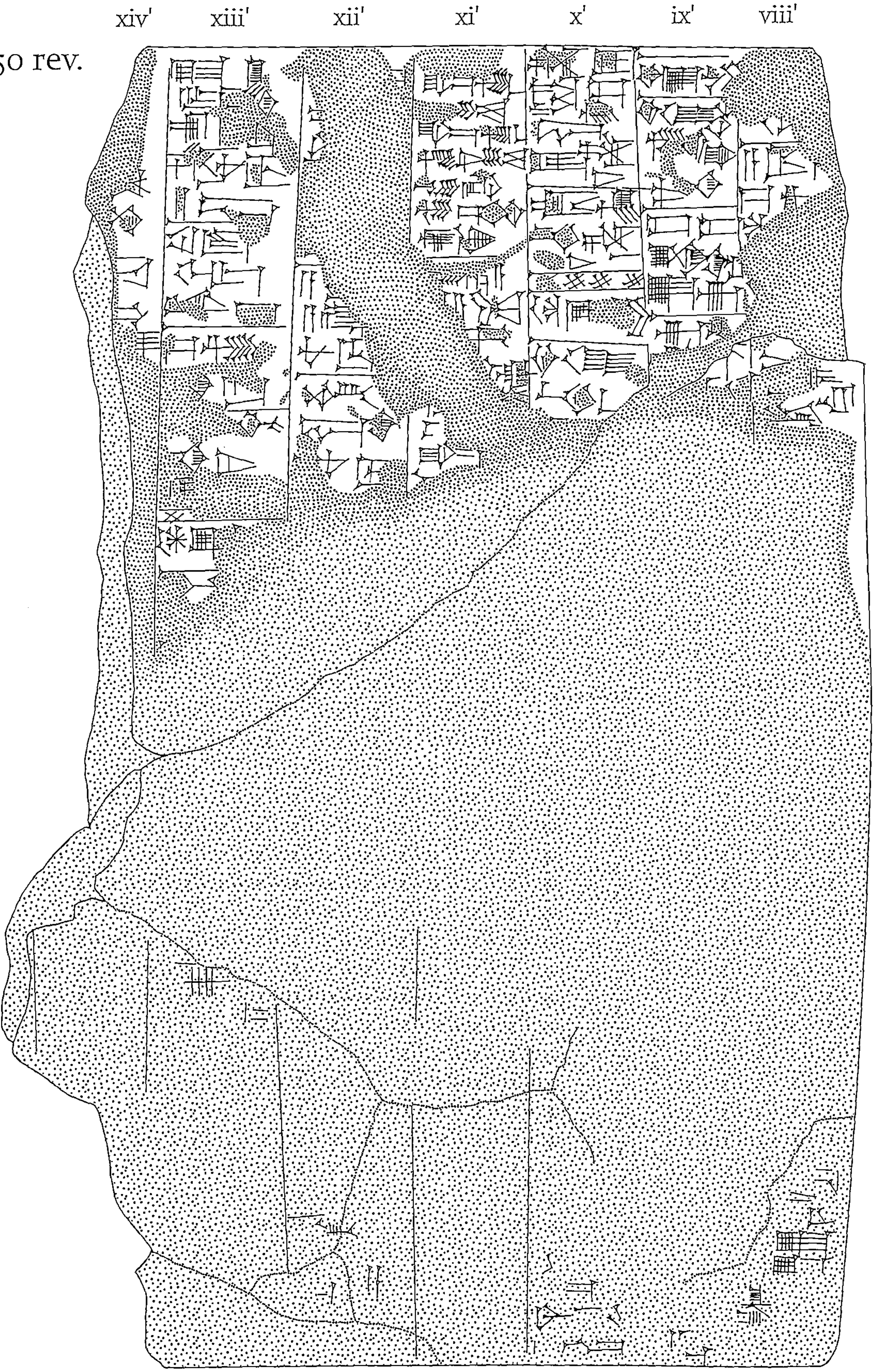
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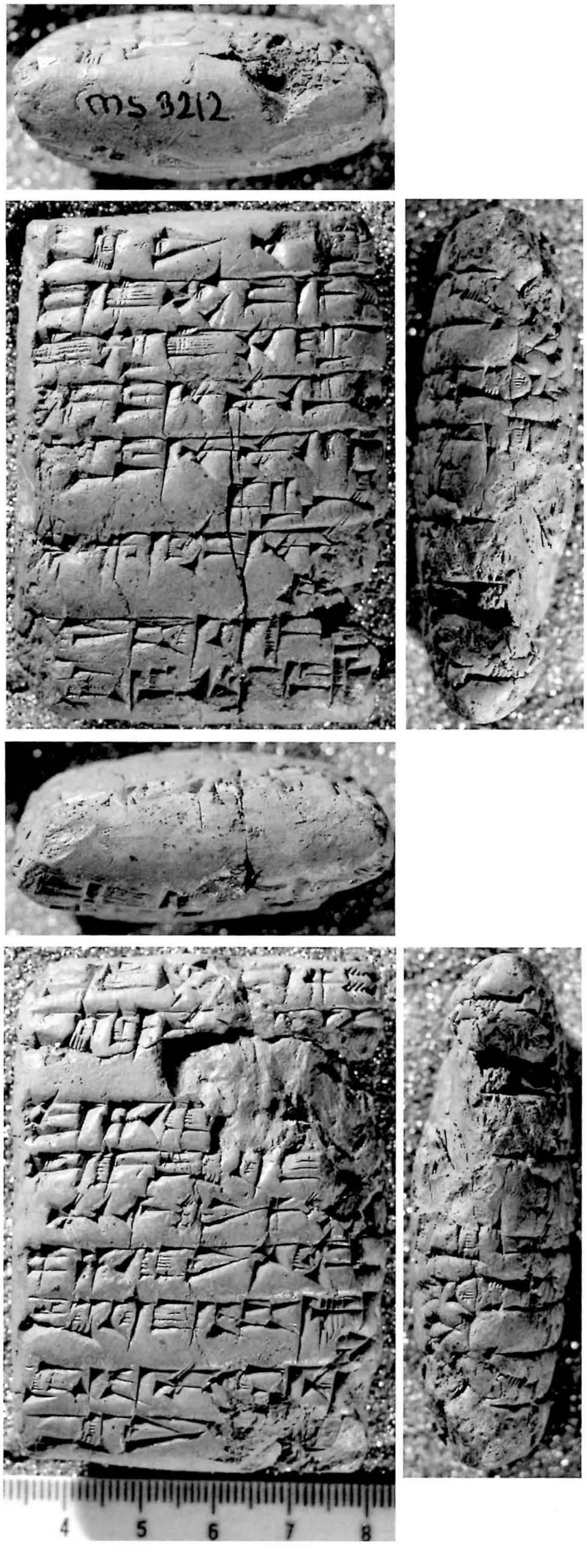
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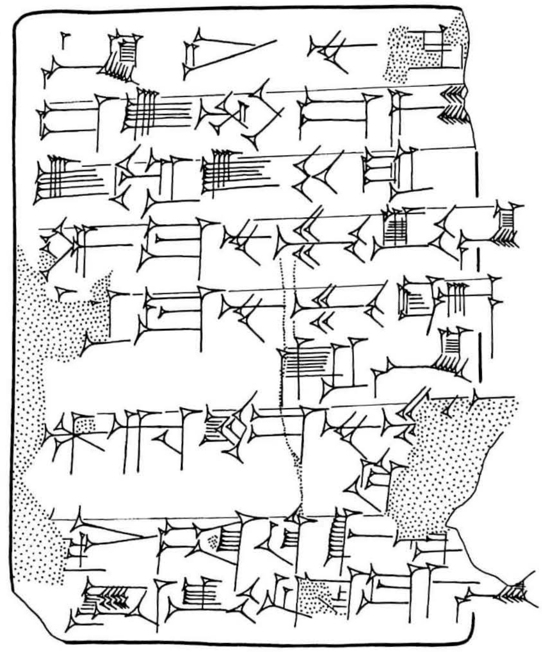
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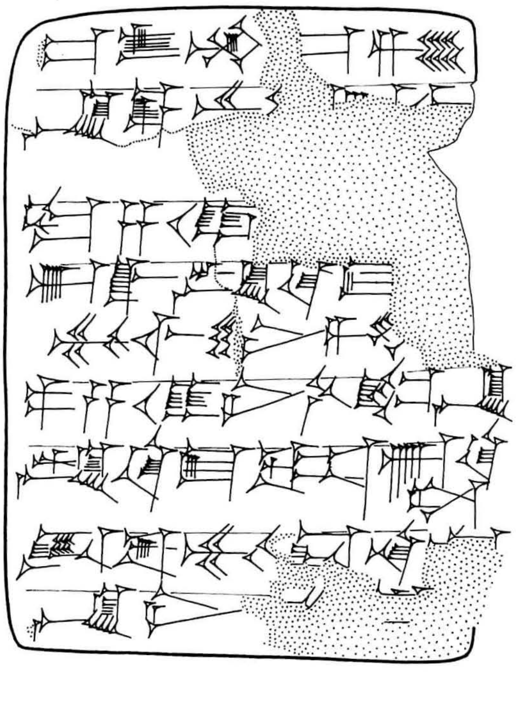
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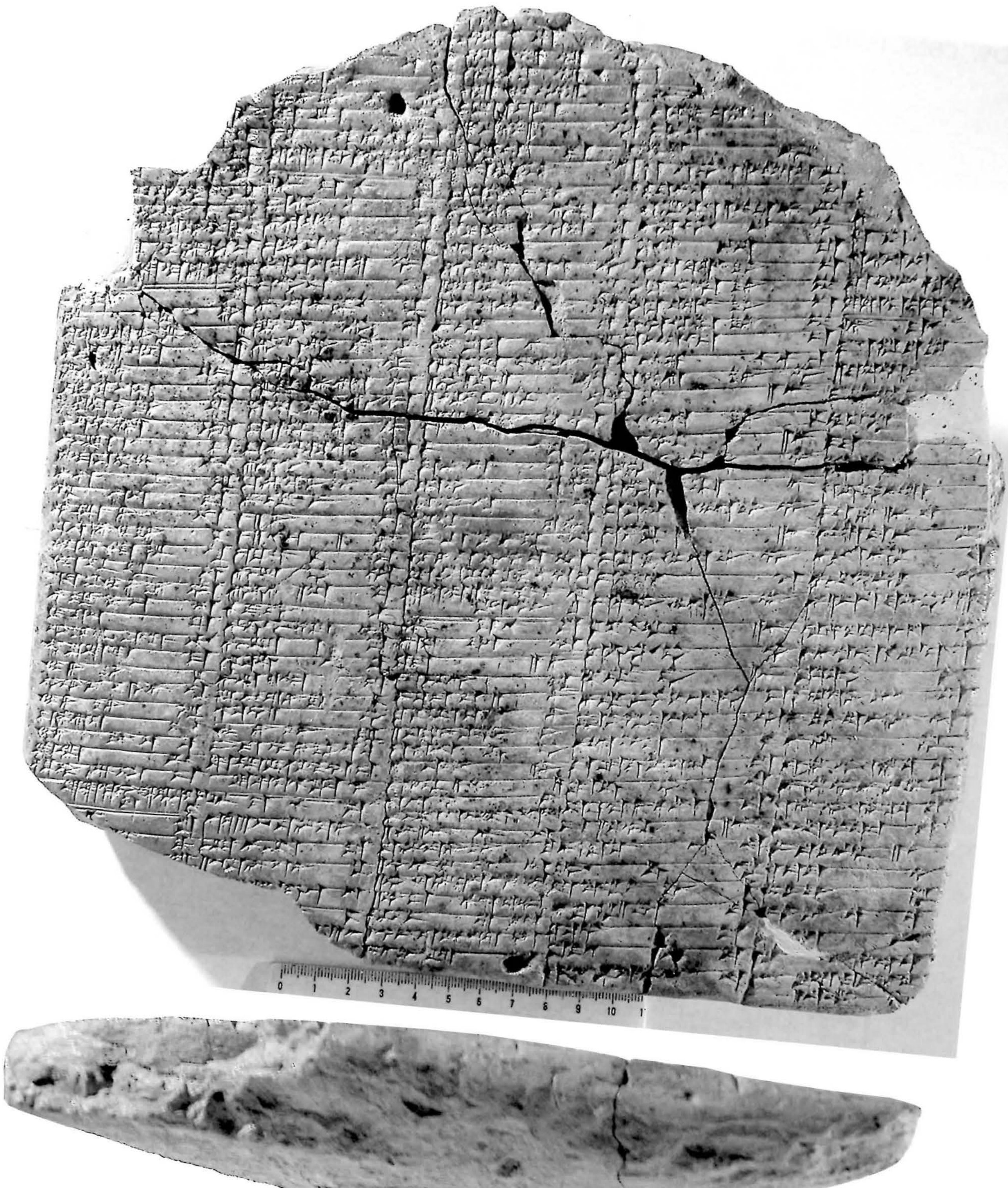
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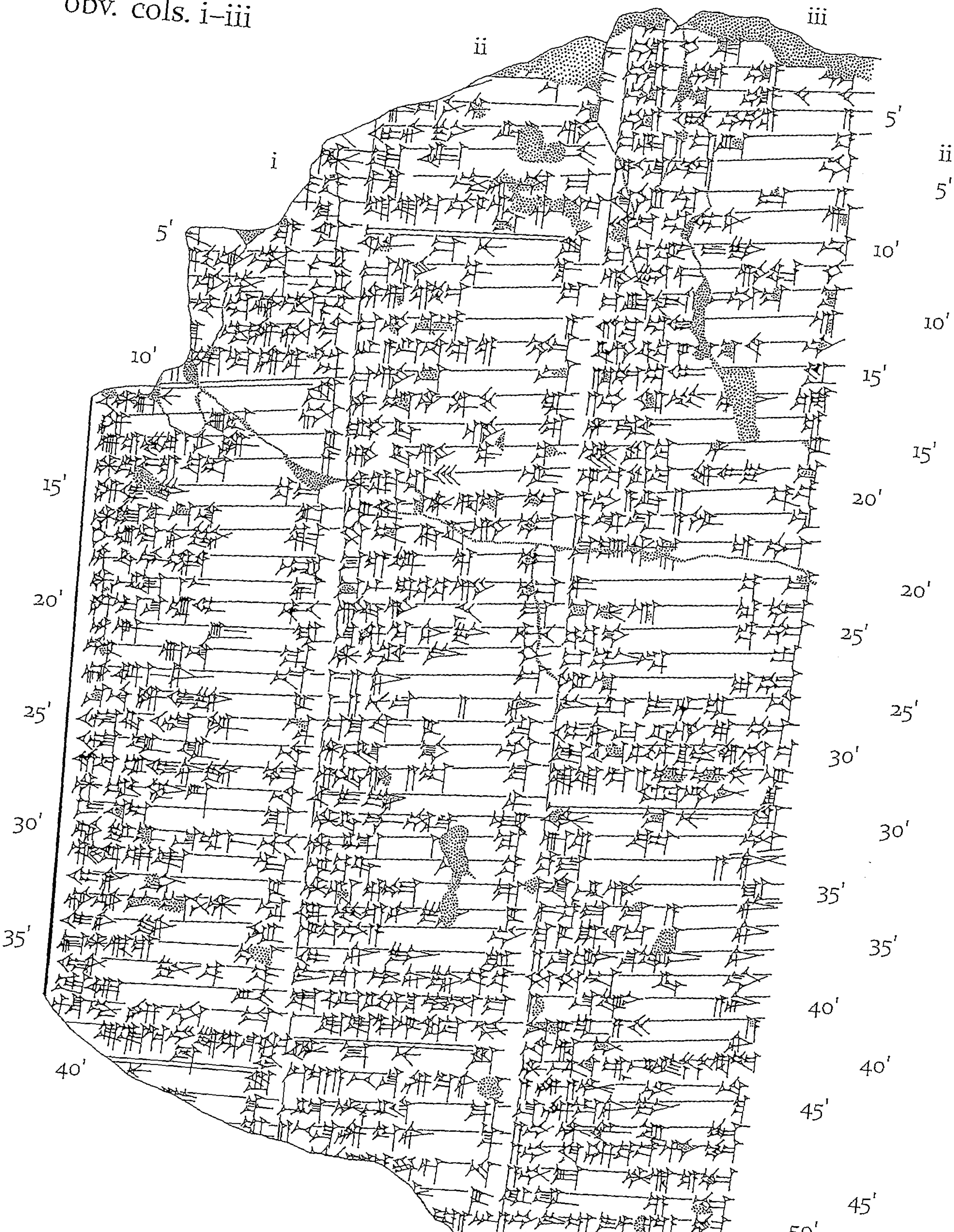
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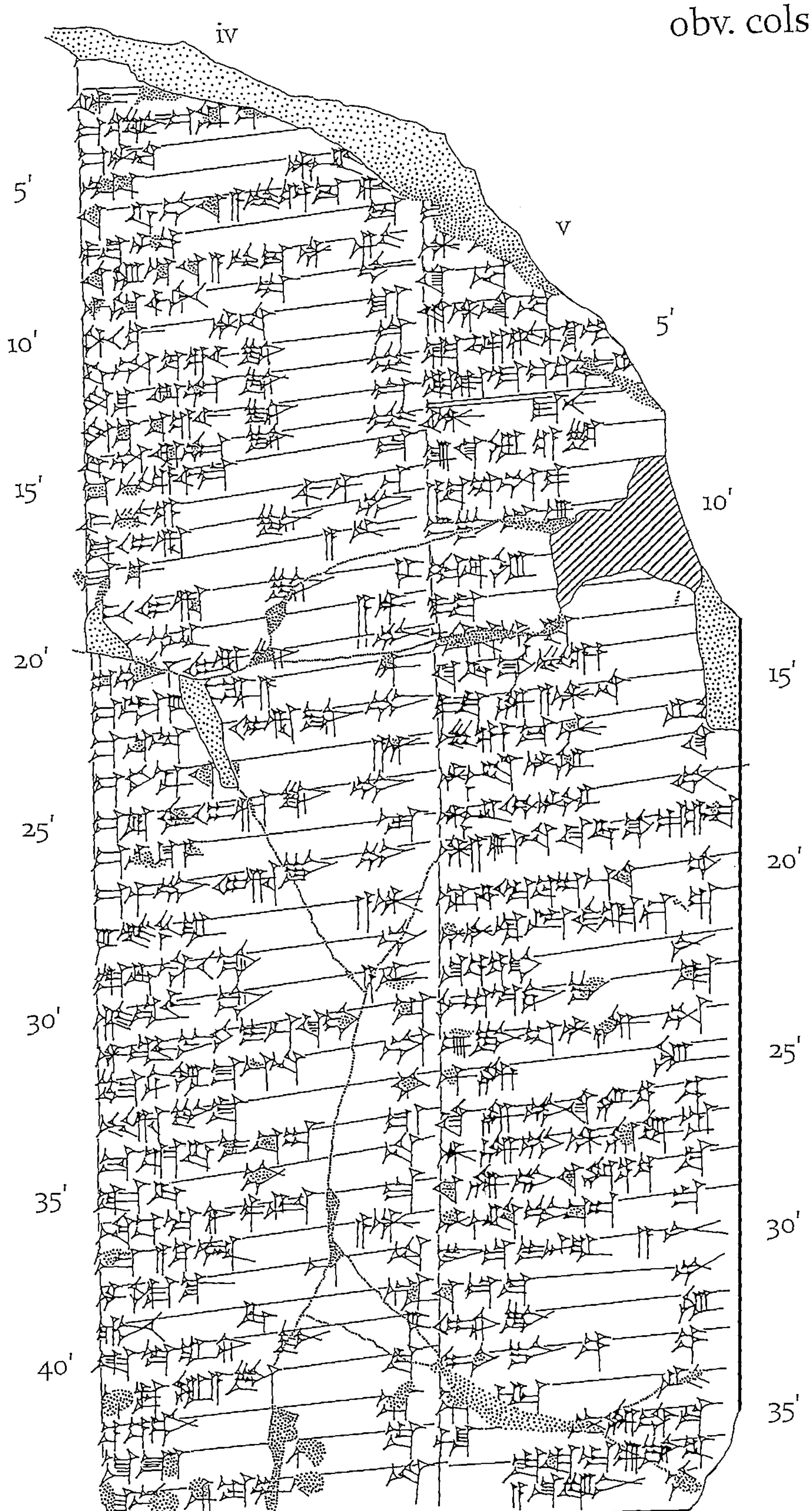
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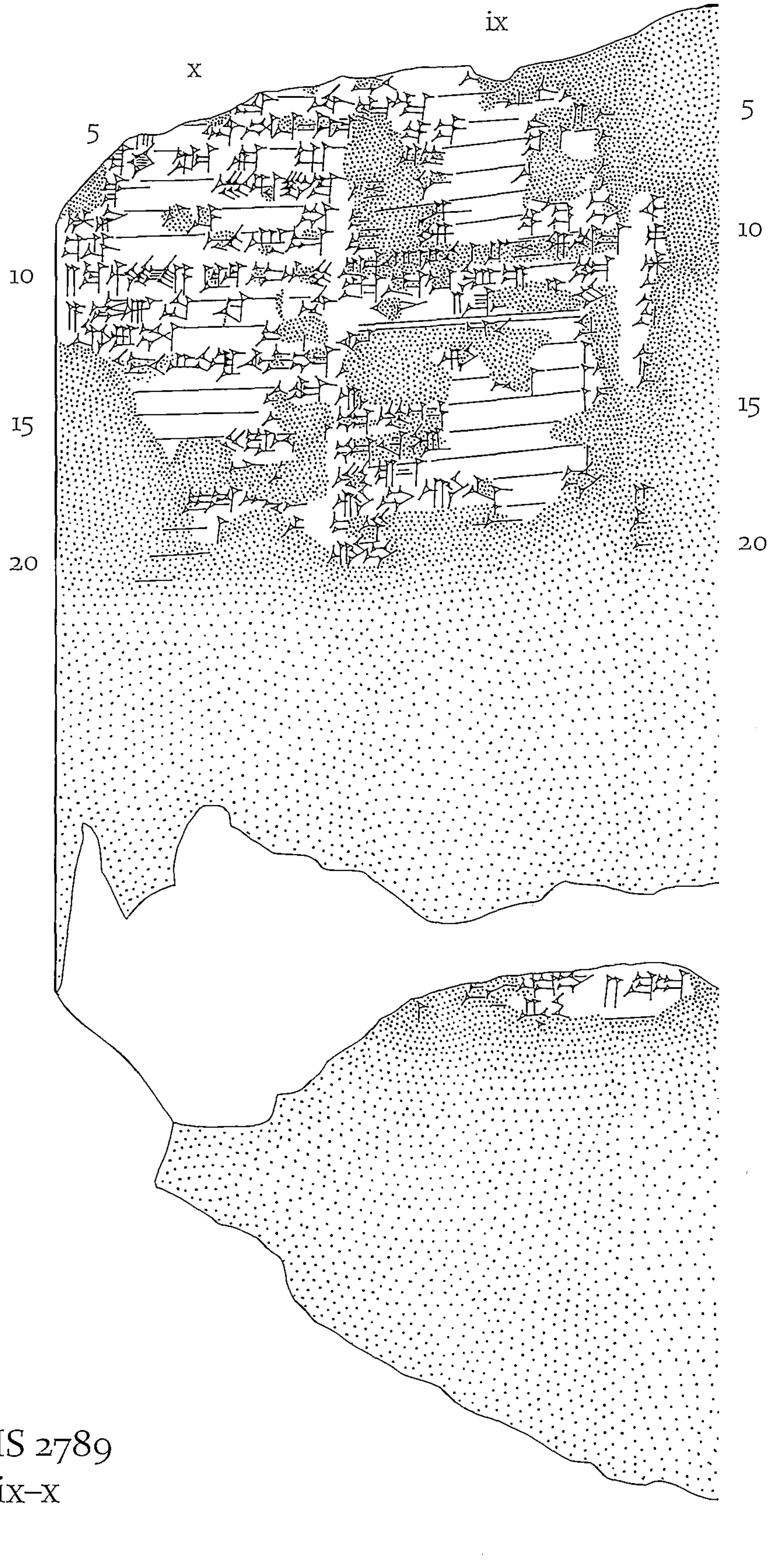


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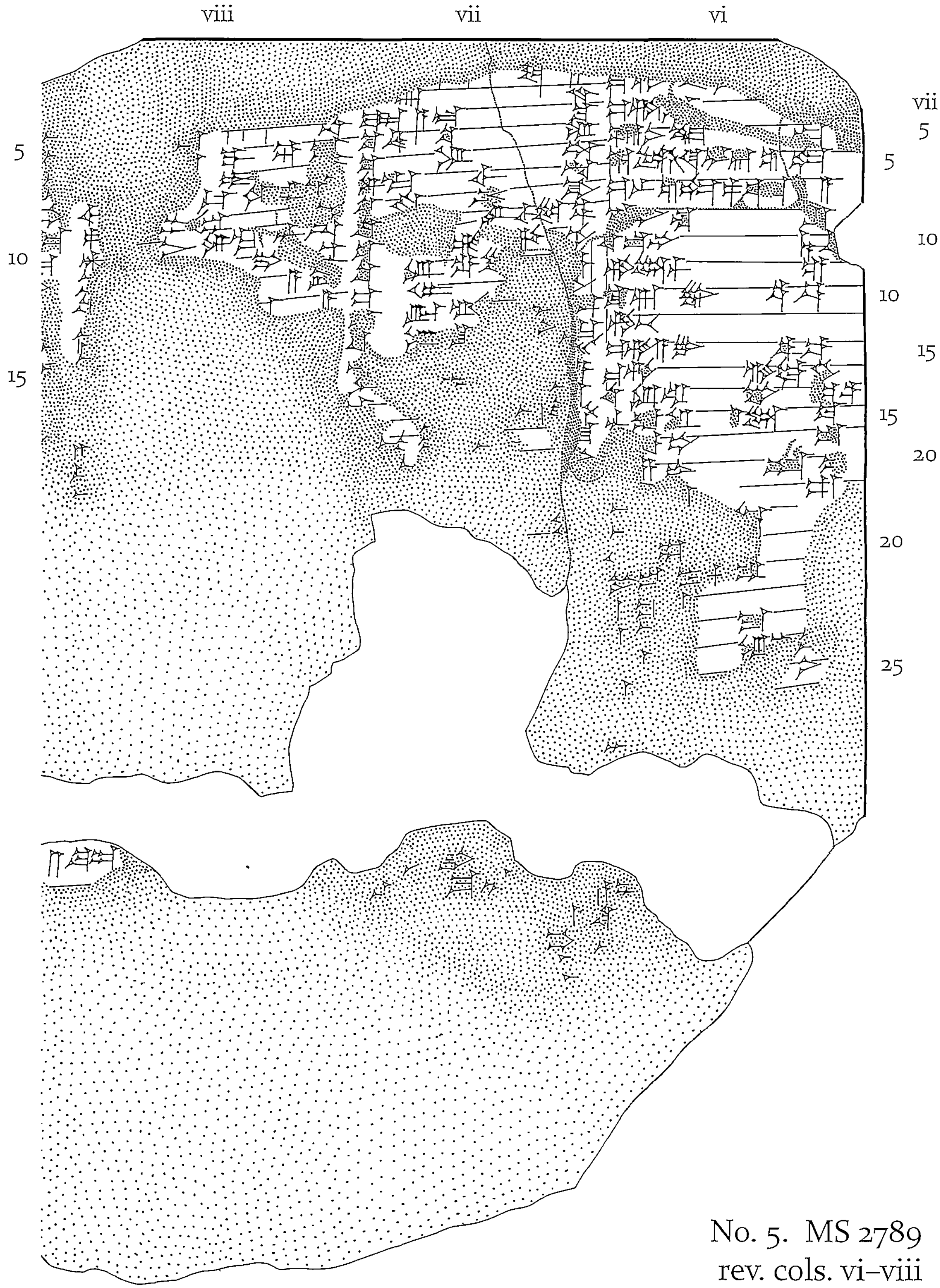


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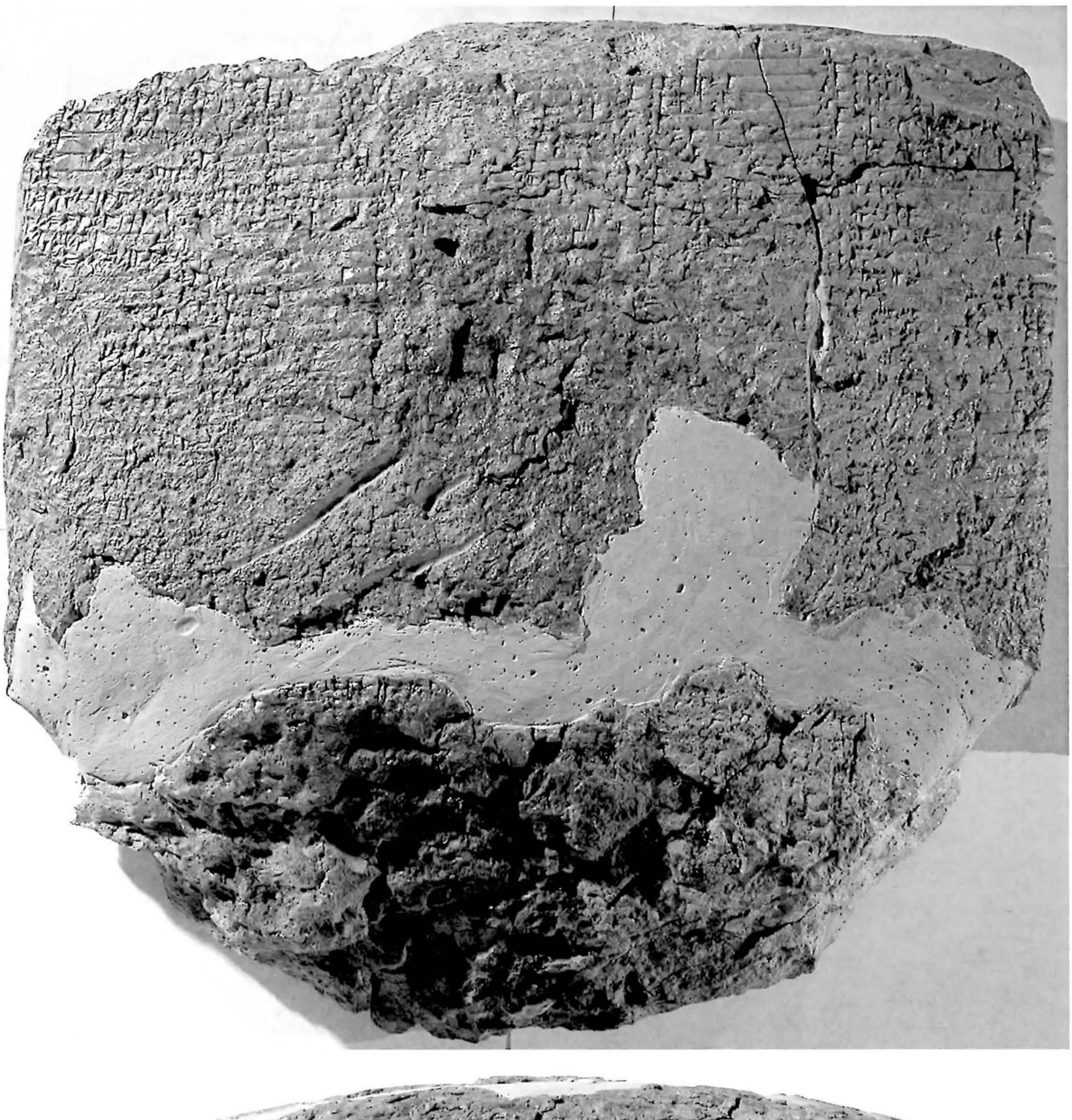


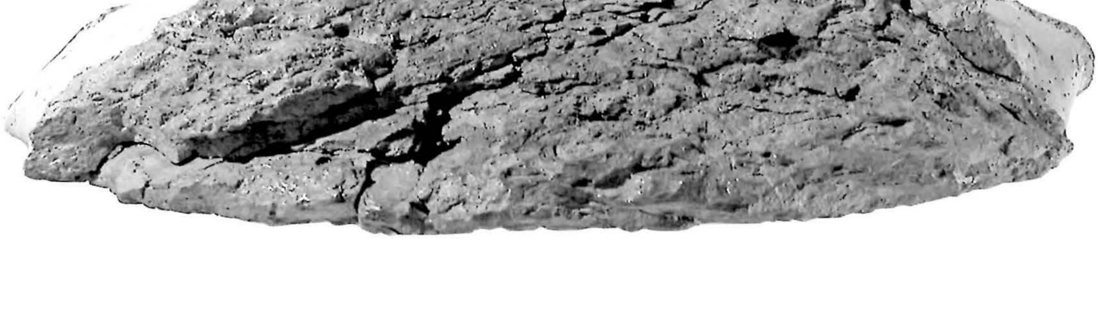
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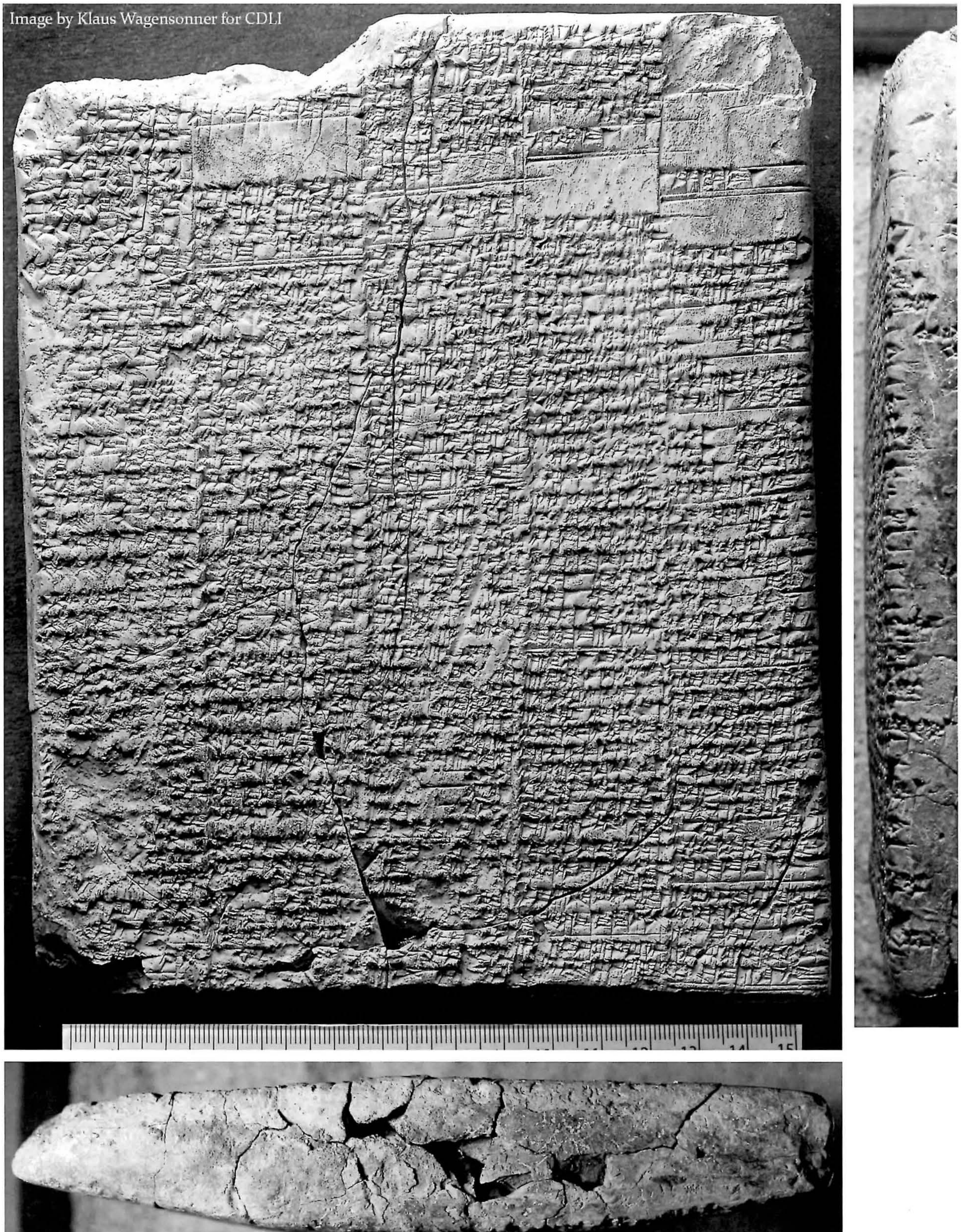
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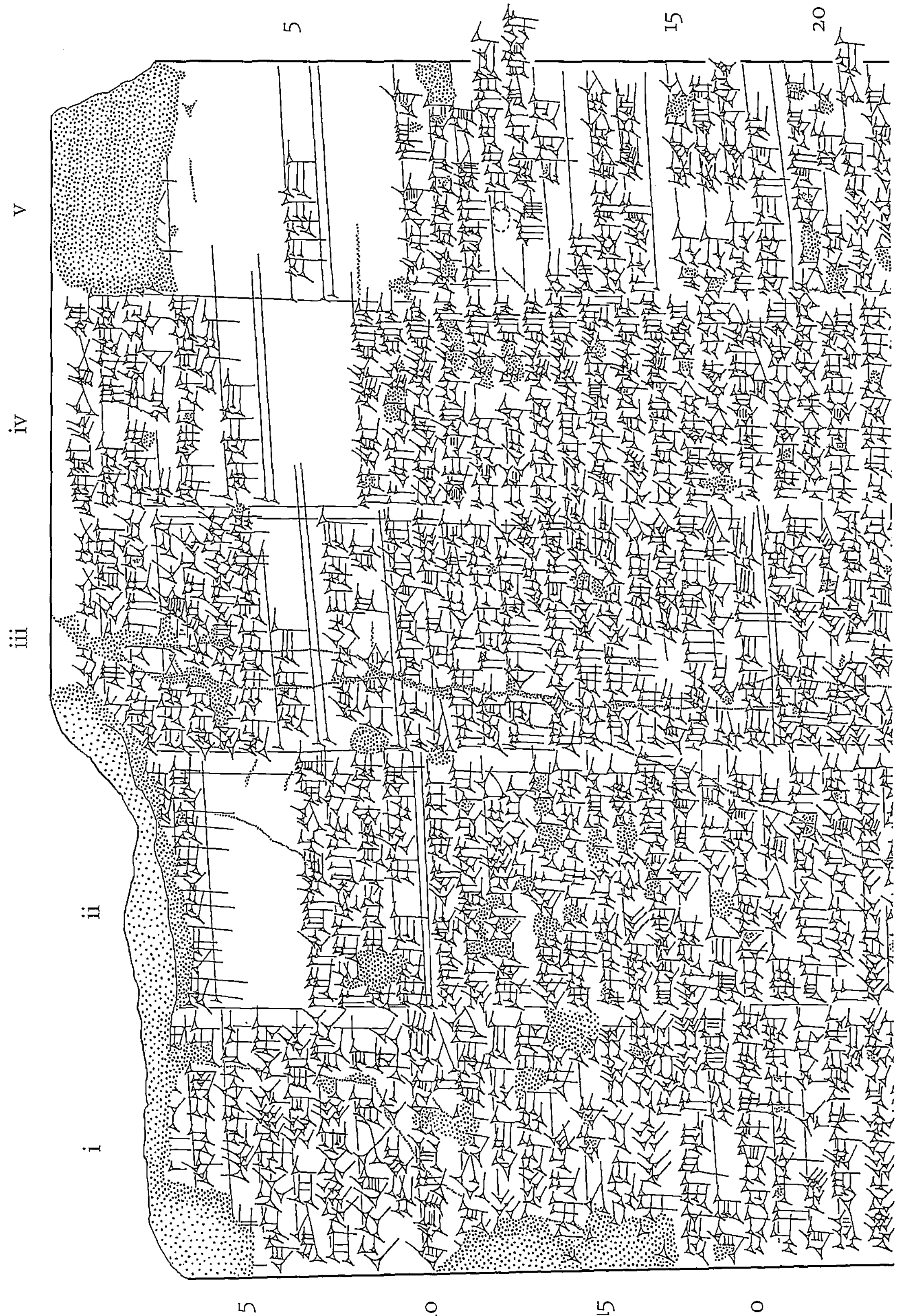




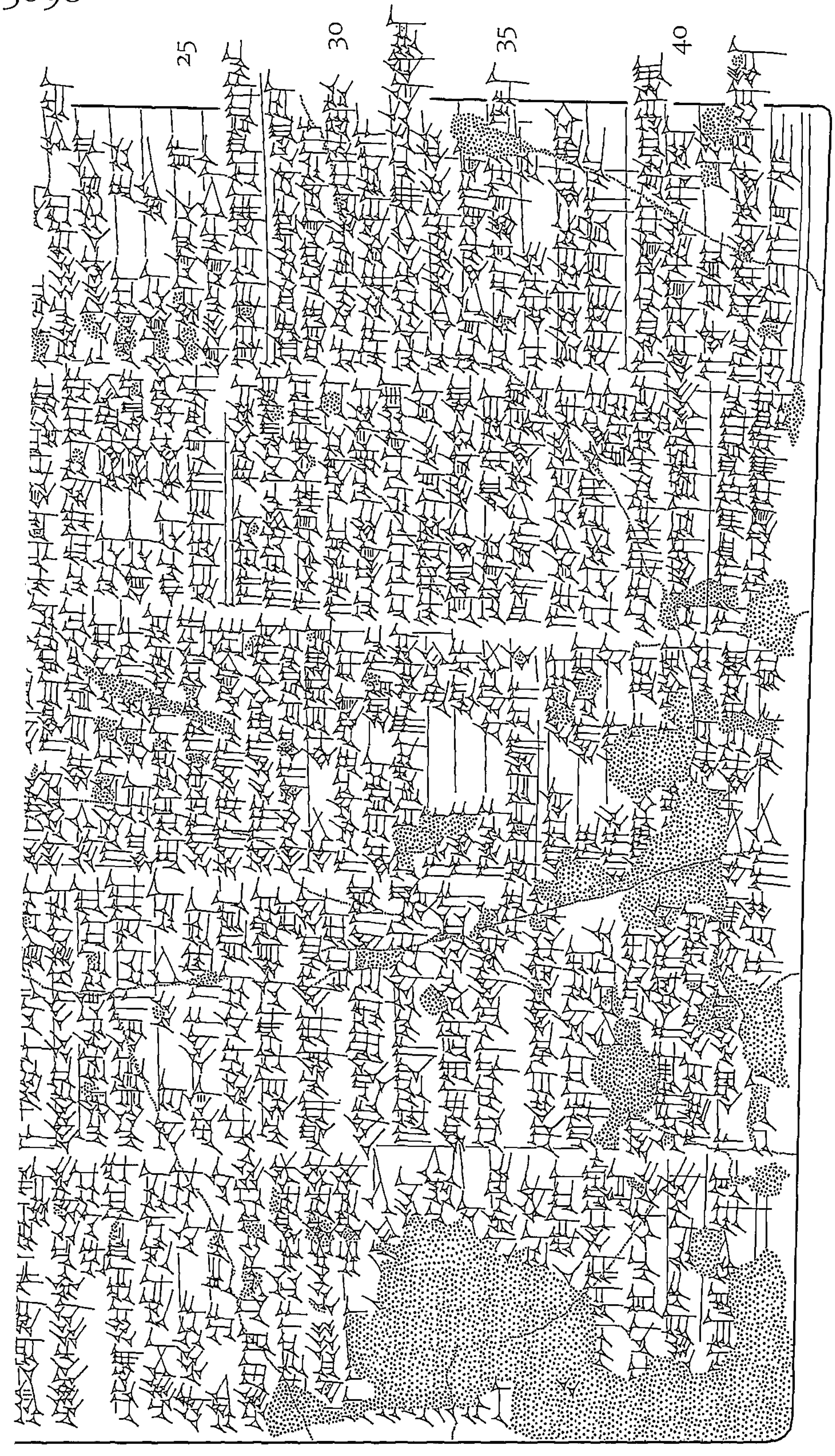
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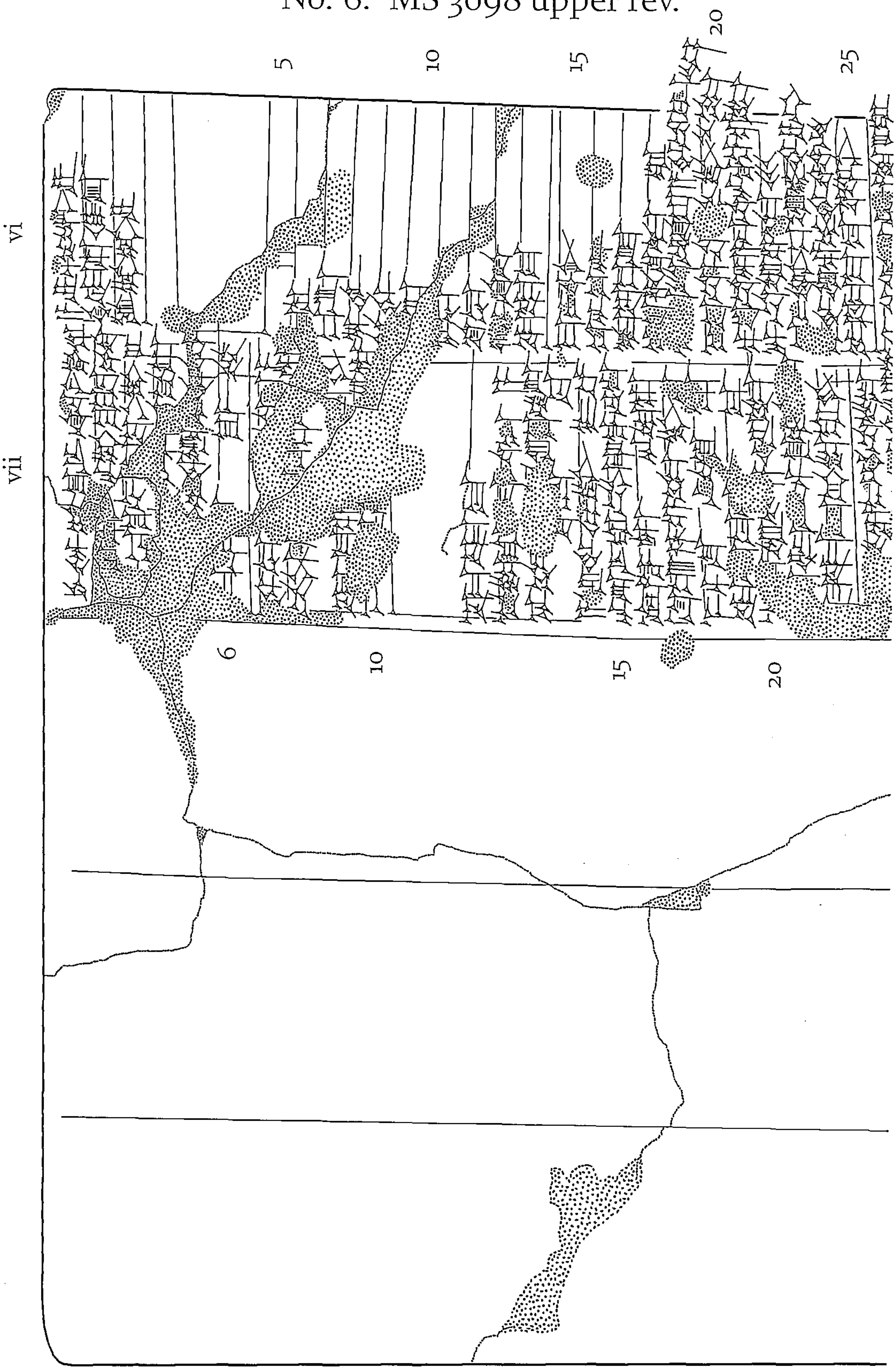
No. 6. MS 3098 upper obv.



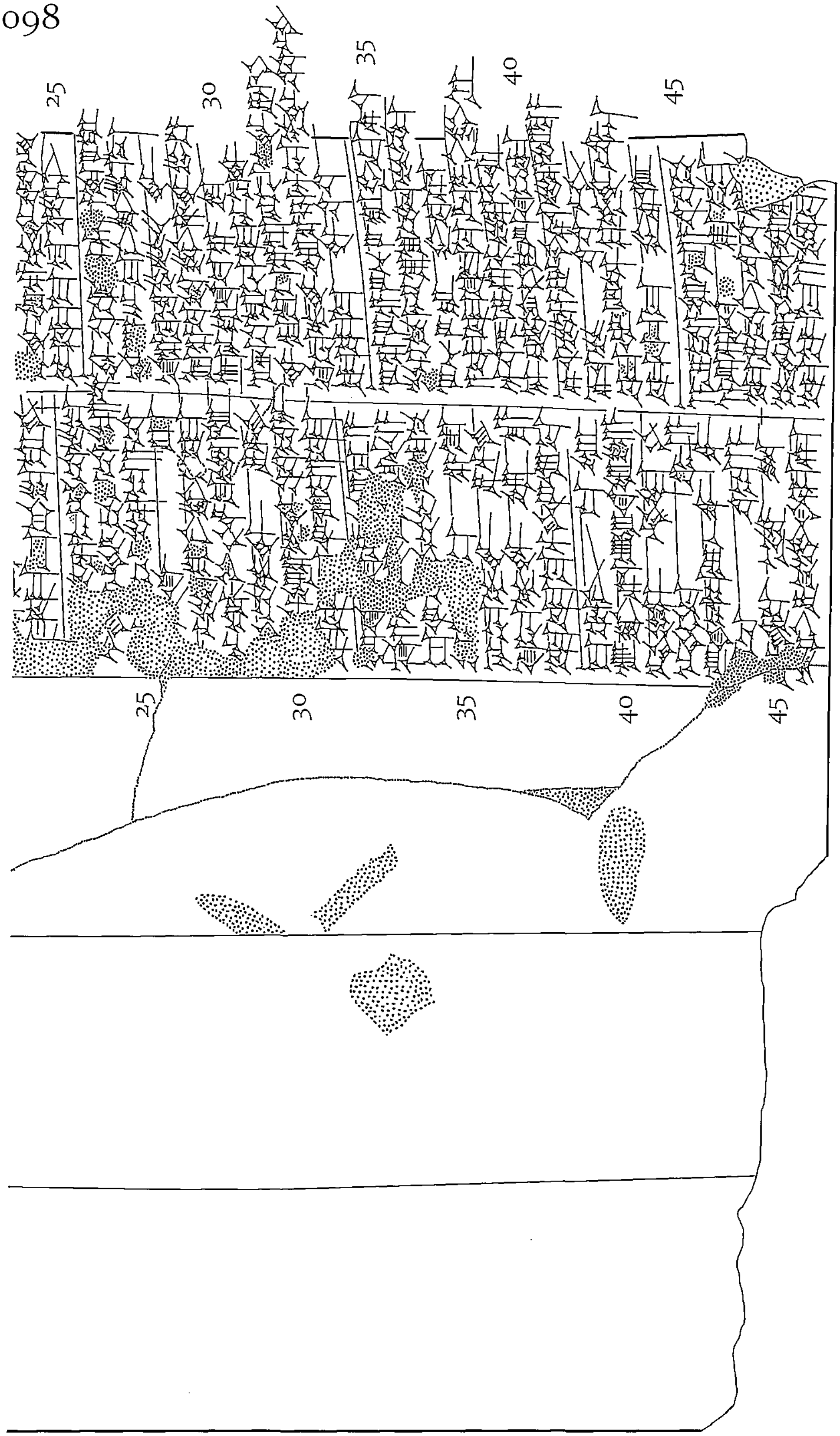
No. 6. MS 3098
lower obv.



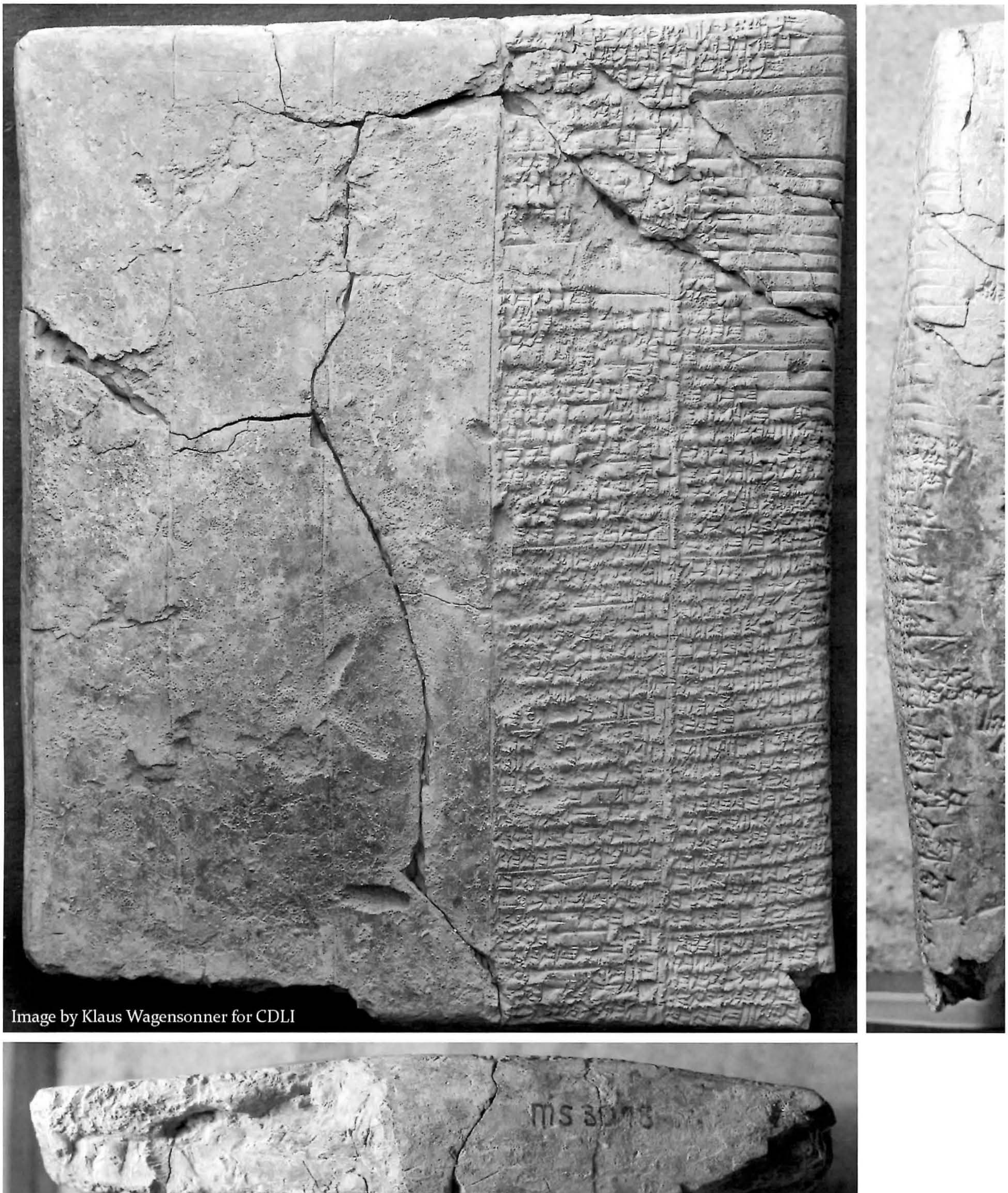
No. 6. MS 3098 upper rev.



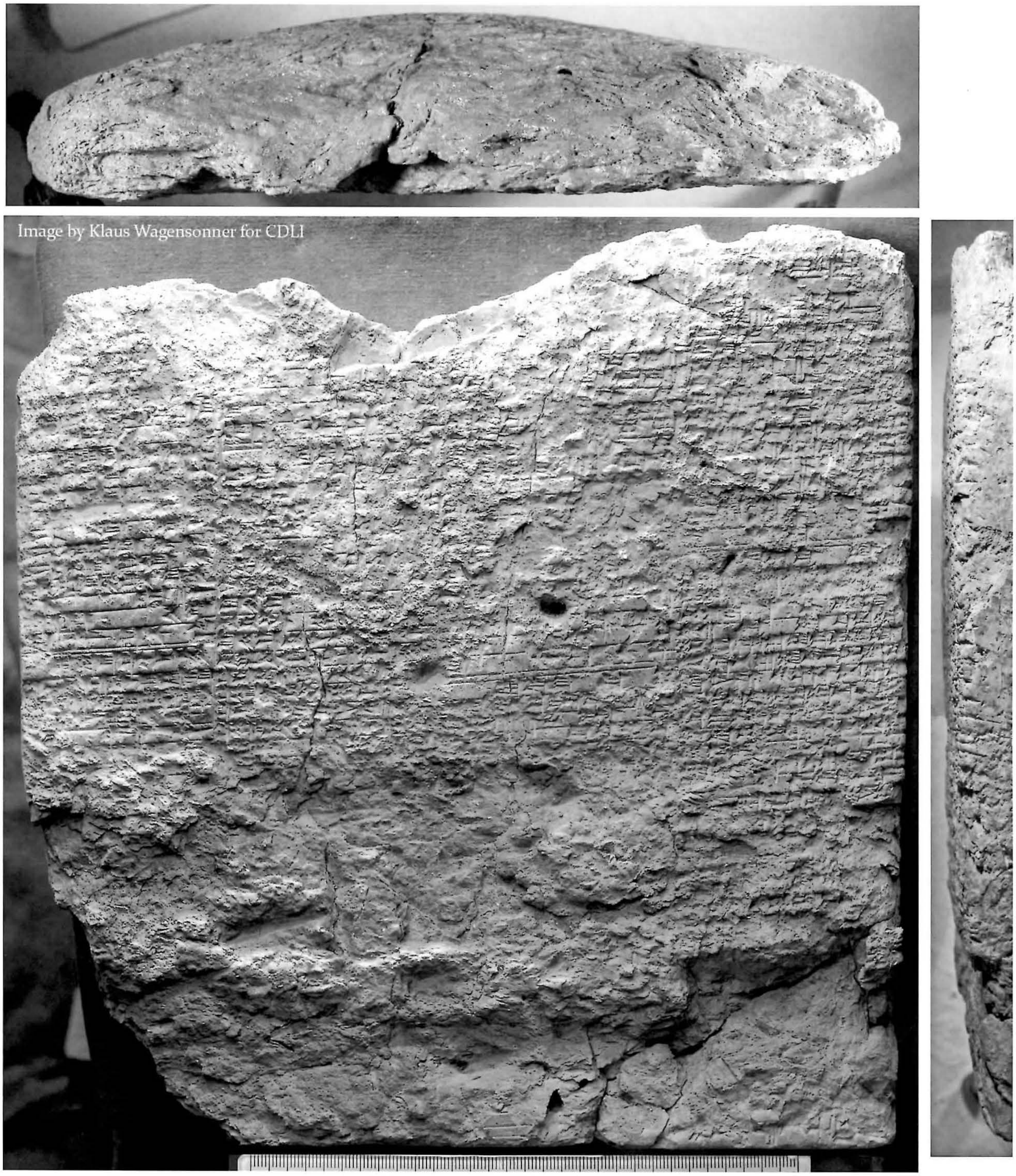
No. 6. MS 3098
lower rev.



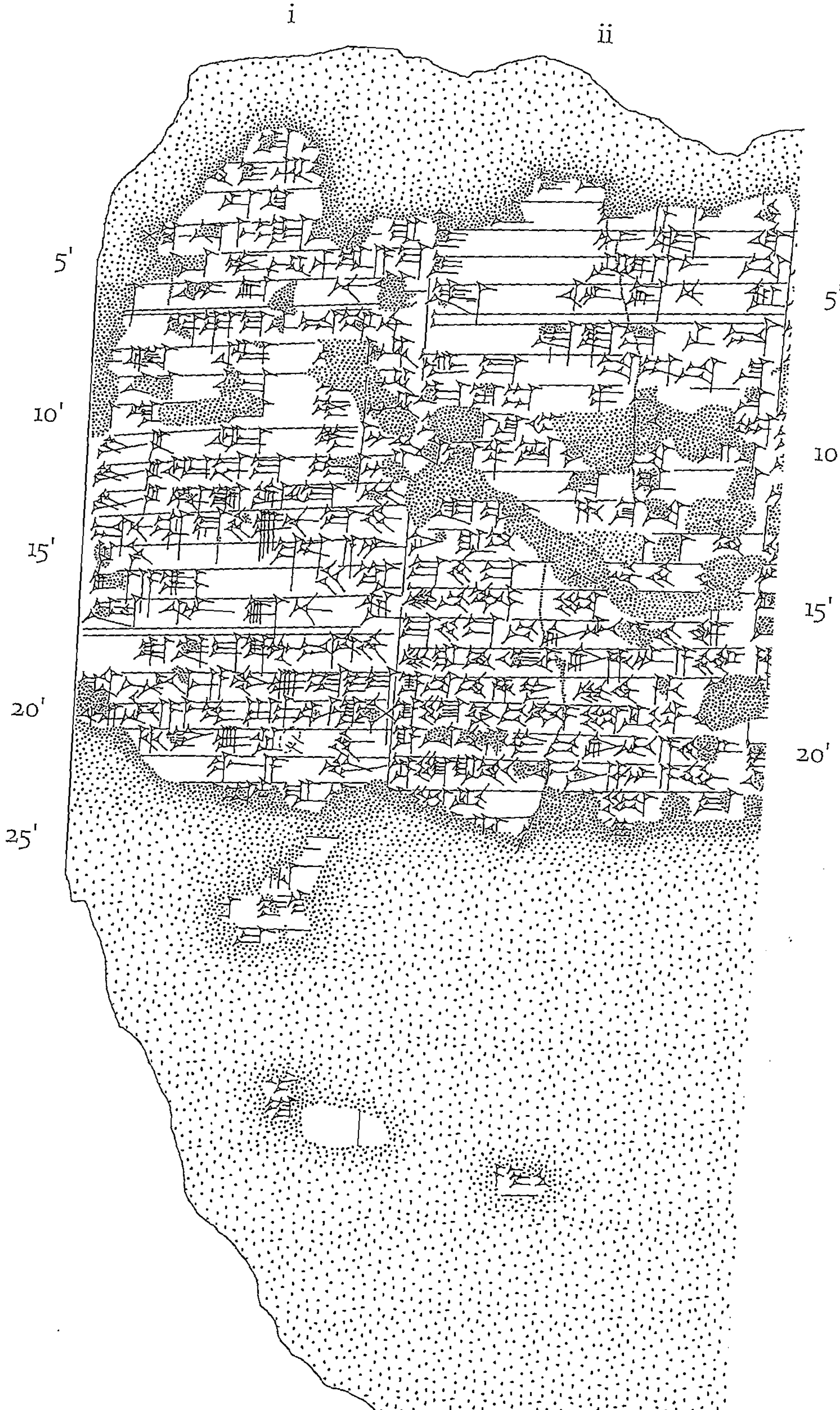
No. 6. MS 3098 rev.



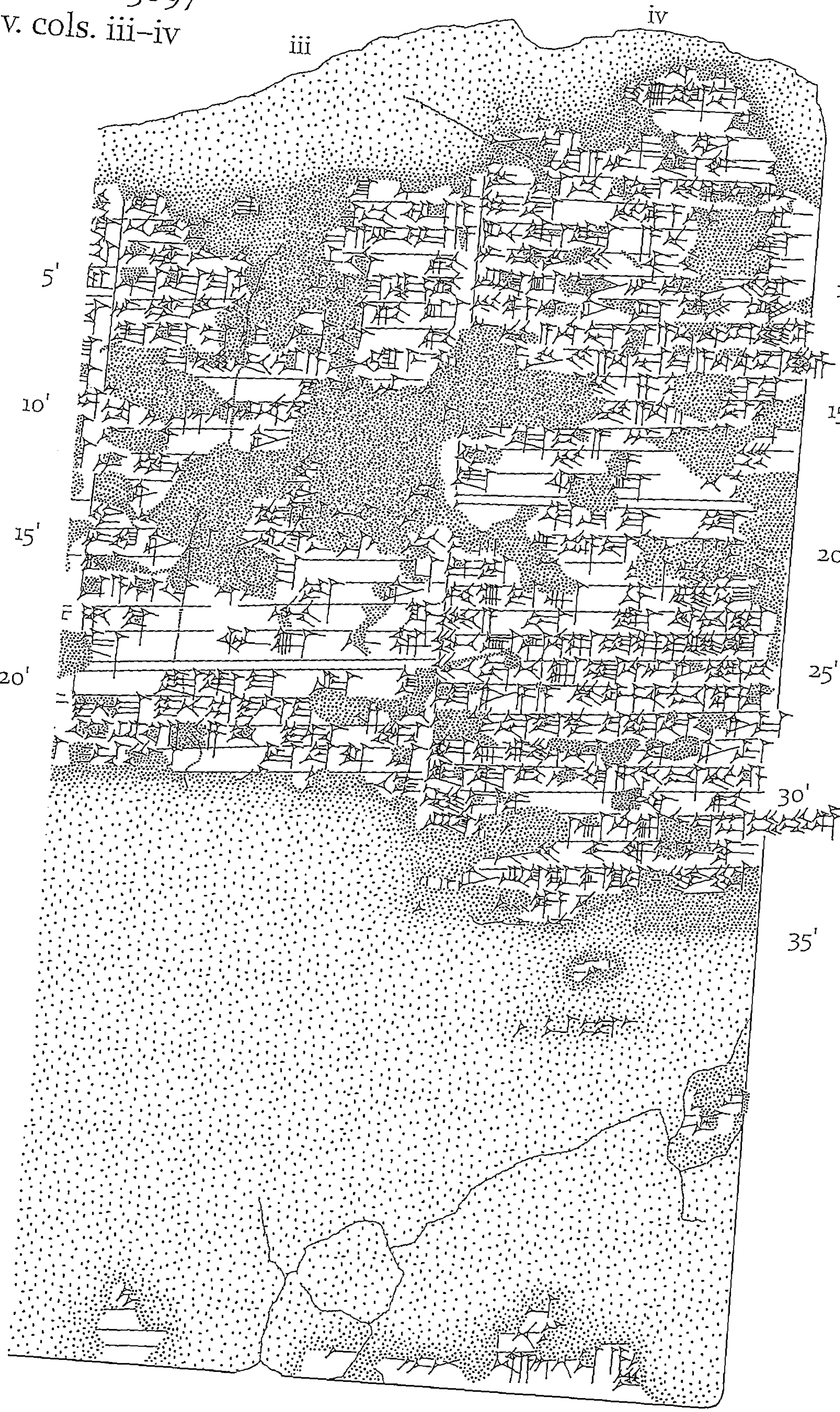
No. 7. MS 3097 obv.



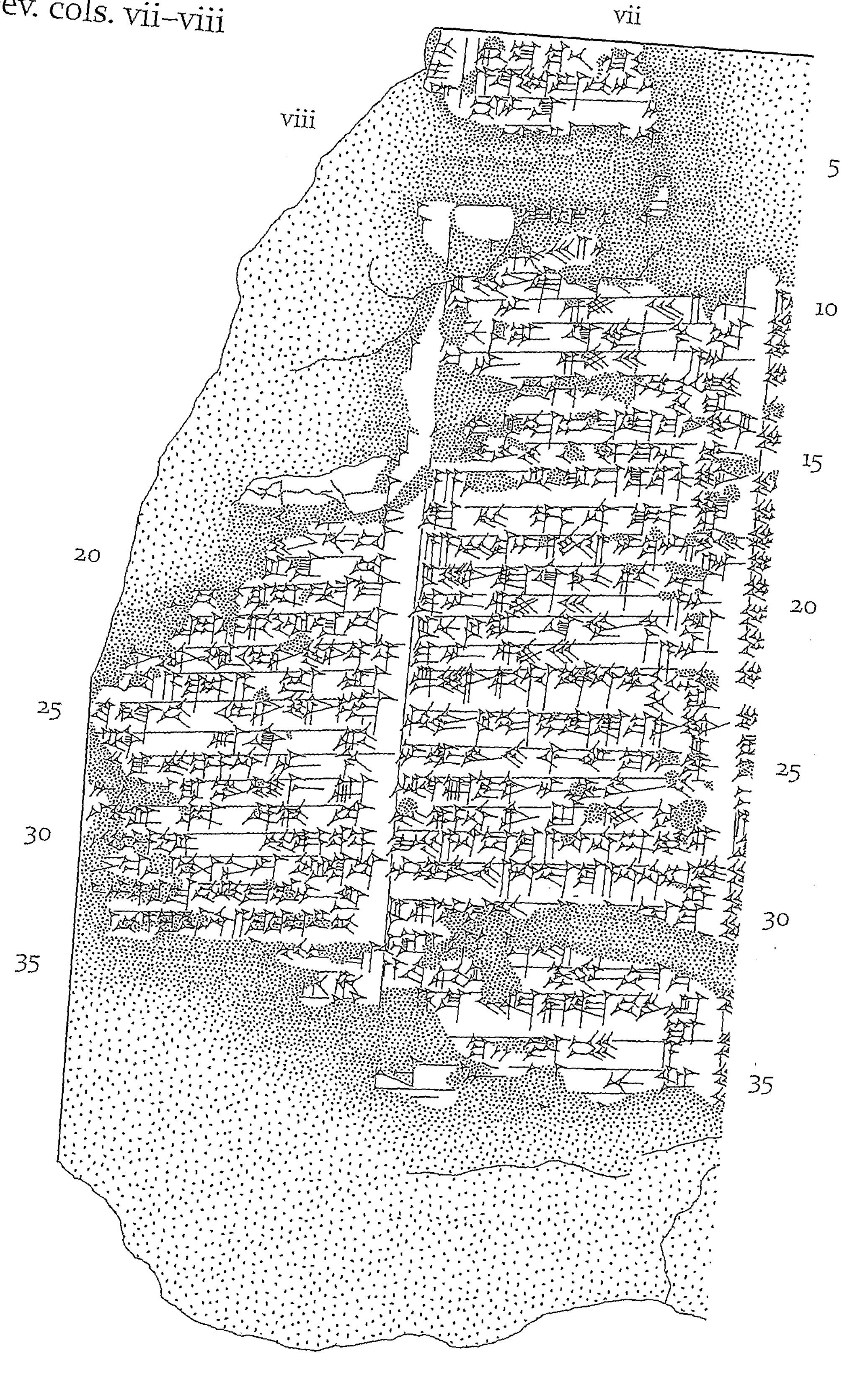
No. 7. MS 3097 obv. cols. i–ii

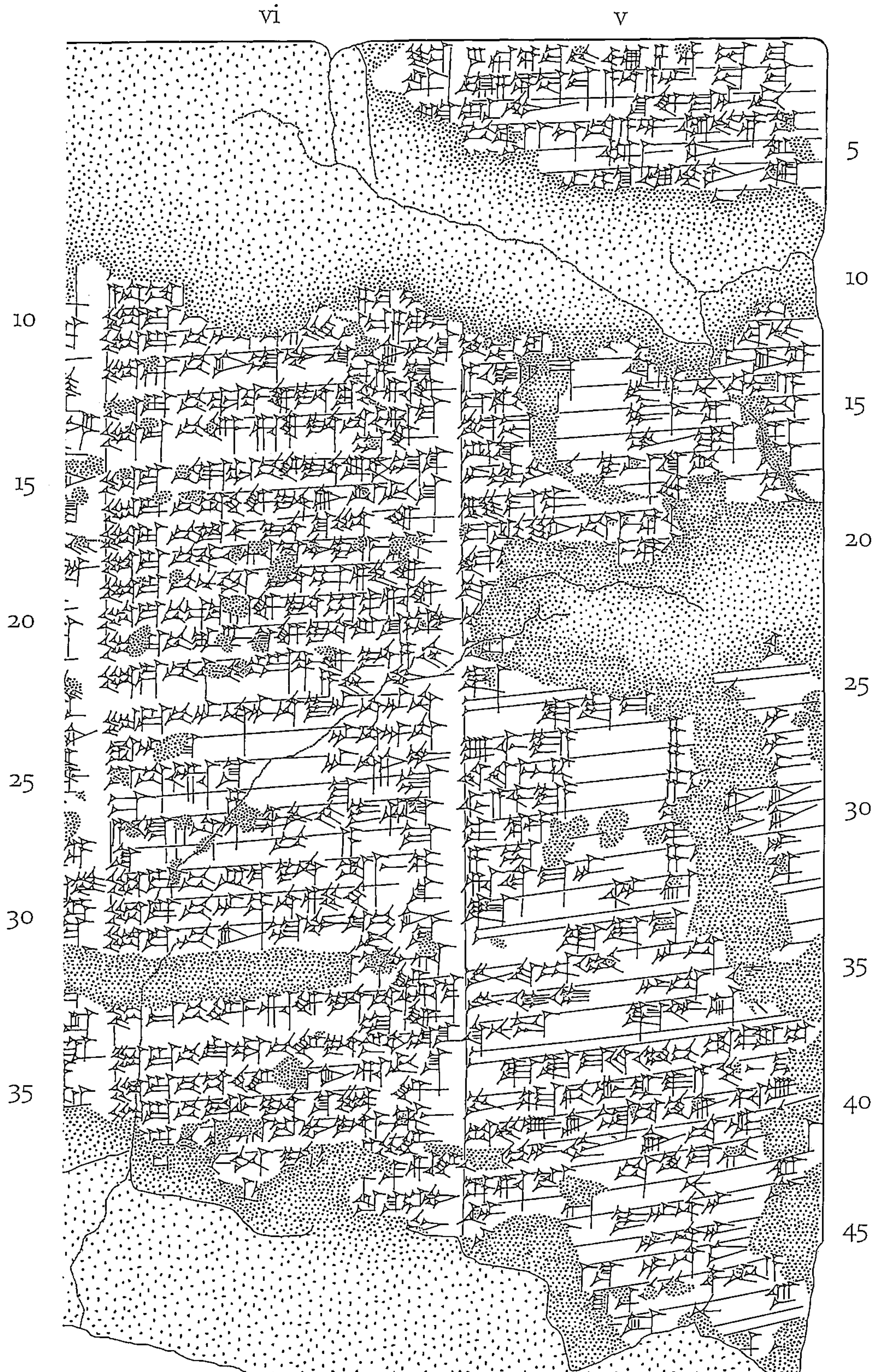


No. 7. MS 3097
obv. cols. iii–iv



No. 7. MS 3097
rev. cols. vii–viii

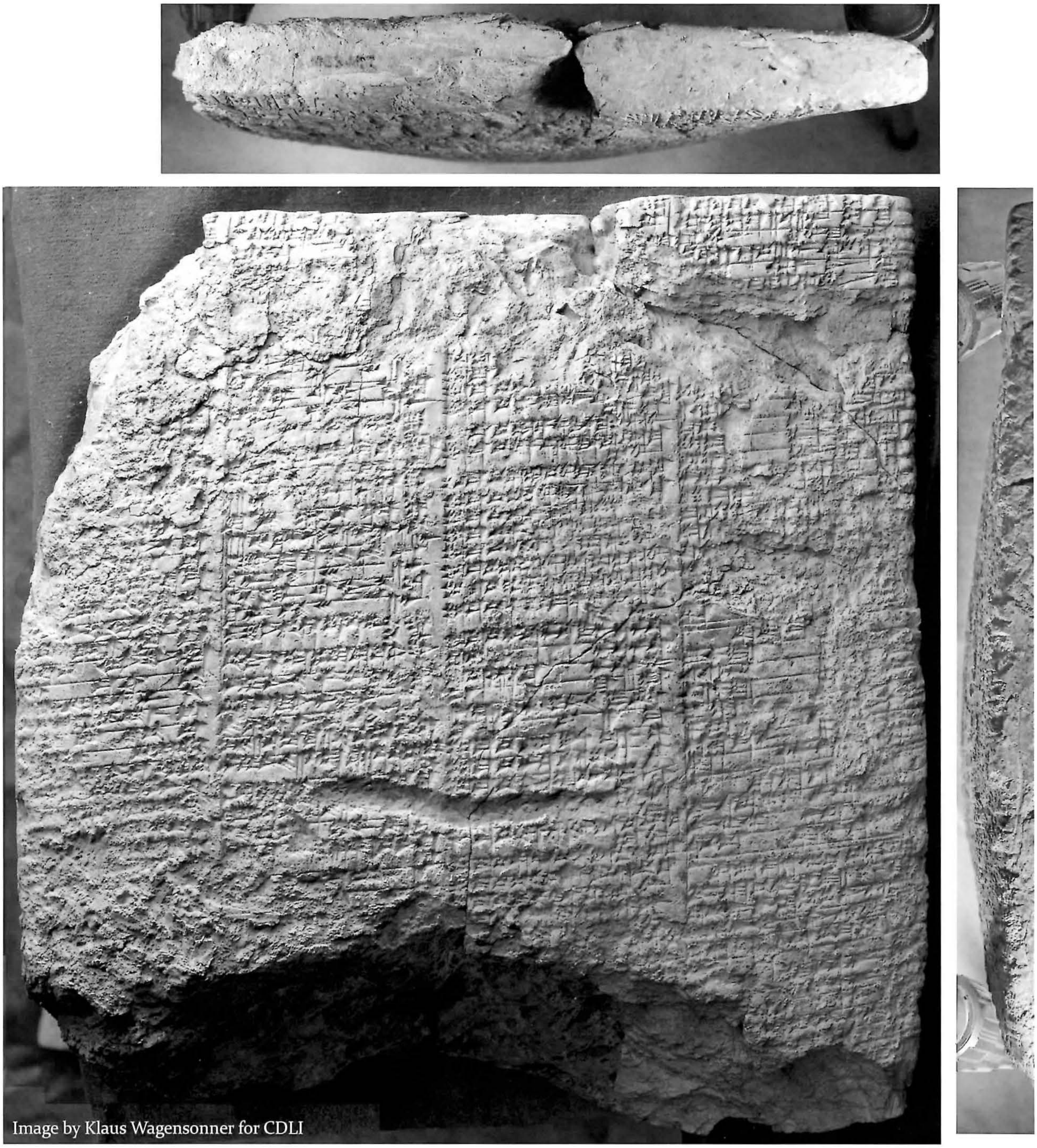




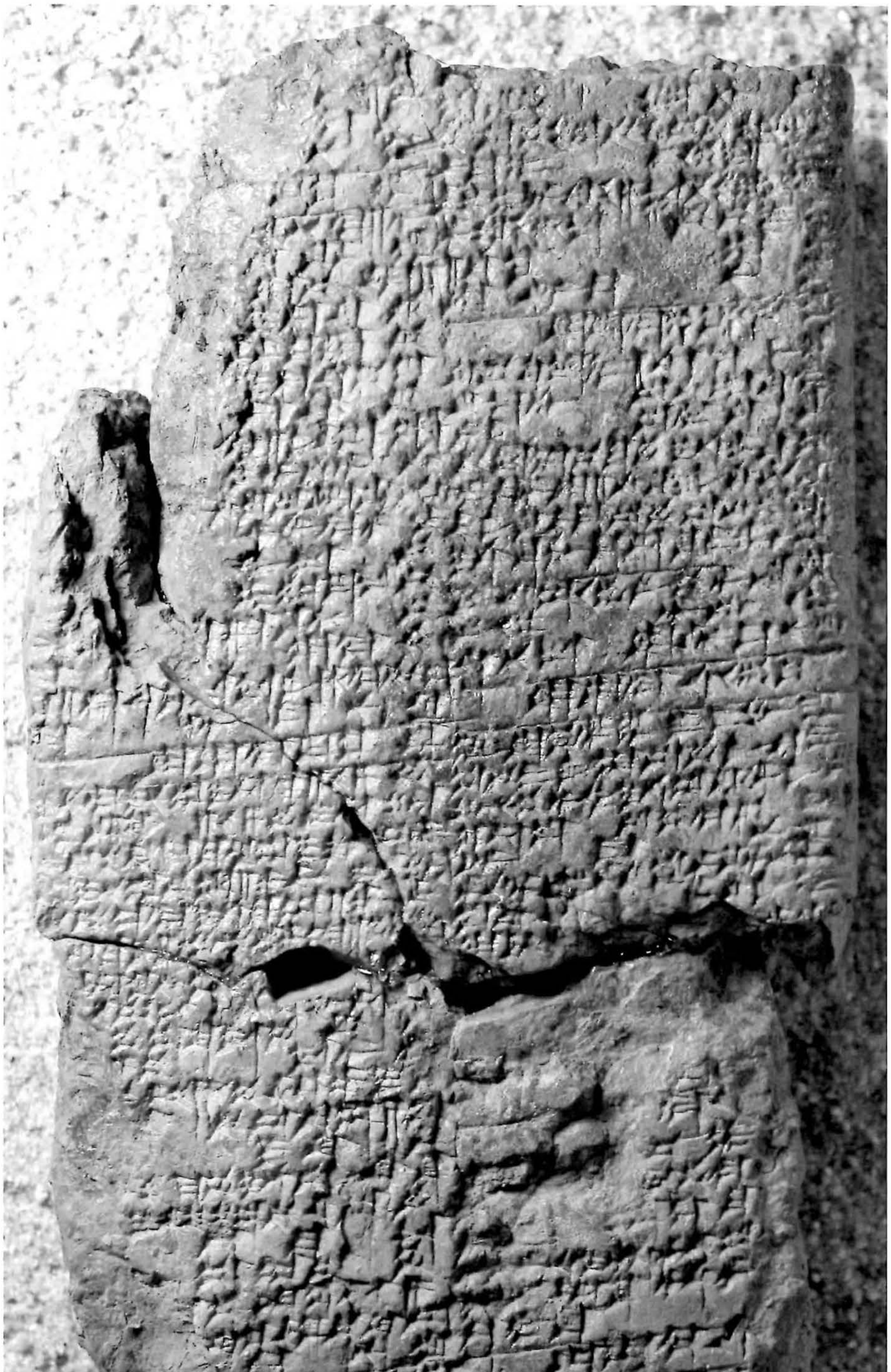
No. 7. MS 3097
rev. cols. v–vi

PLATE XXVI

No. 7. MS 3097 rev.

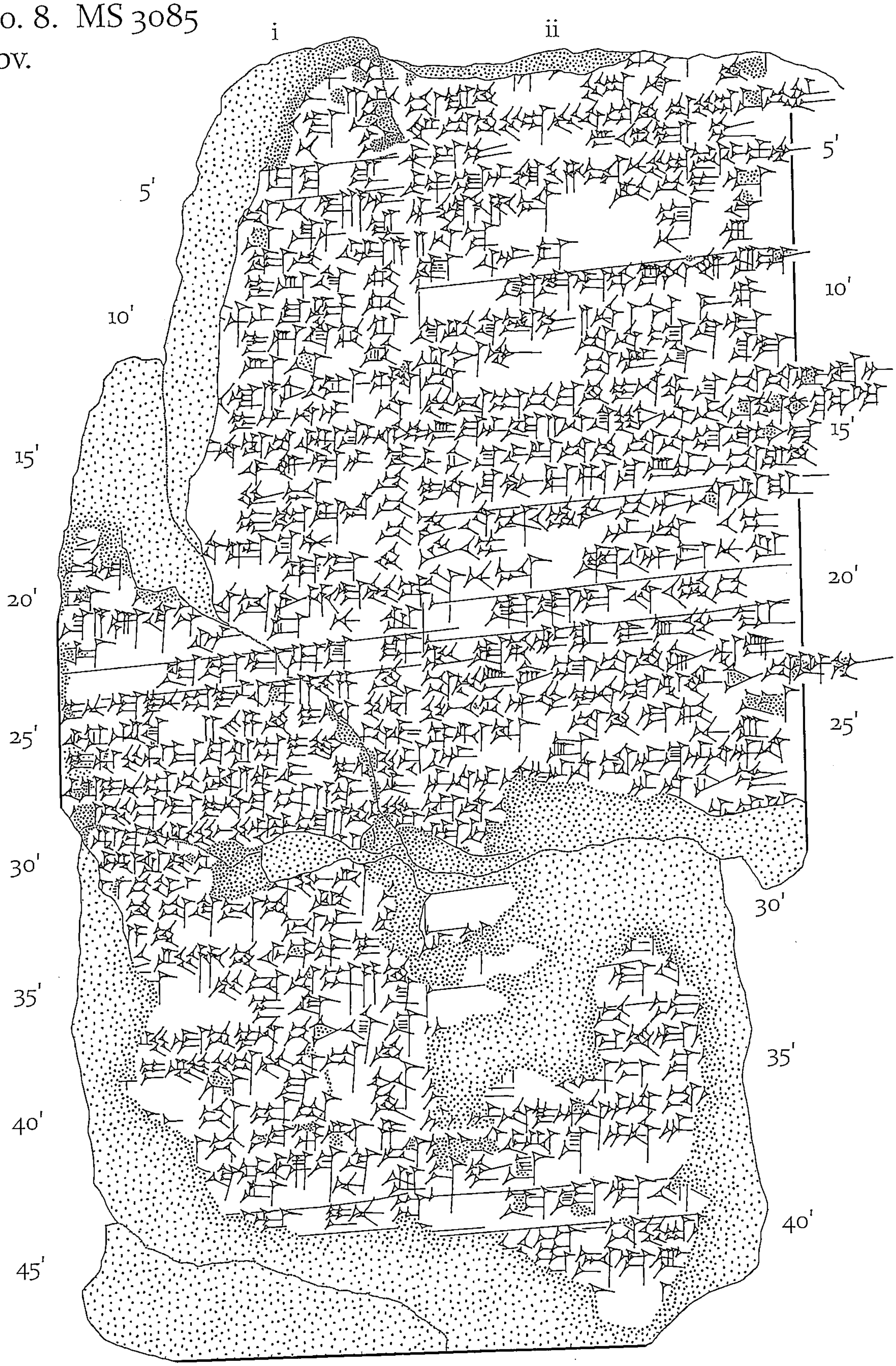


No. 8. MS 3085 obv.

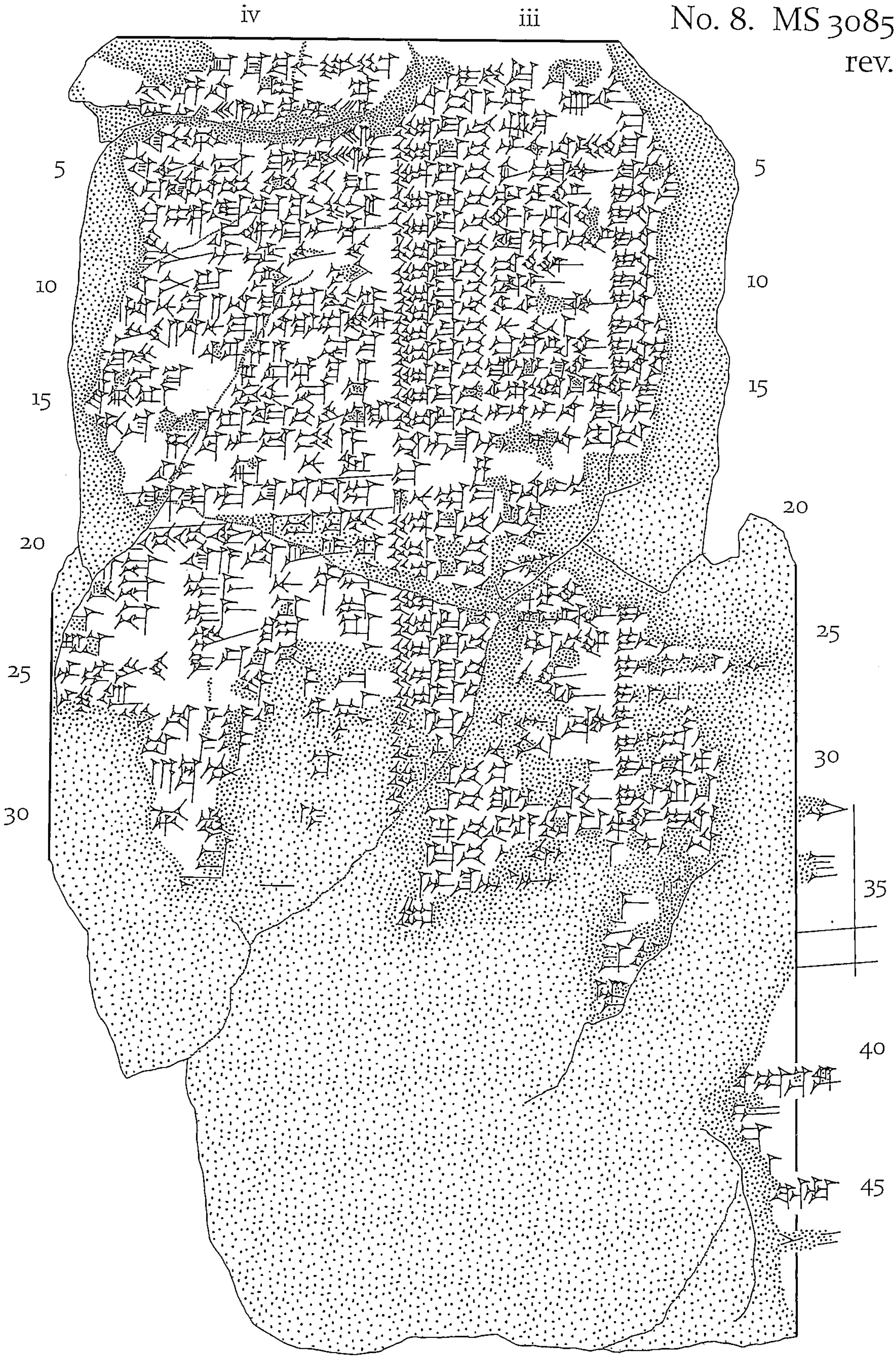




No. 8. MS 3085
obv.



No. 8. MS 3085
rev.



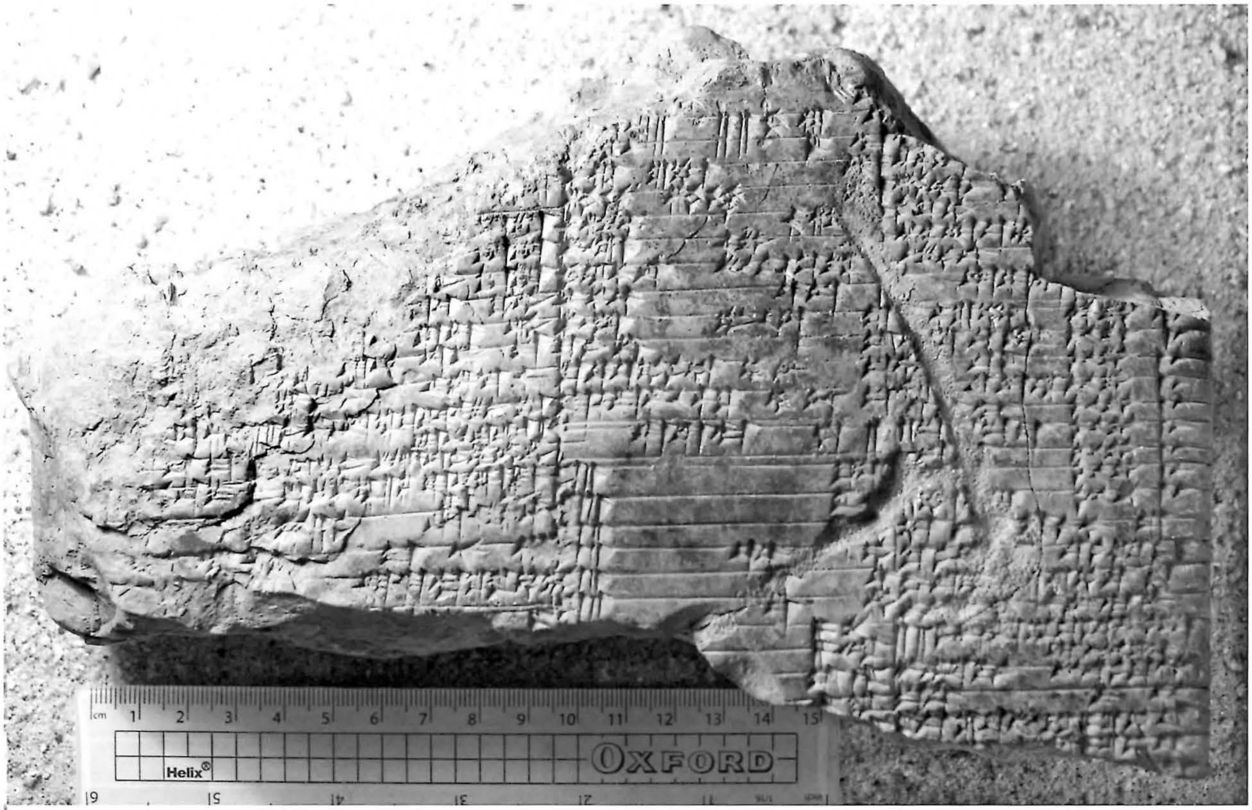
No. 8
MS 3085
rev.





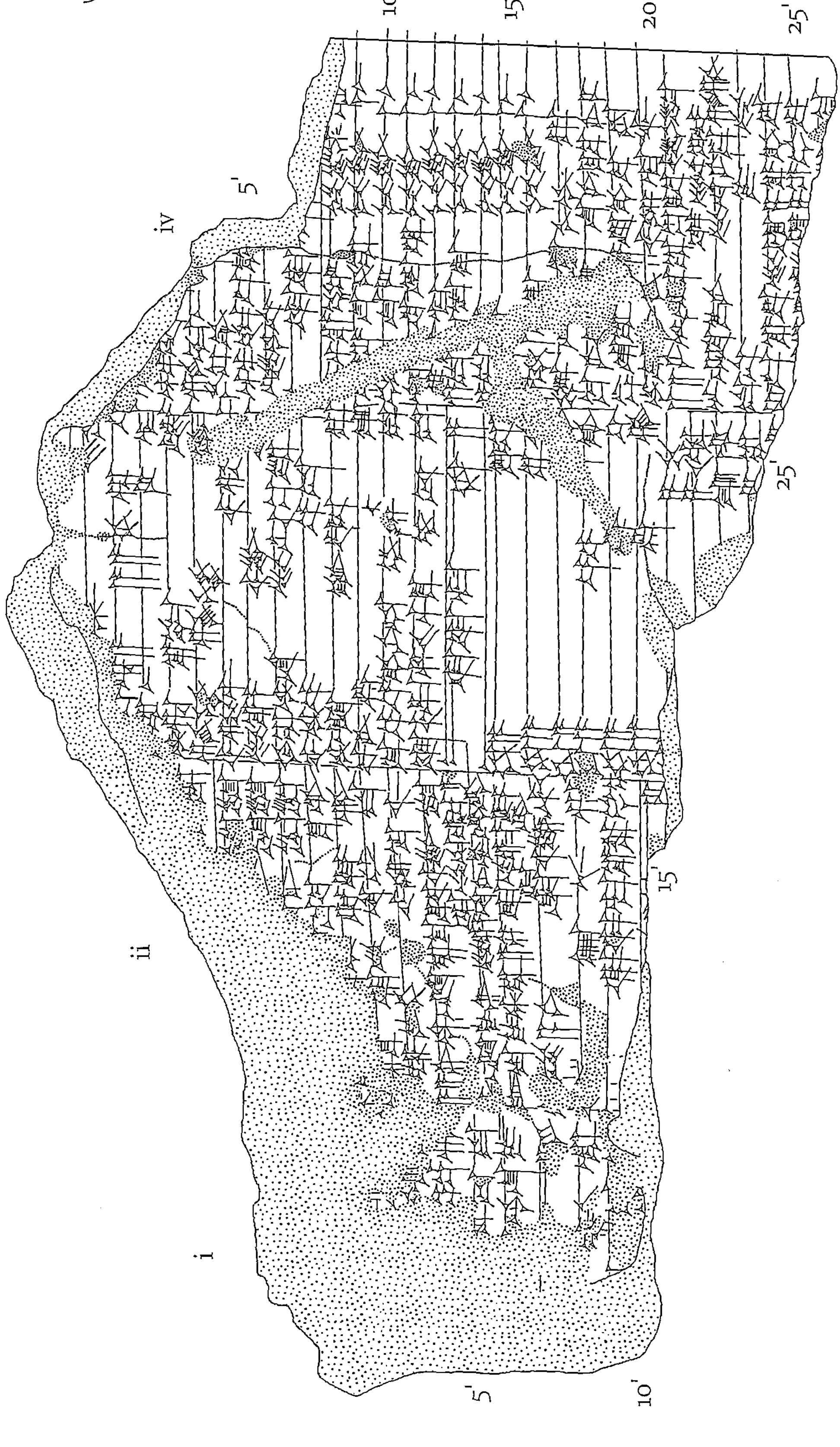


No. 9. MS 3088

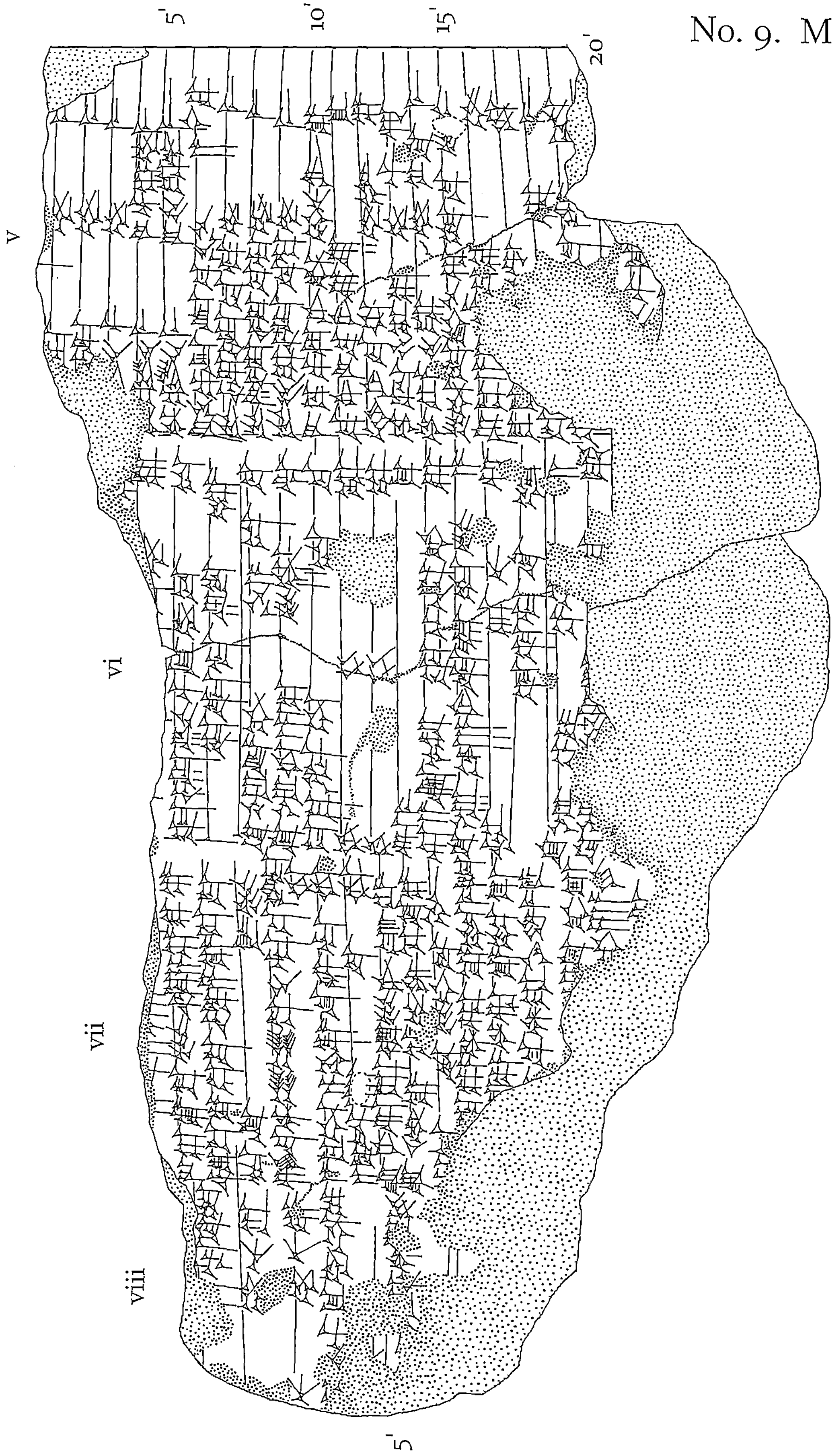




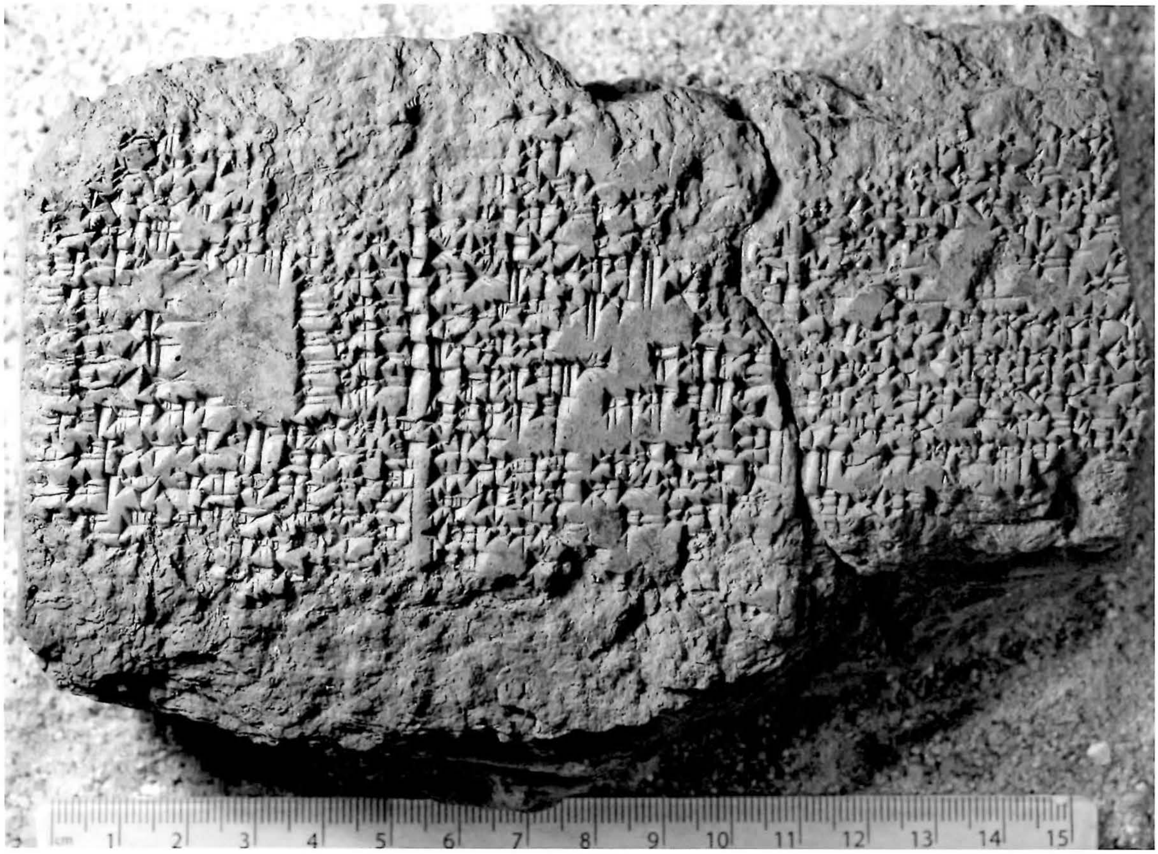
No. 9. MS 3088 obv.



No. 9. MS 3088
rev.

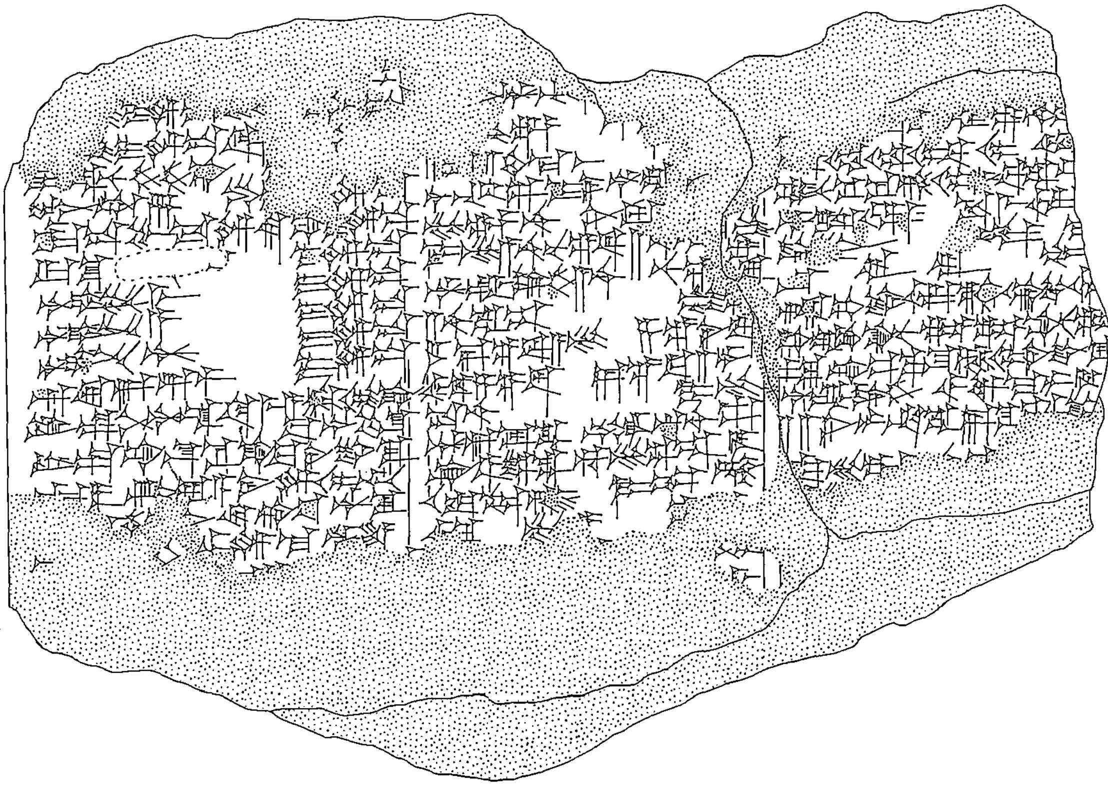


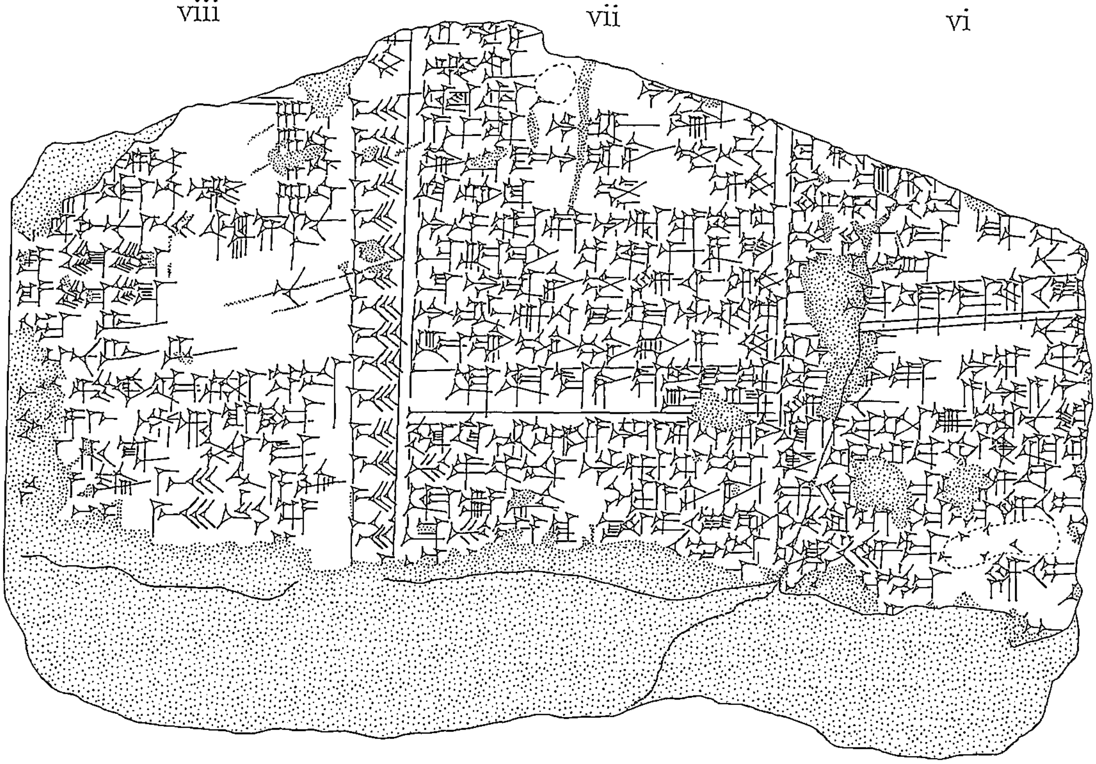
No. 10. MS 3089+3102





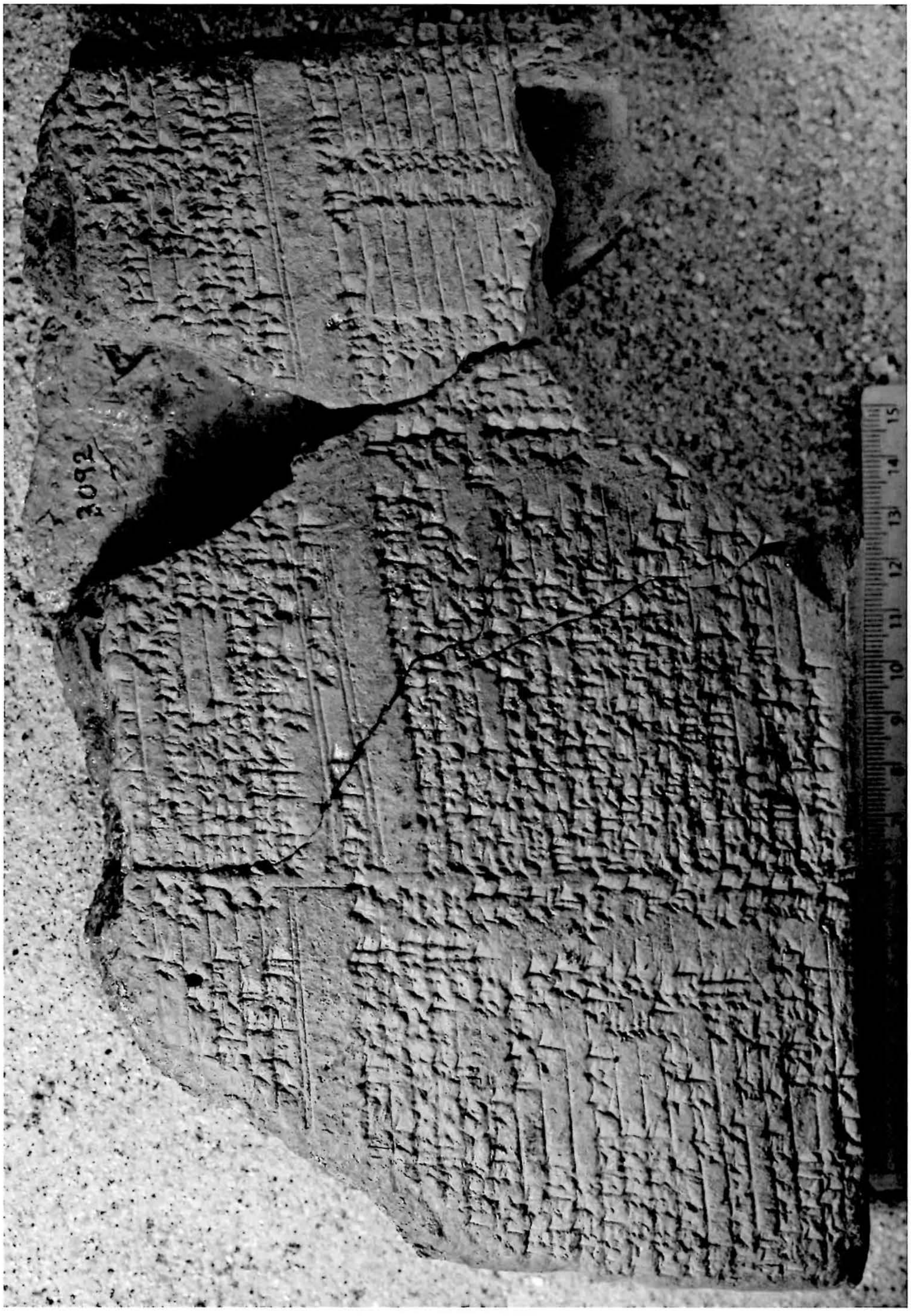
No. 10. MS 3089+3102



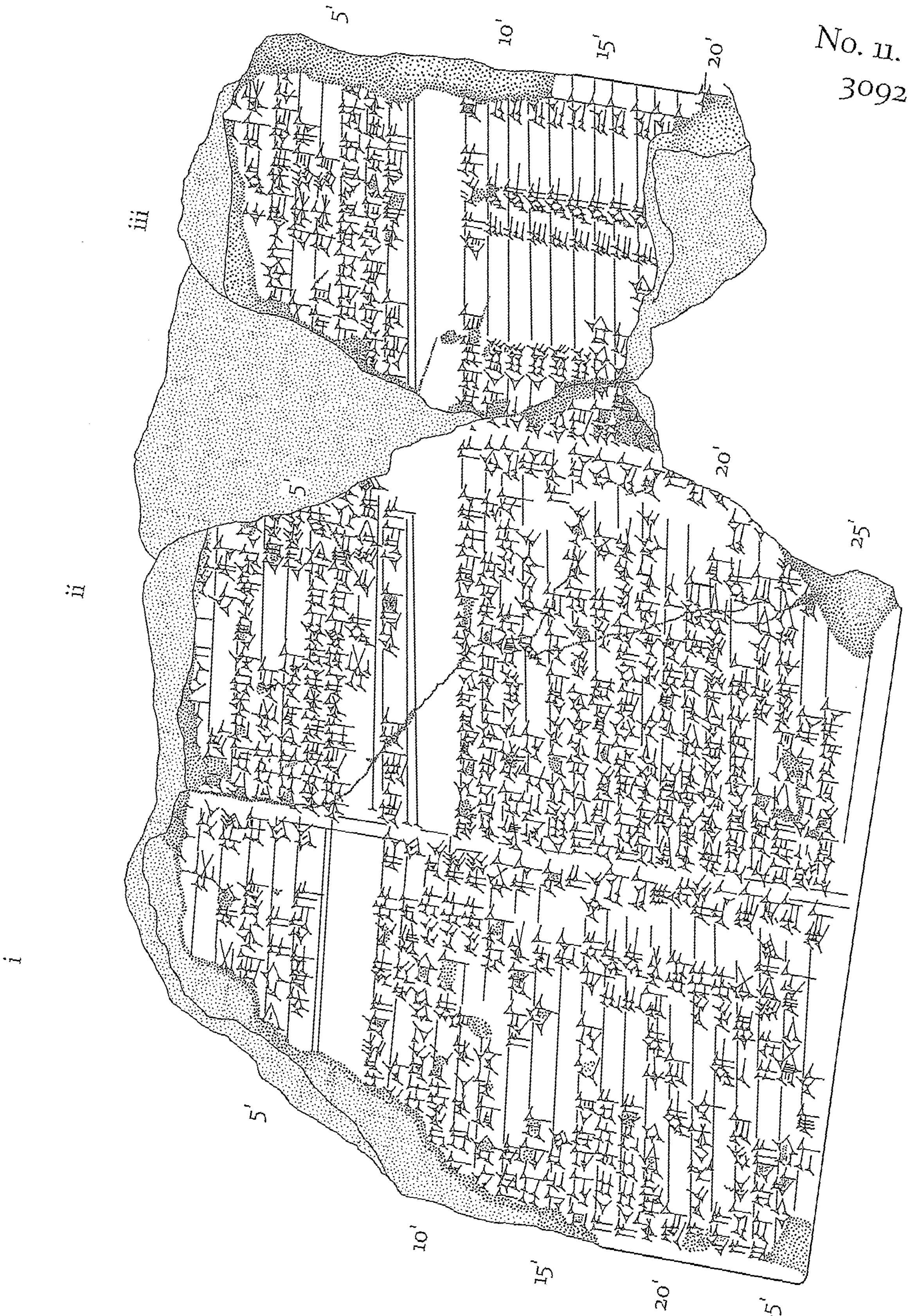


No. 11. MS 3091+3092+3101 obv.

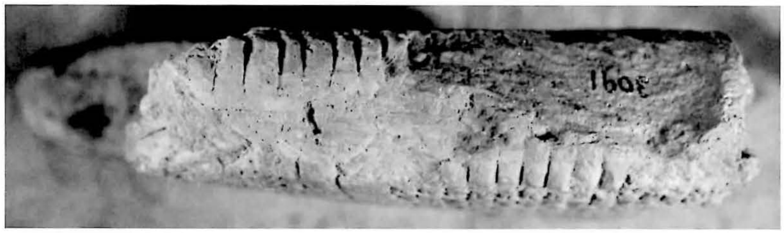




No. 11. MS 3091+
3092+3101 obv.



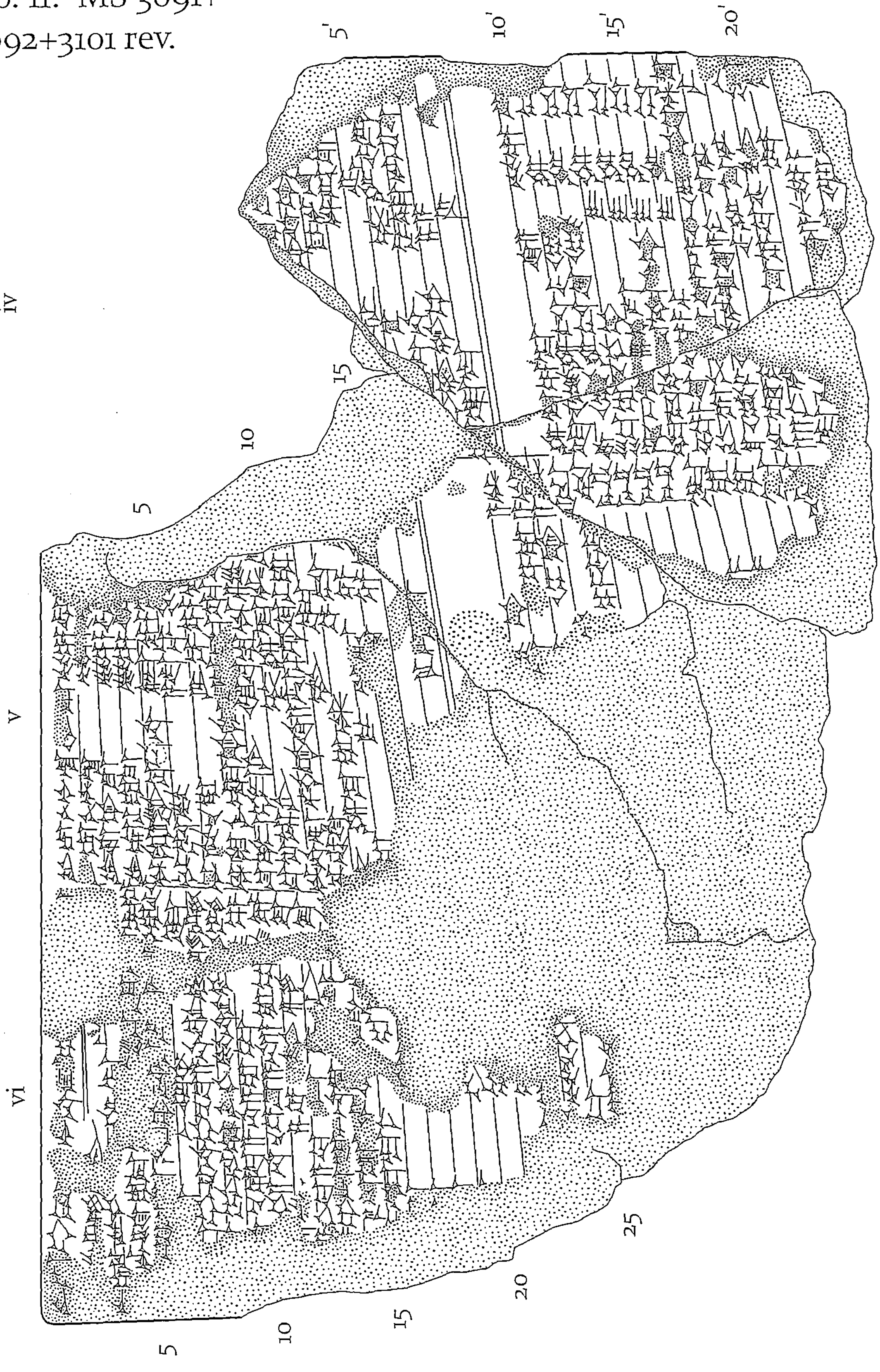
No. 11. MS 3091+3092+3101 rev.





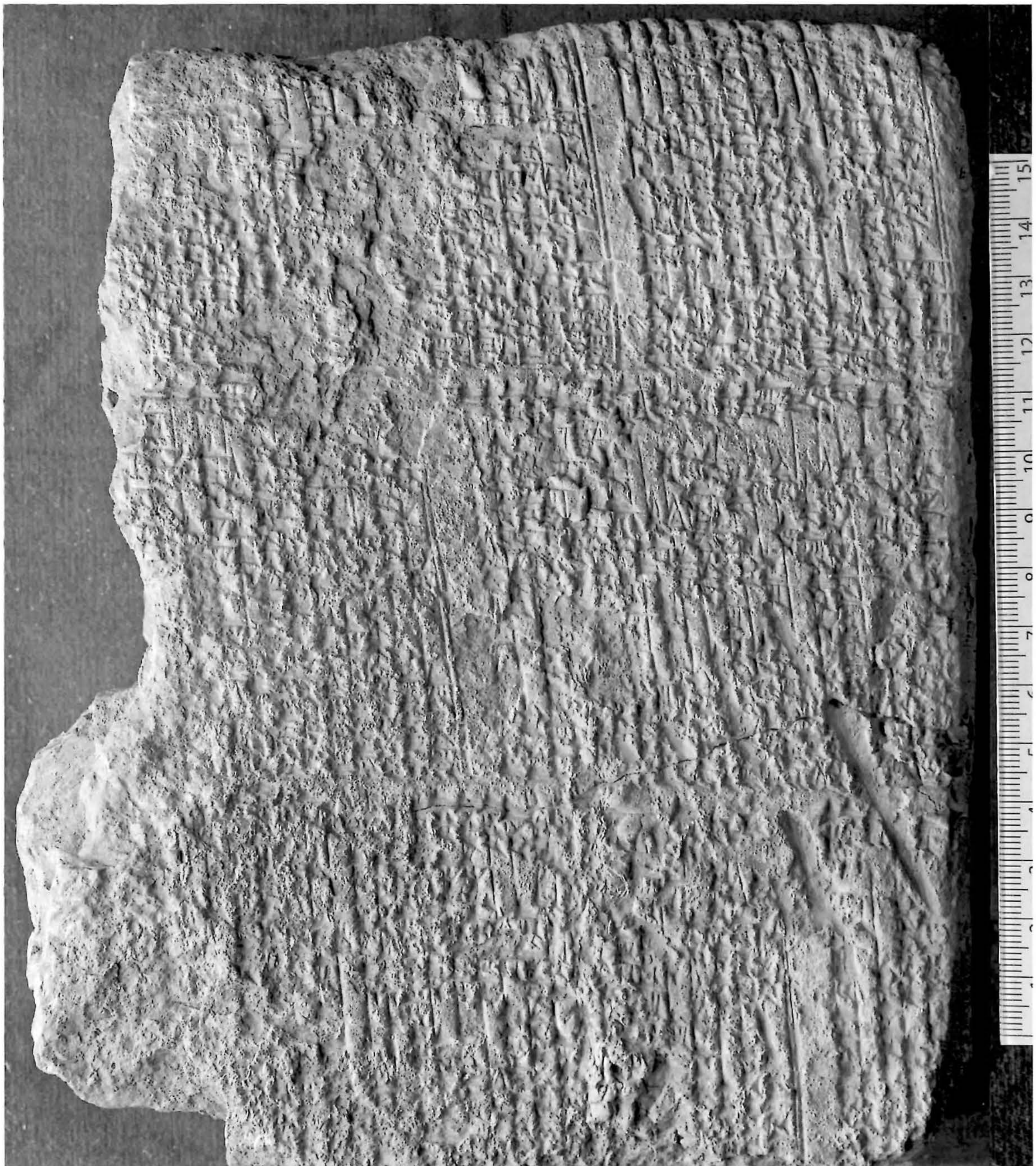


No. 11. MS 3091+
3092+3101 rev.

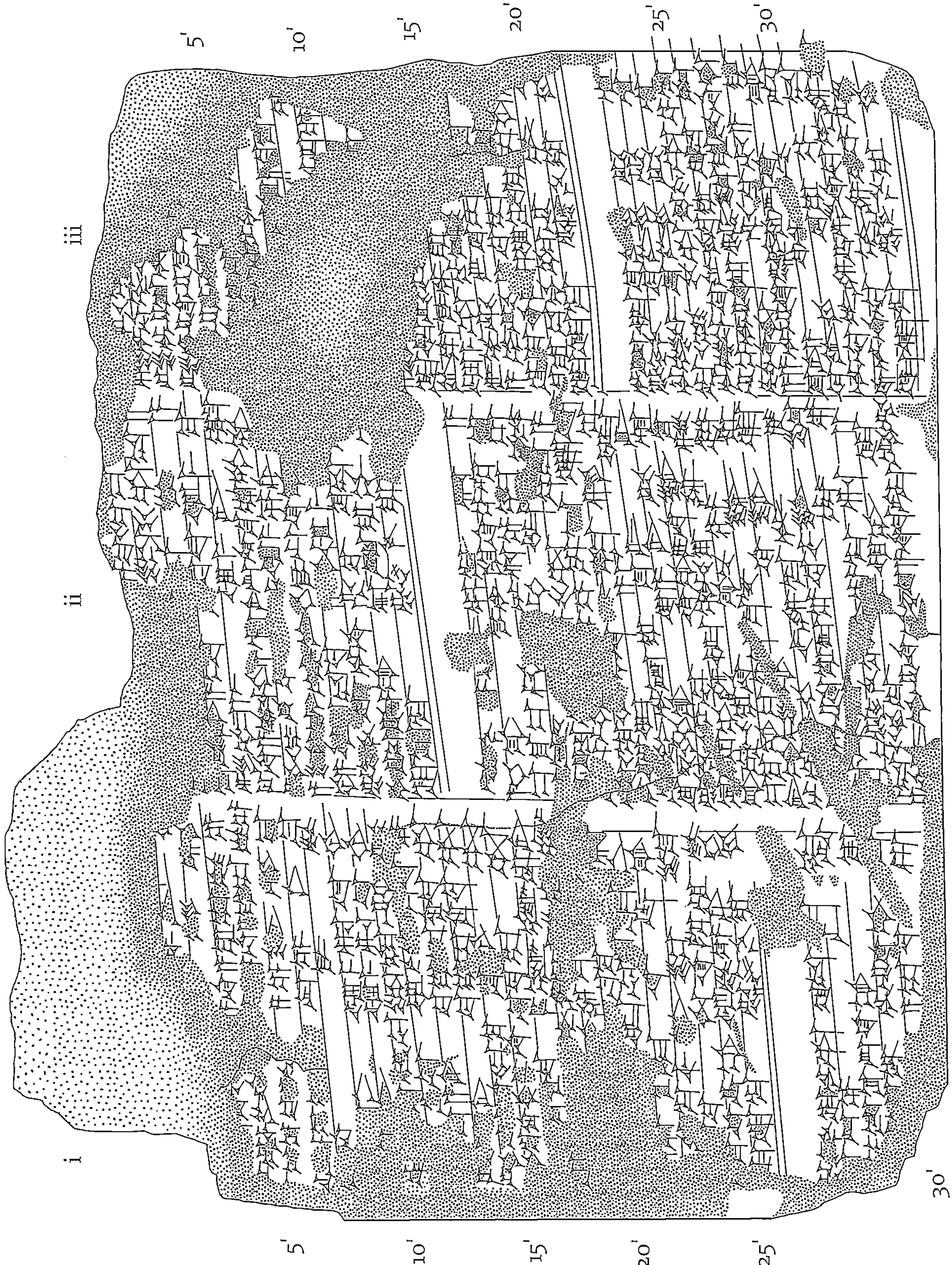


No. 12. MS 3096 obv.





No. 12. MS 3096 obv.



No. 12. MS 3096 rev.

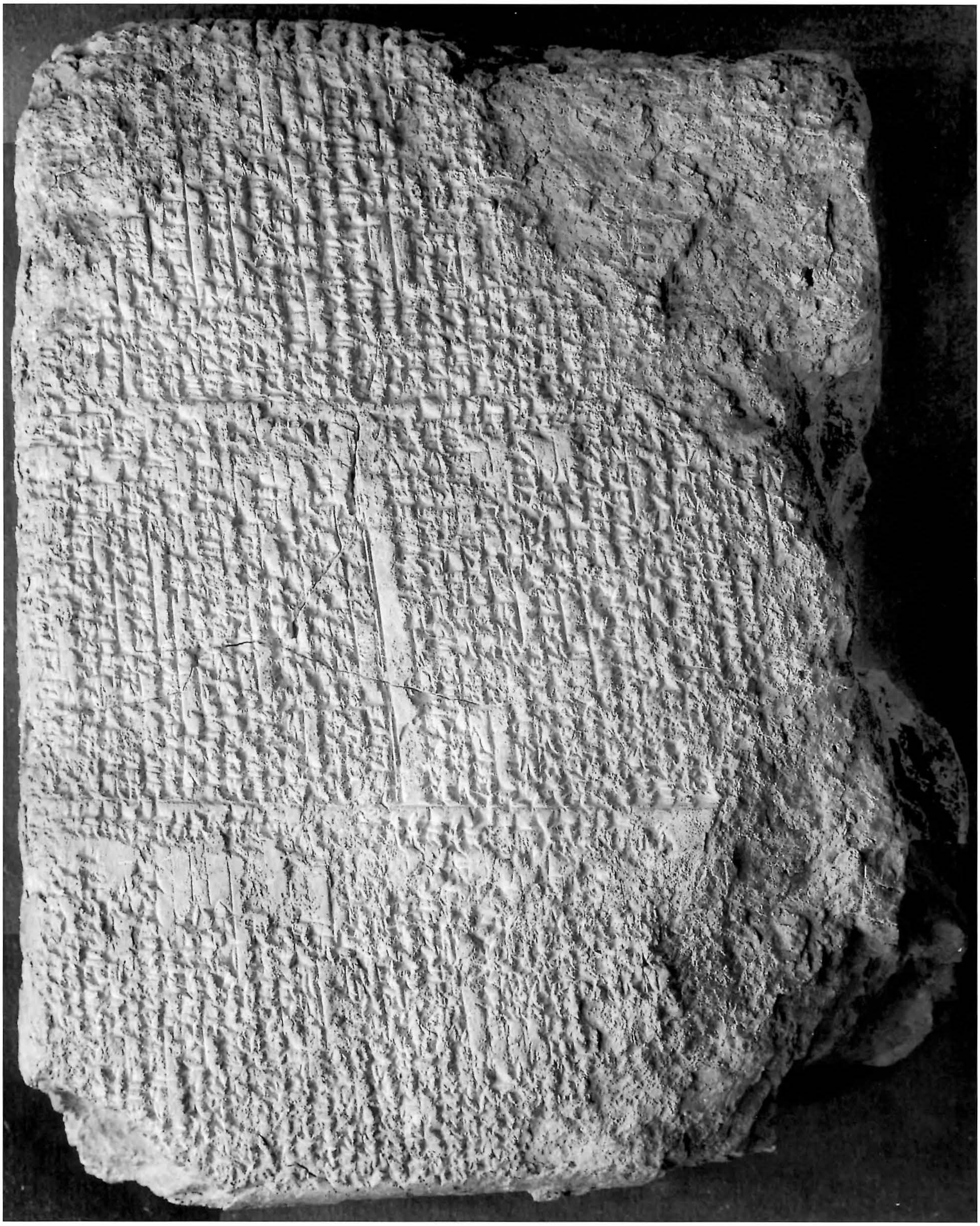
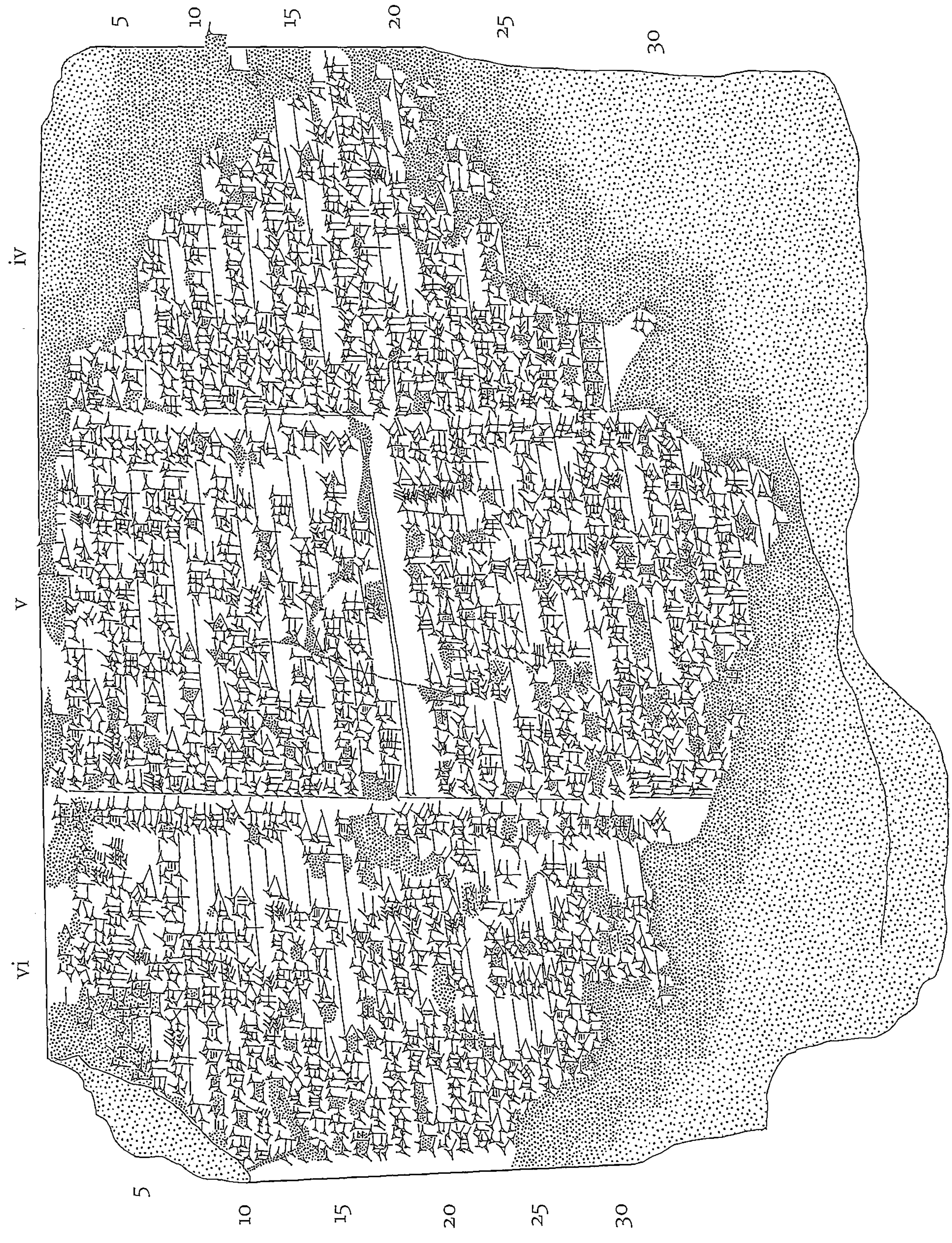
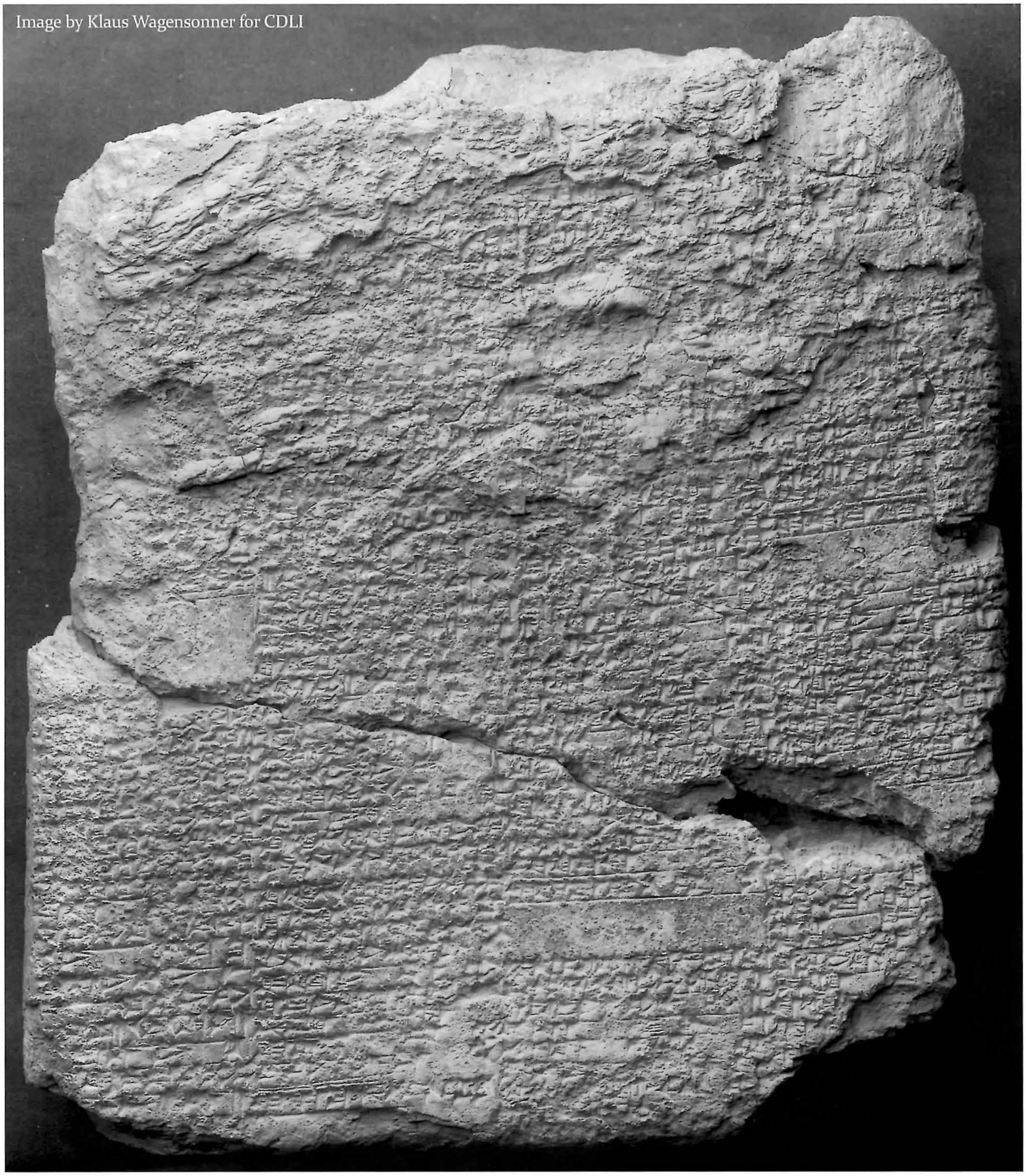


Image by Klaus Wagensonner for CDLI

No. 12. MS 3096 rev.

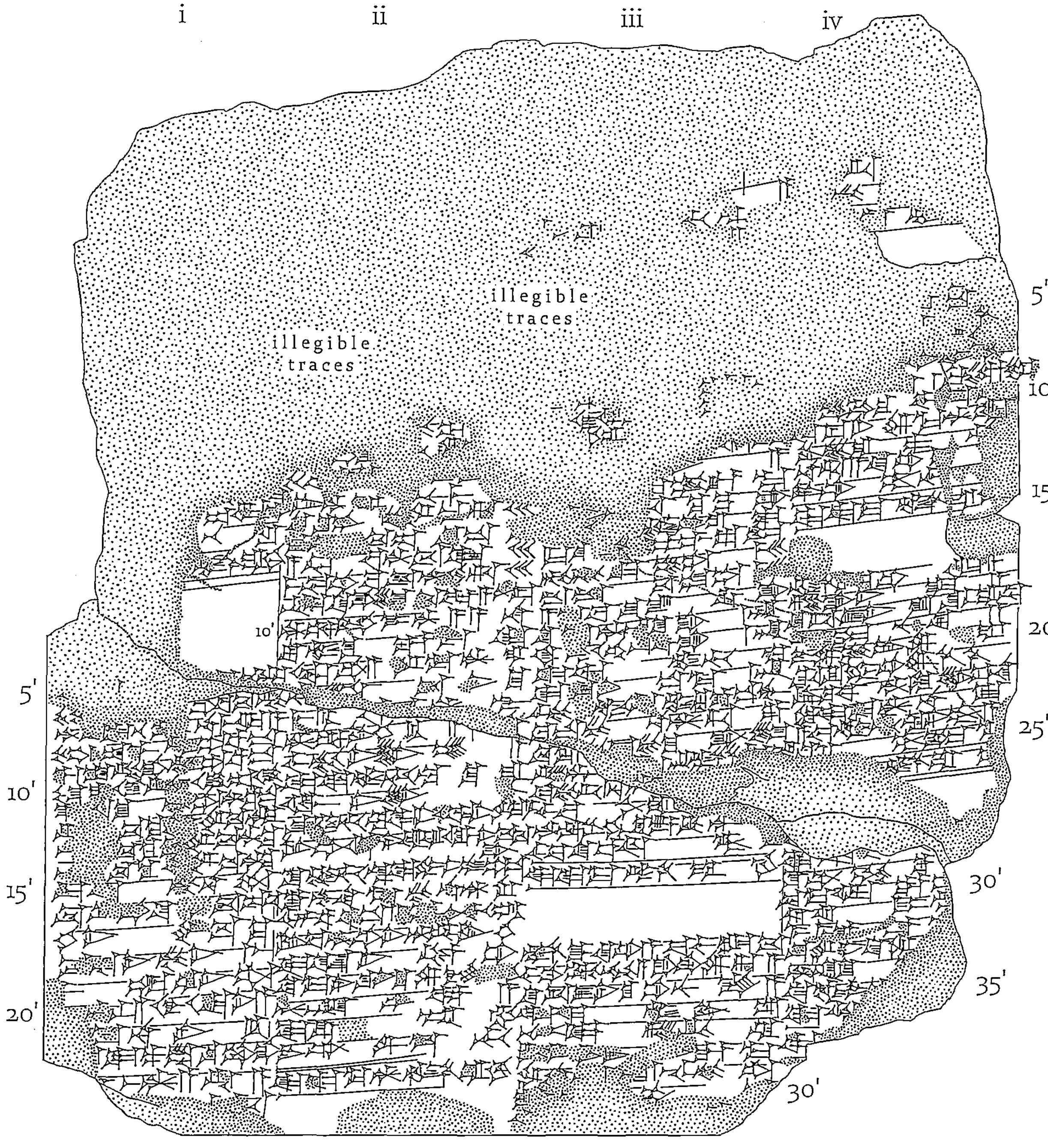


No. 13. MS 3100 obv.

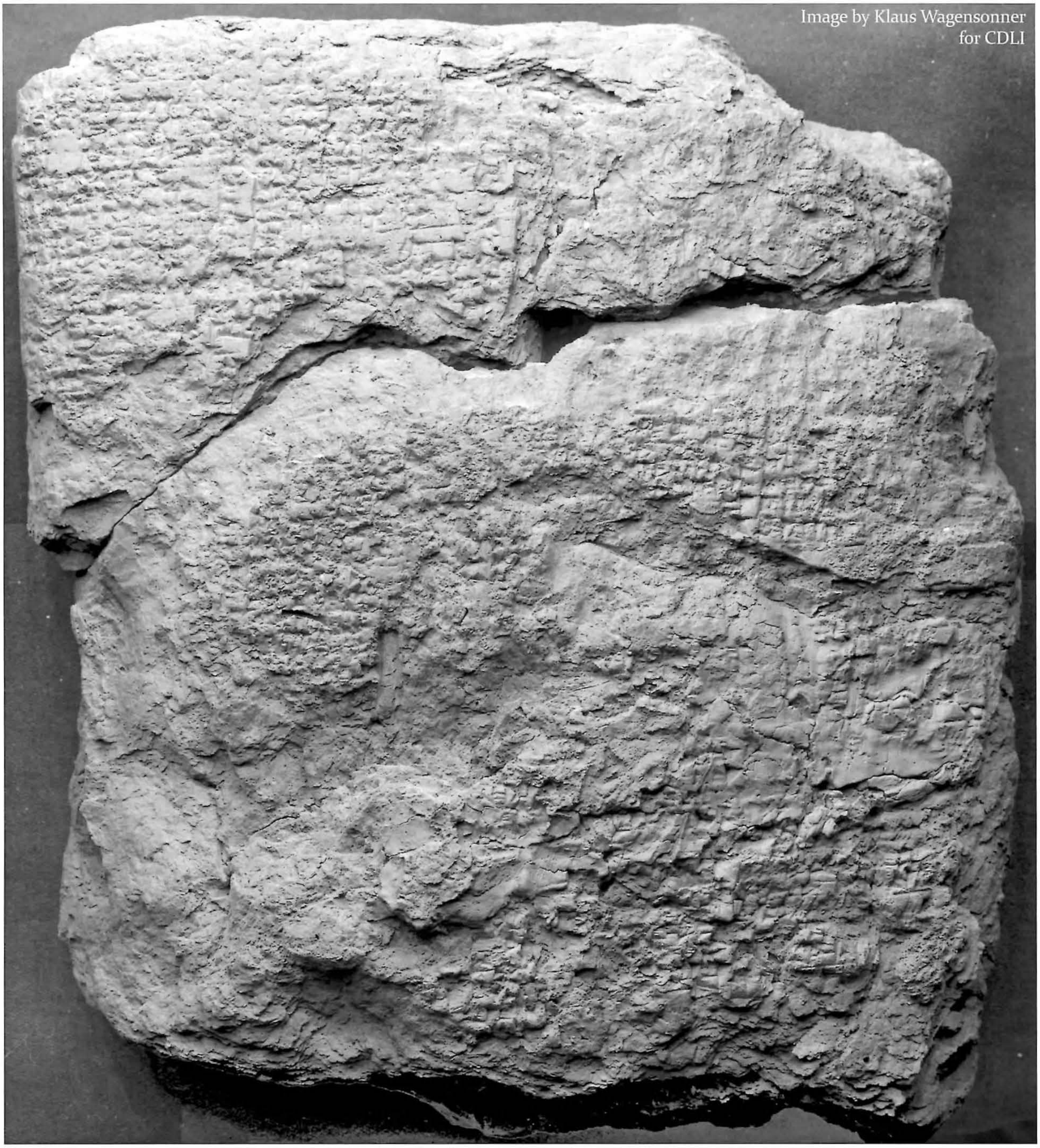




No. 13. MS 3100 obv.



No. 13. MS 3100 rev.



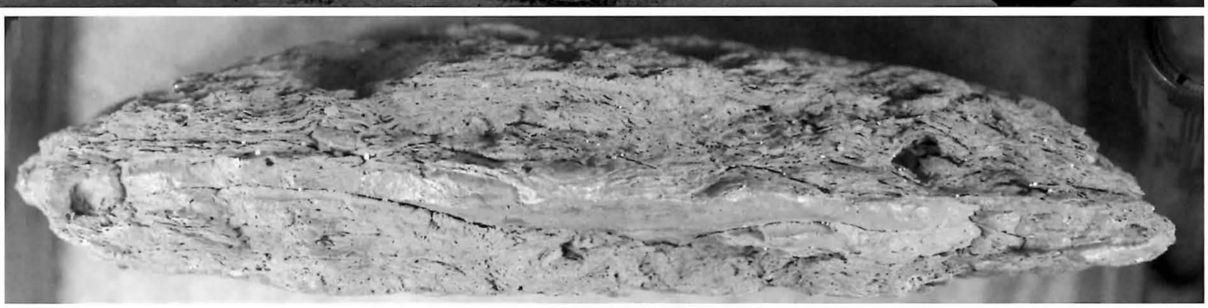
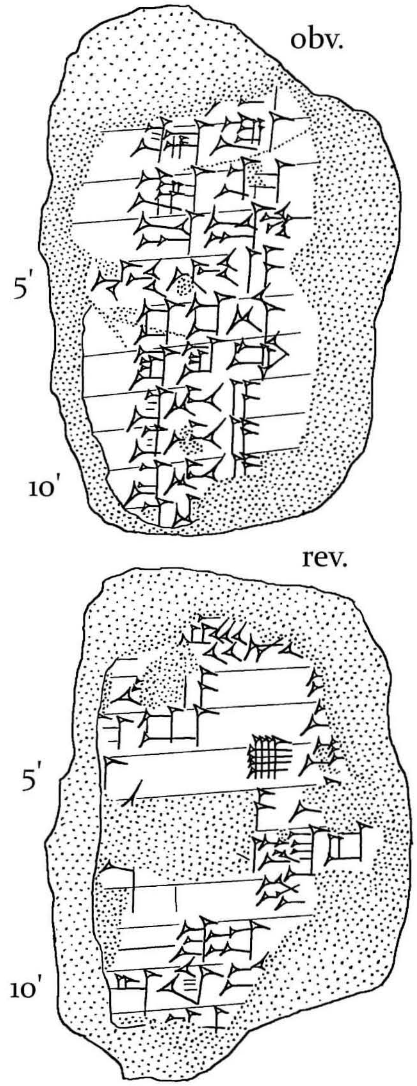


PLATE XLVII

No. 14. MS 3105/2





No. 15. MS 3095 obv.

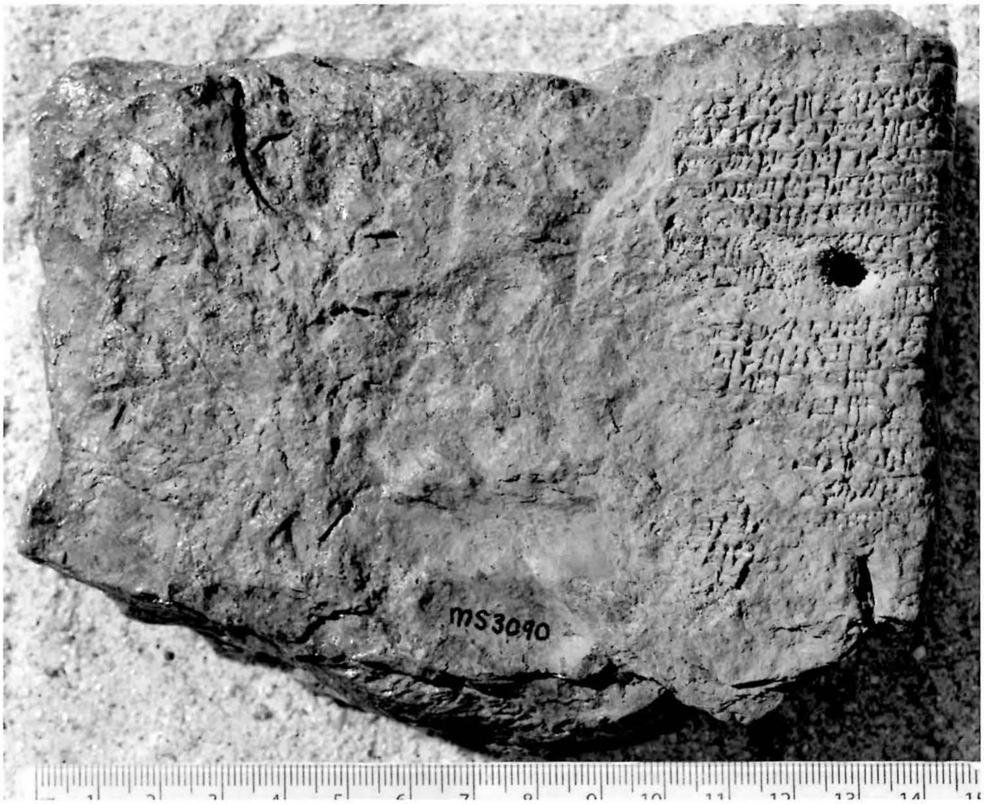


No. 15. MS 3095 rev.



PLATE L

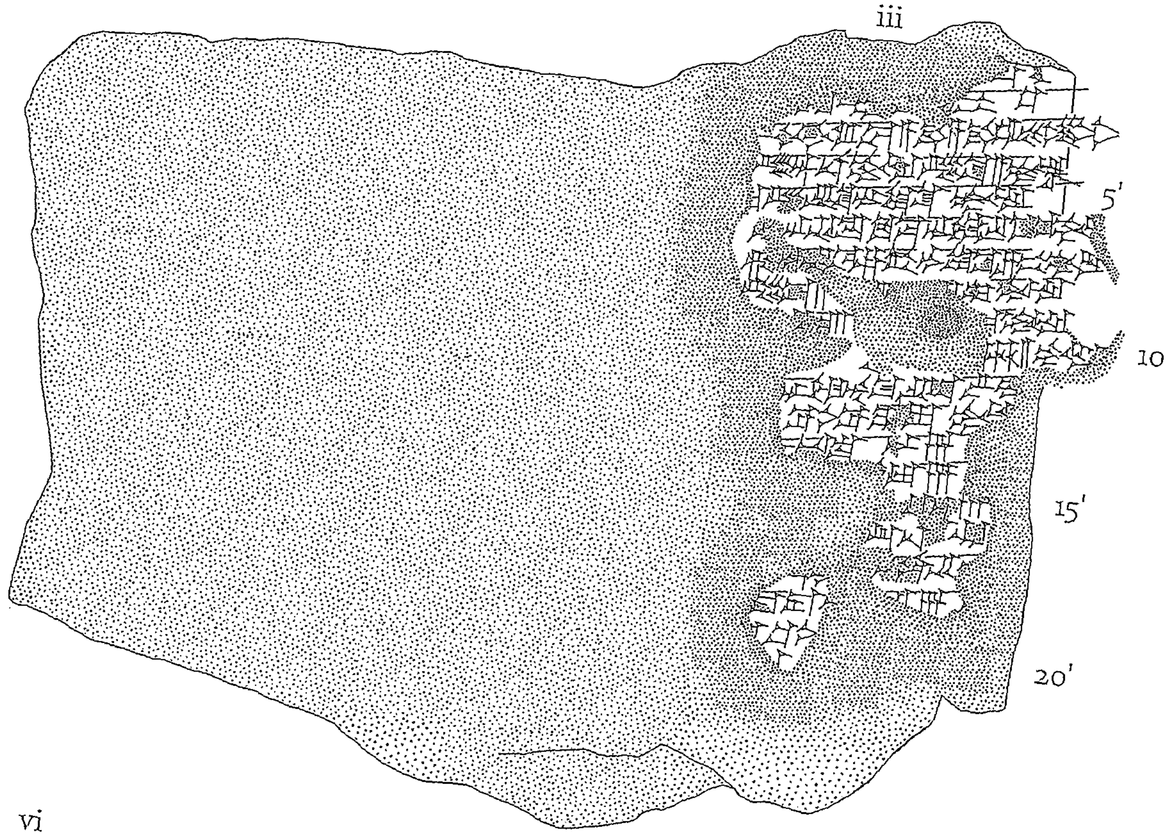
No. 16. MS 3090

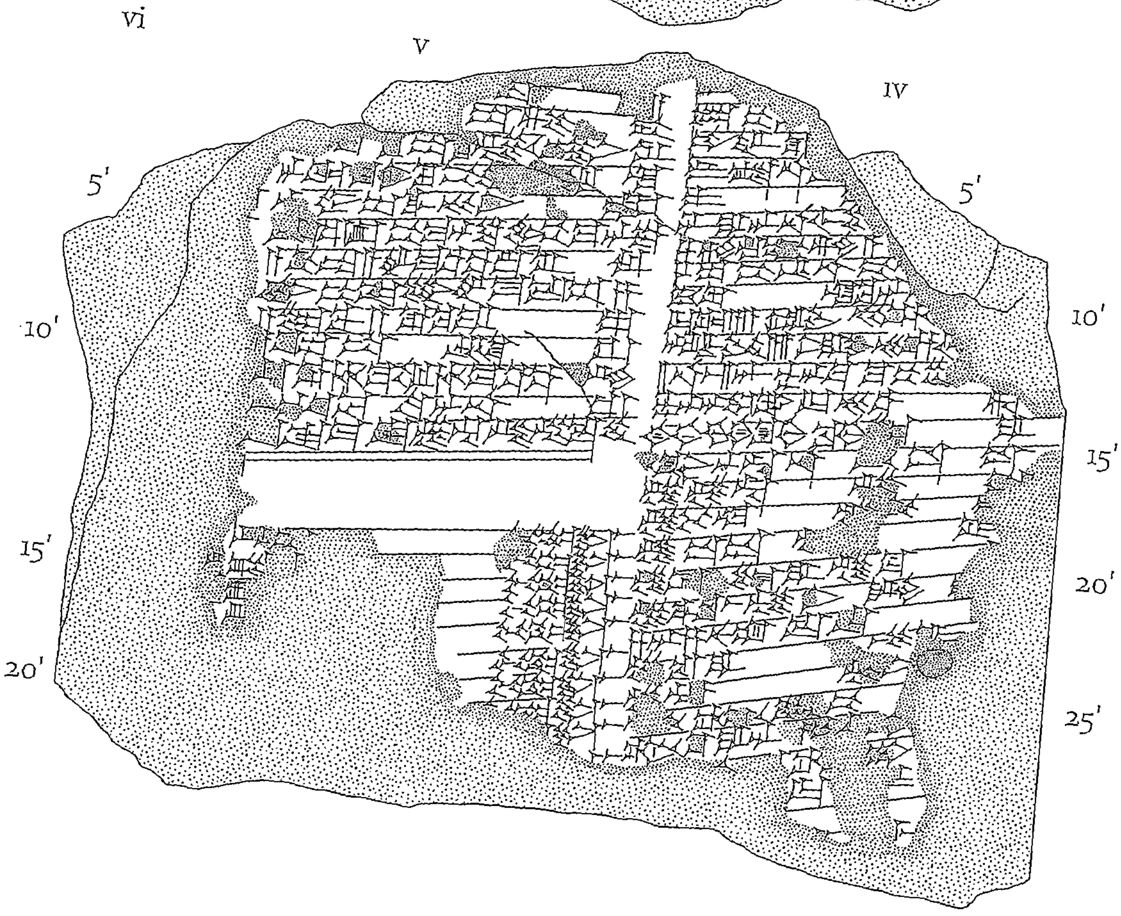






No. 16. MS 3090





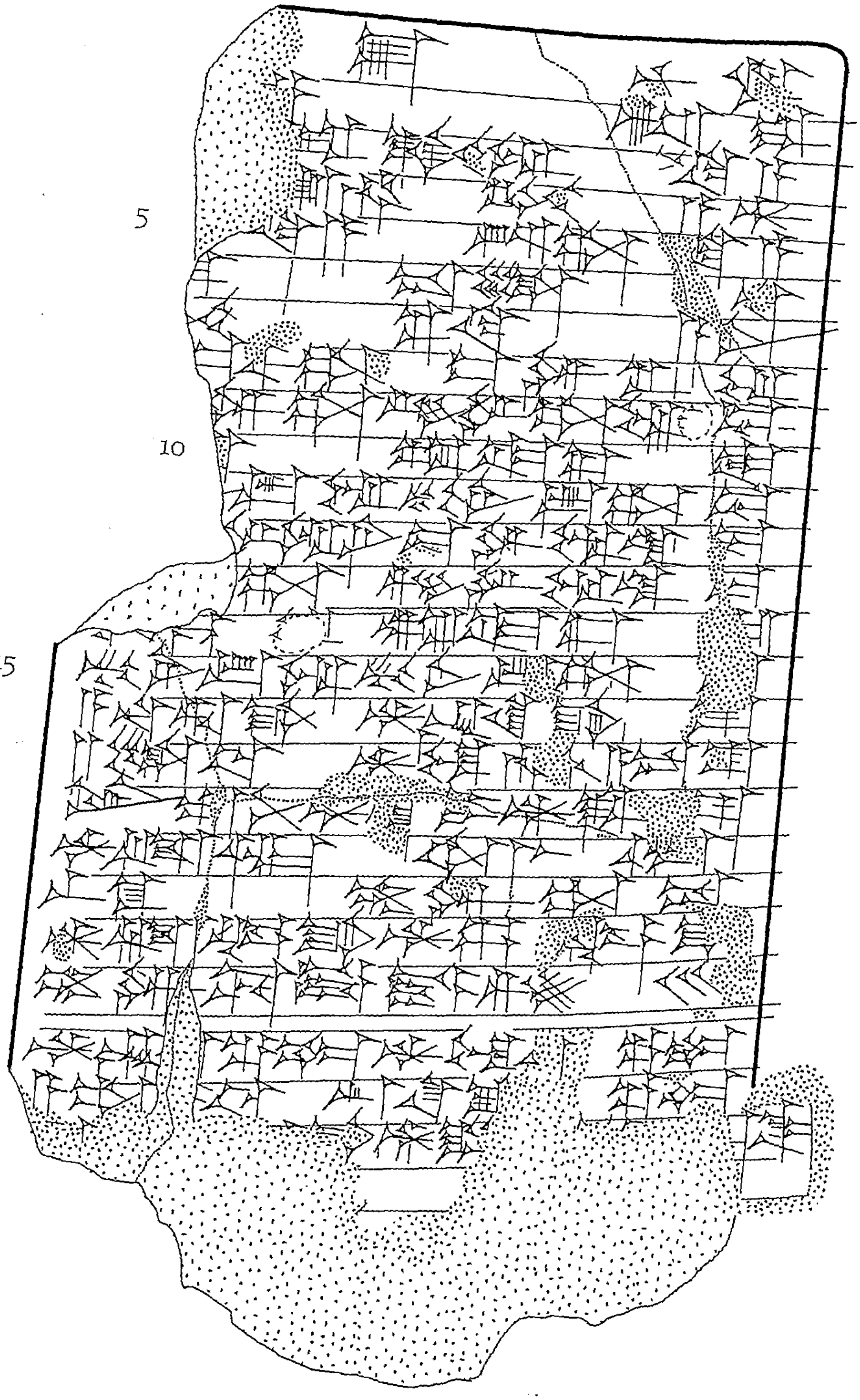
No. 17. MS 3087
obv.







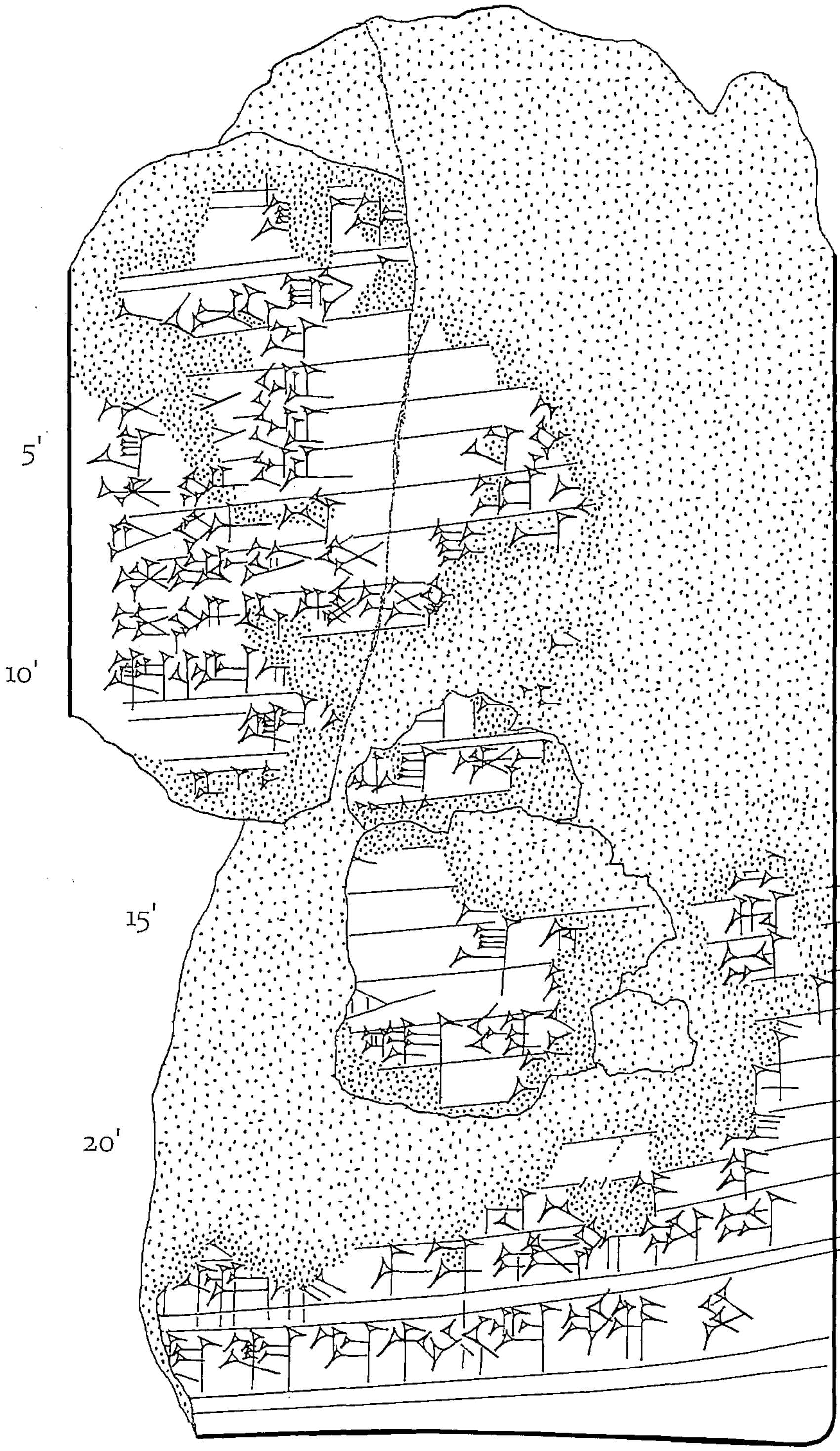
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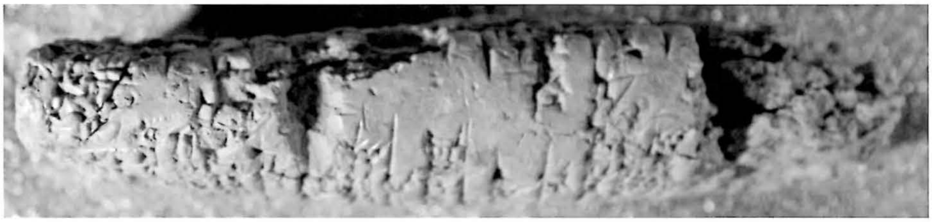
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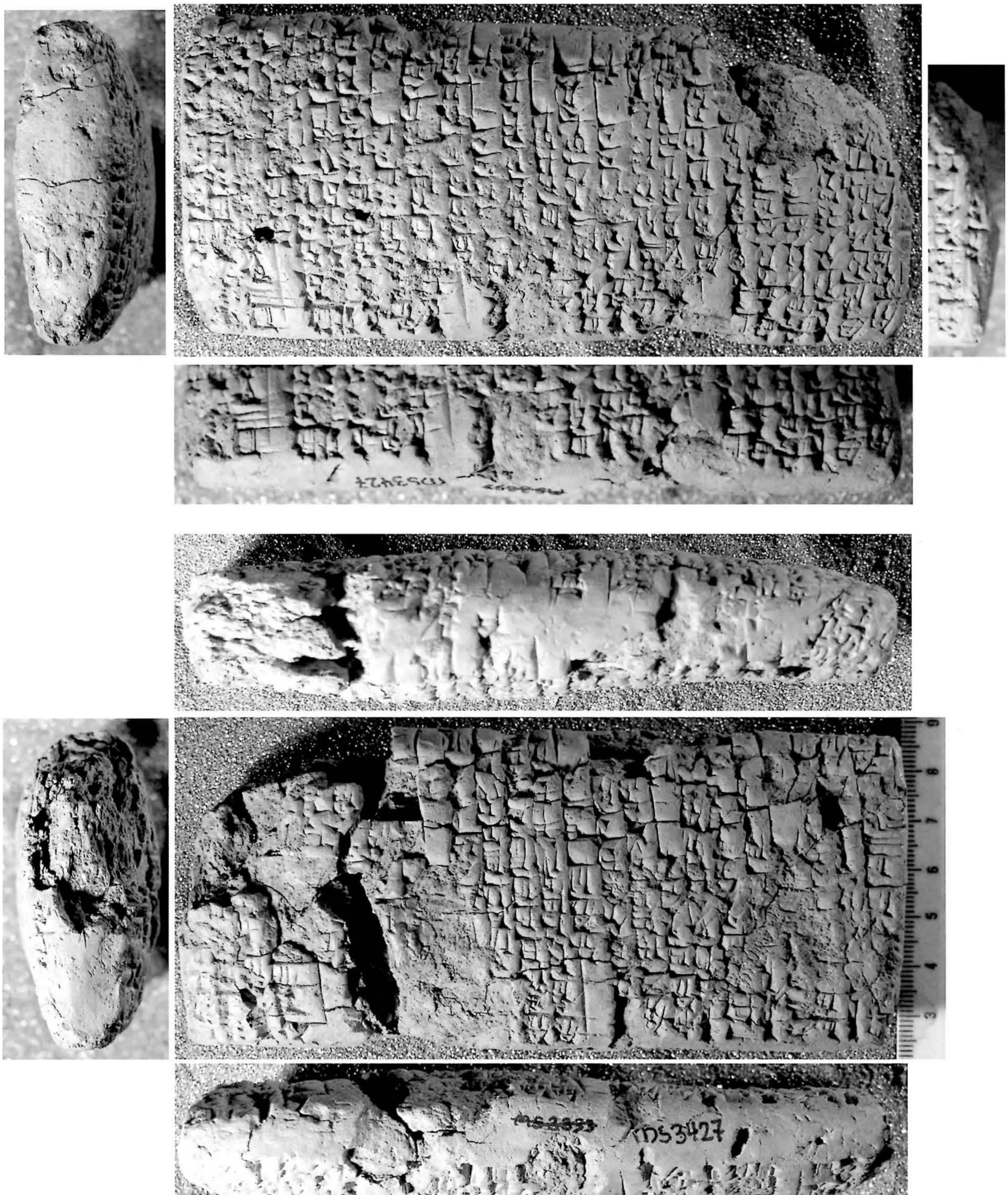


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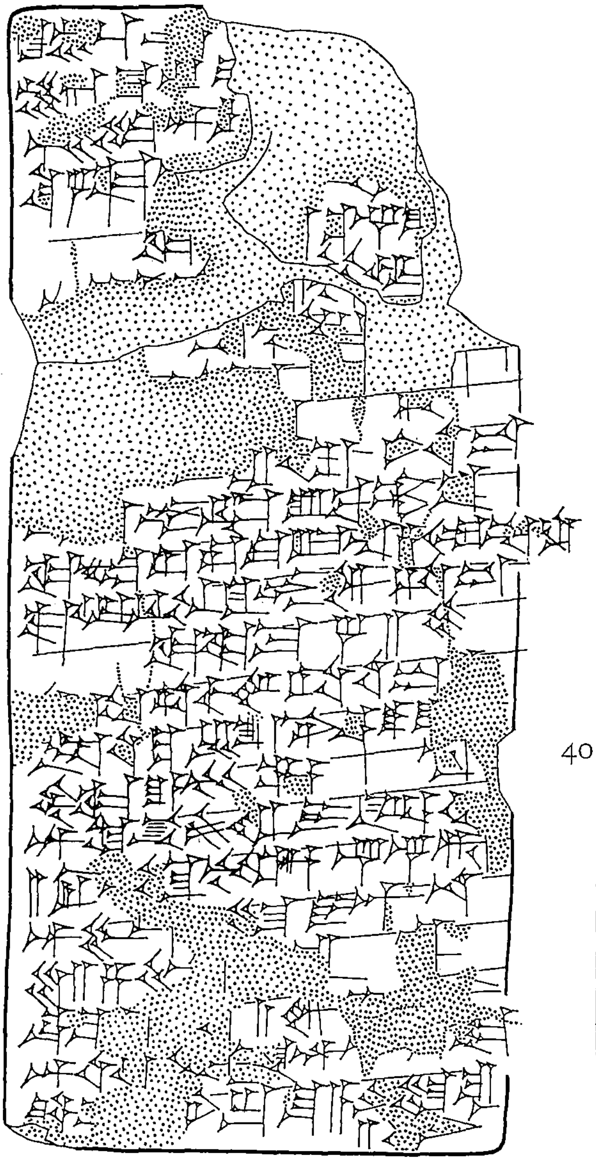
No. 18.
MS 3427



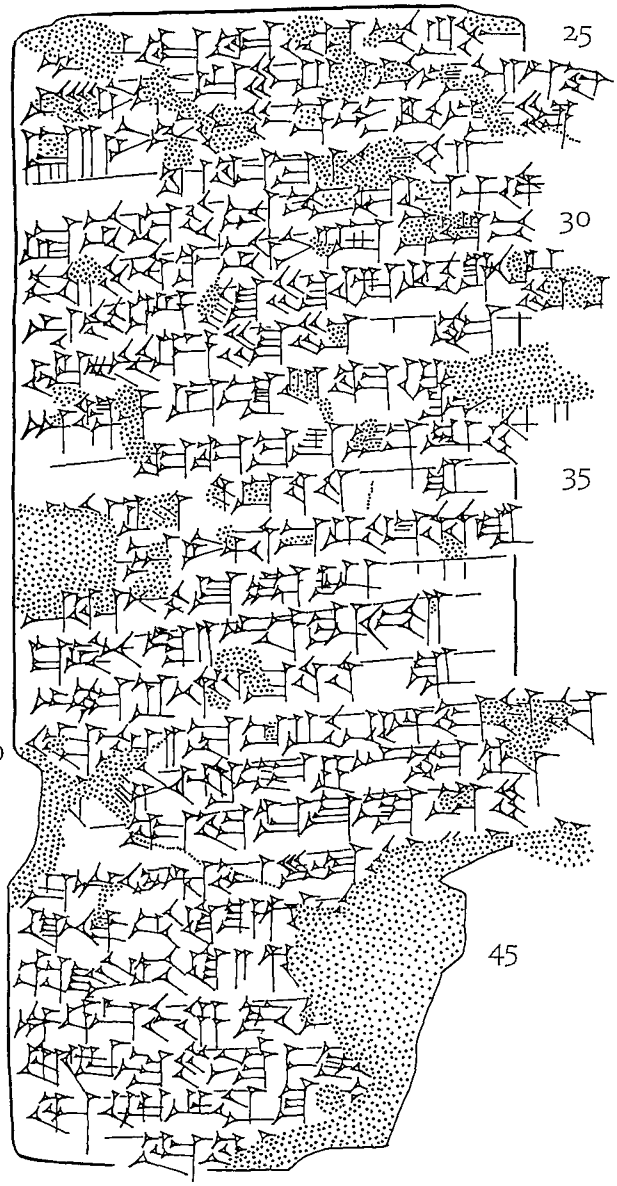


No. 18. MS 3427

obv.



rev.



No. 19.
MS 2353



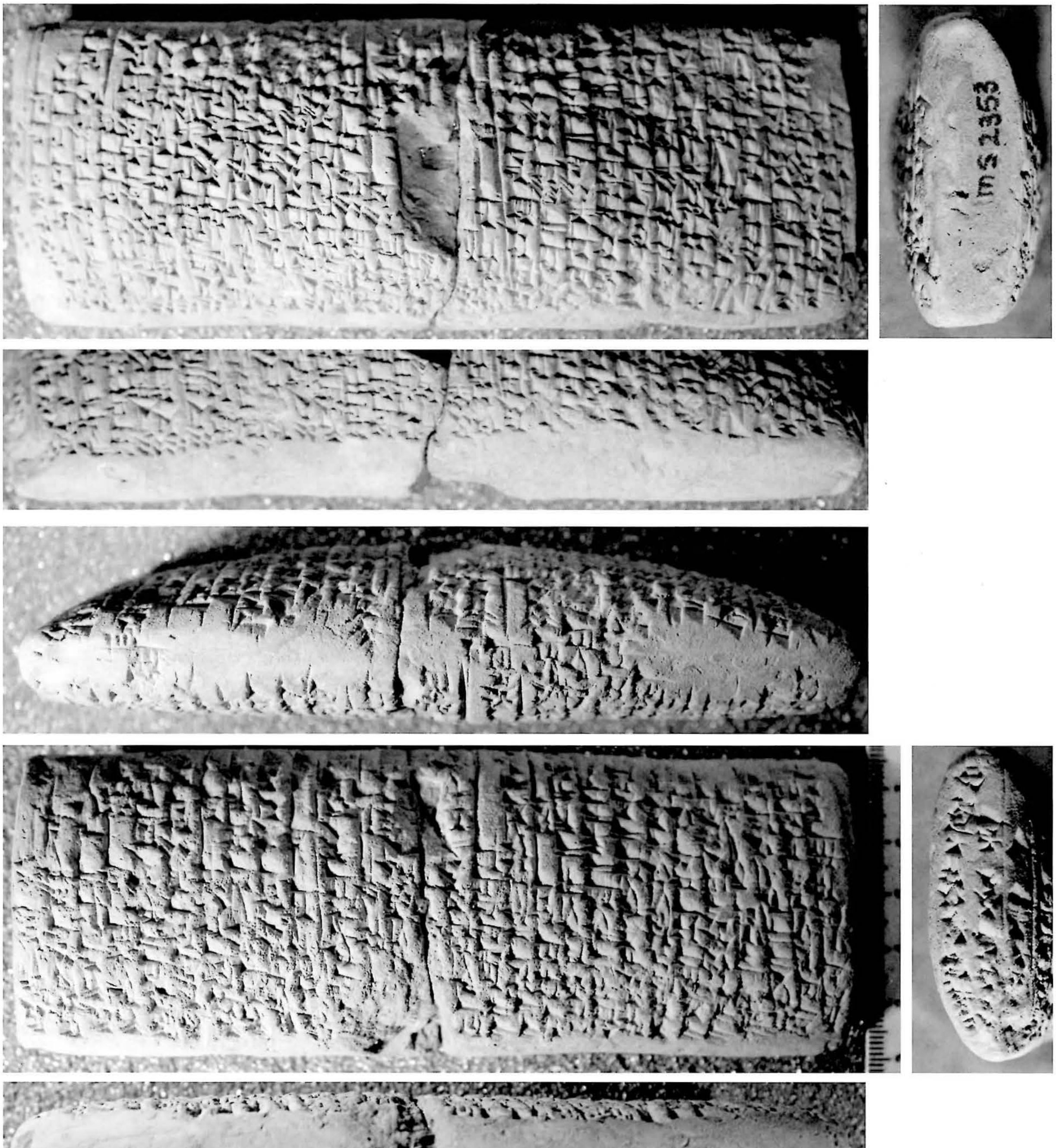
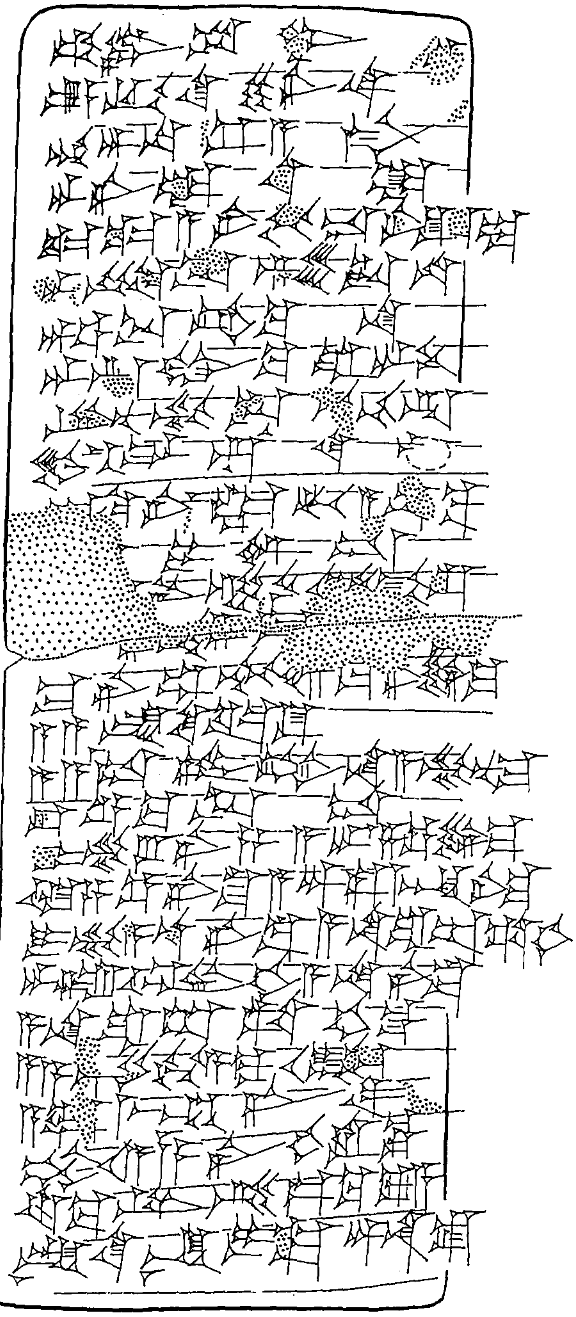


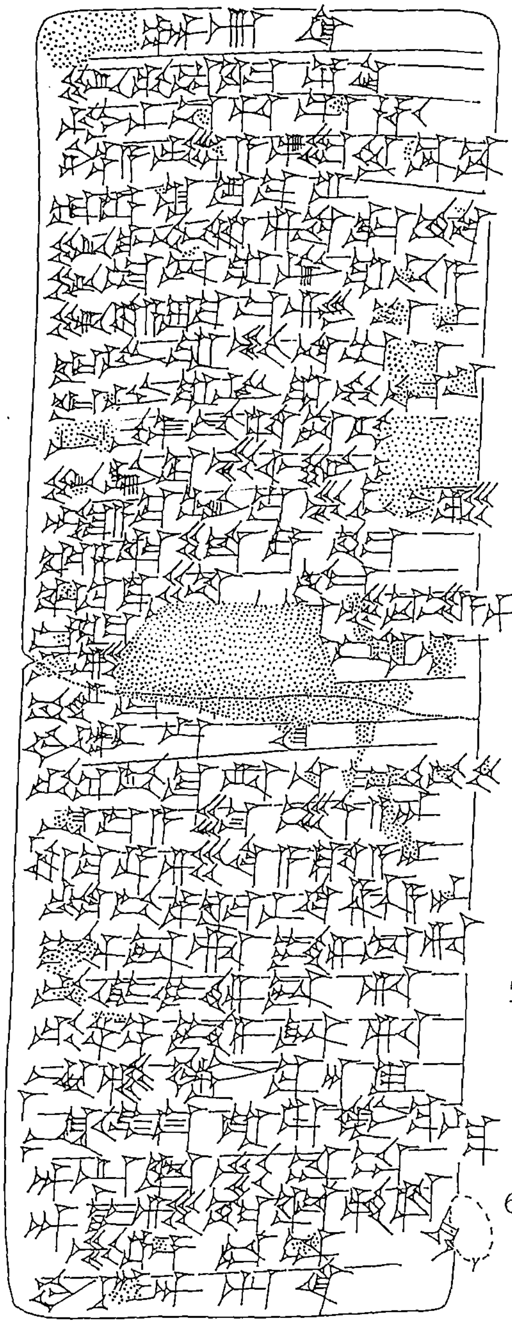
PLATE LIX

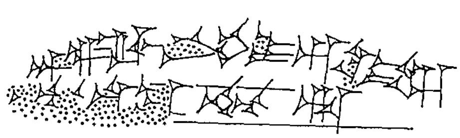
No. 19. MS 2353

obv.



rev.





lower edge

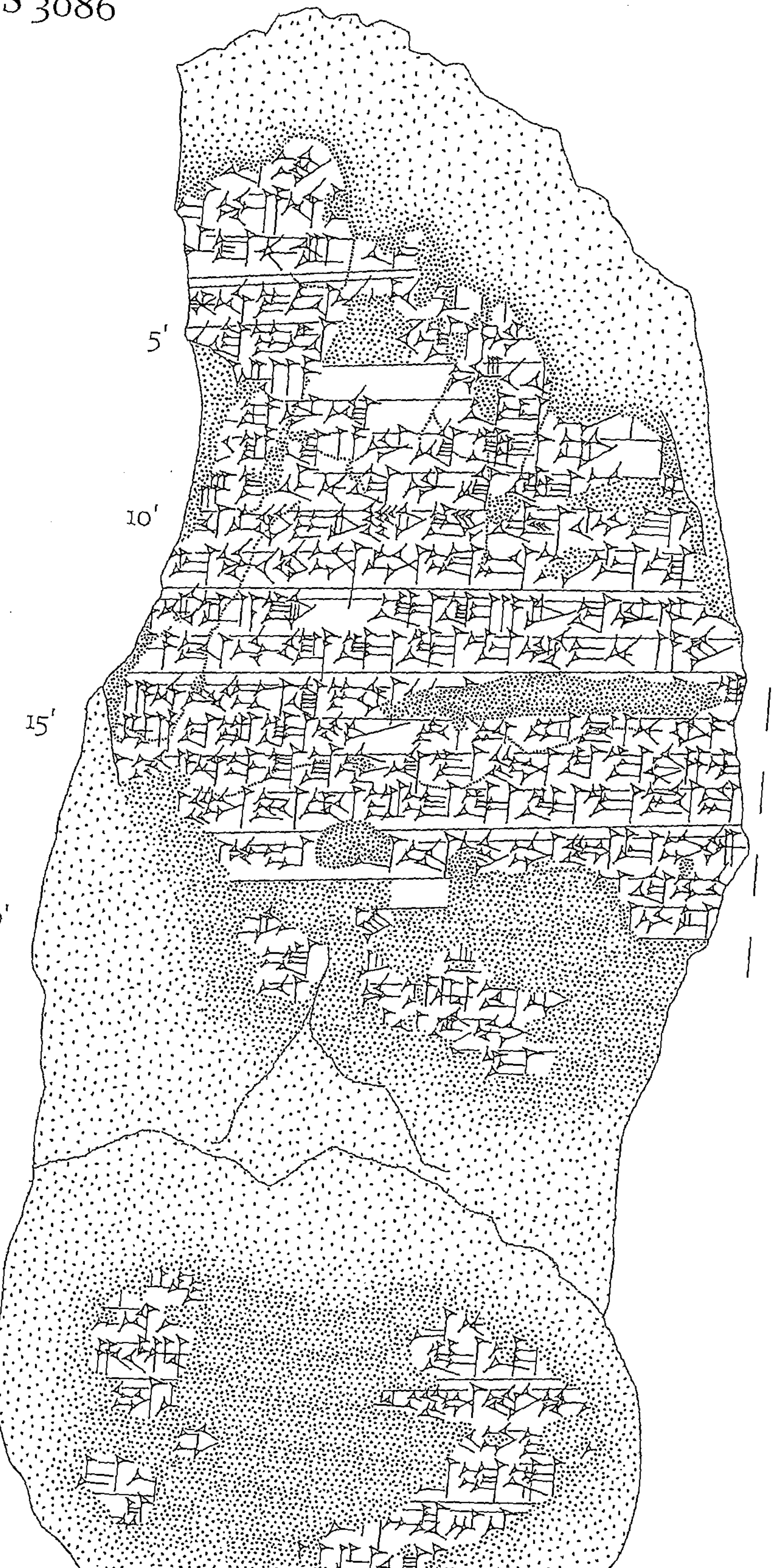
No. 20. MS 3086



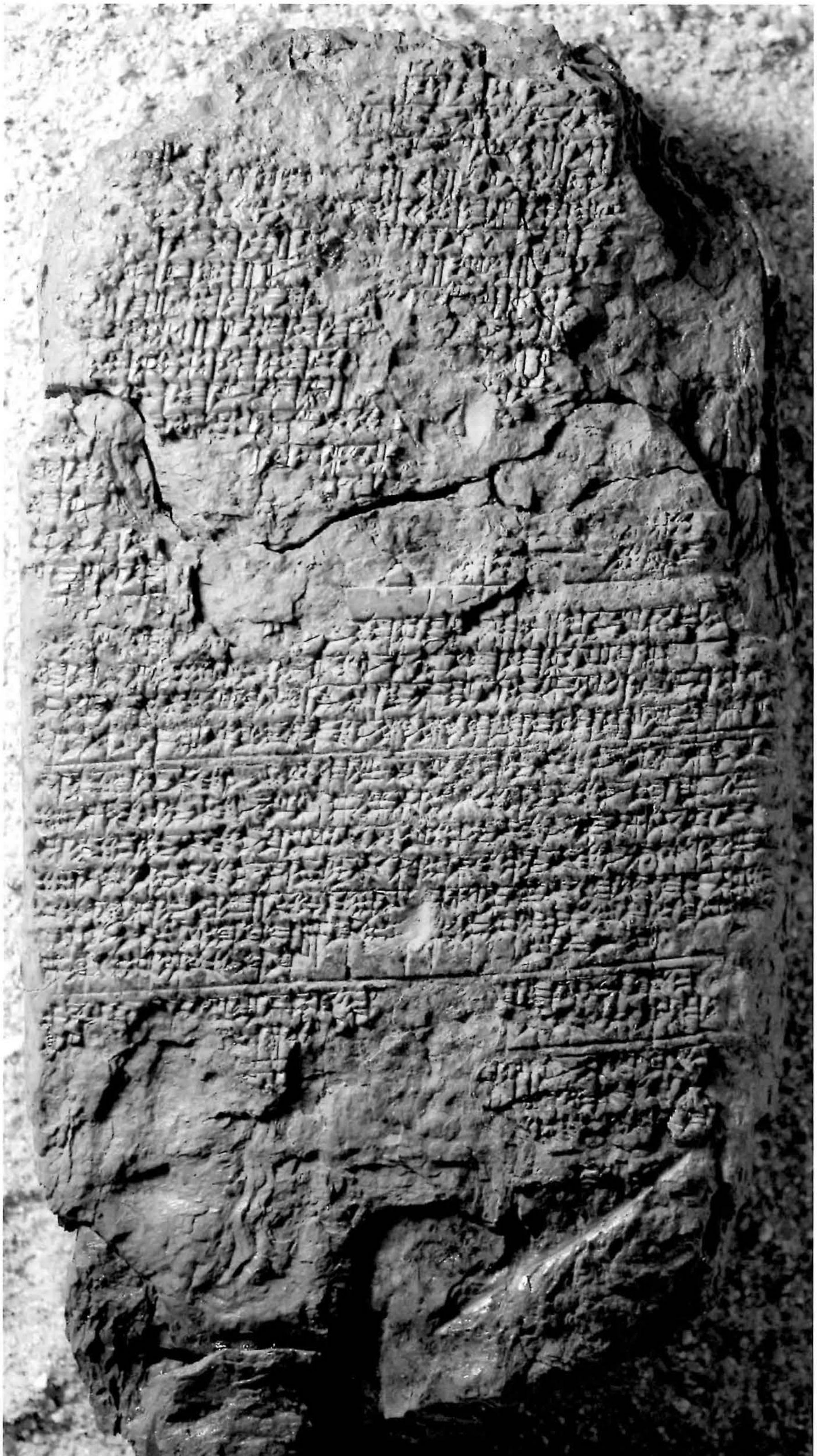




No. 20. MS 3086

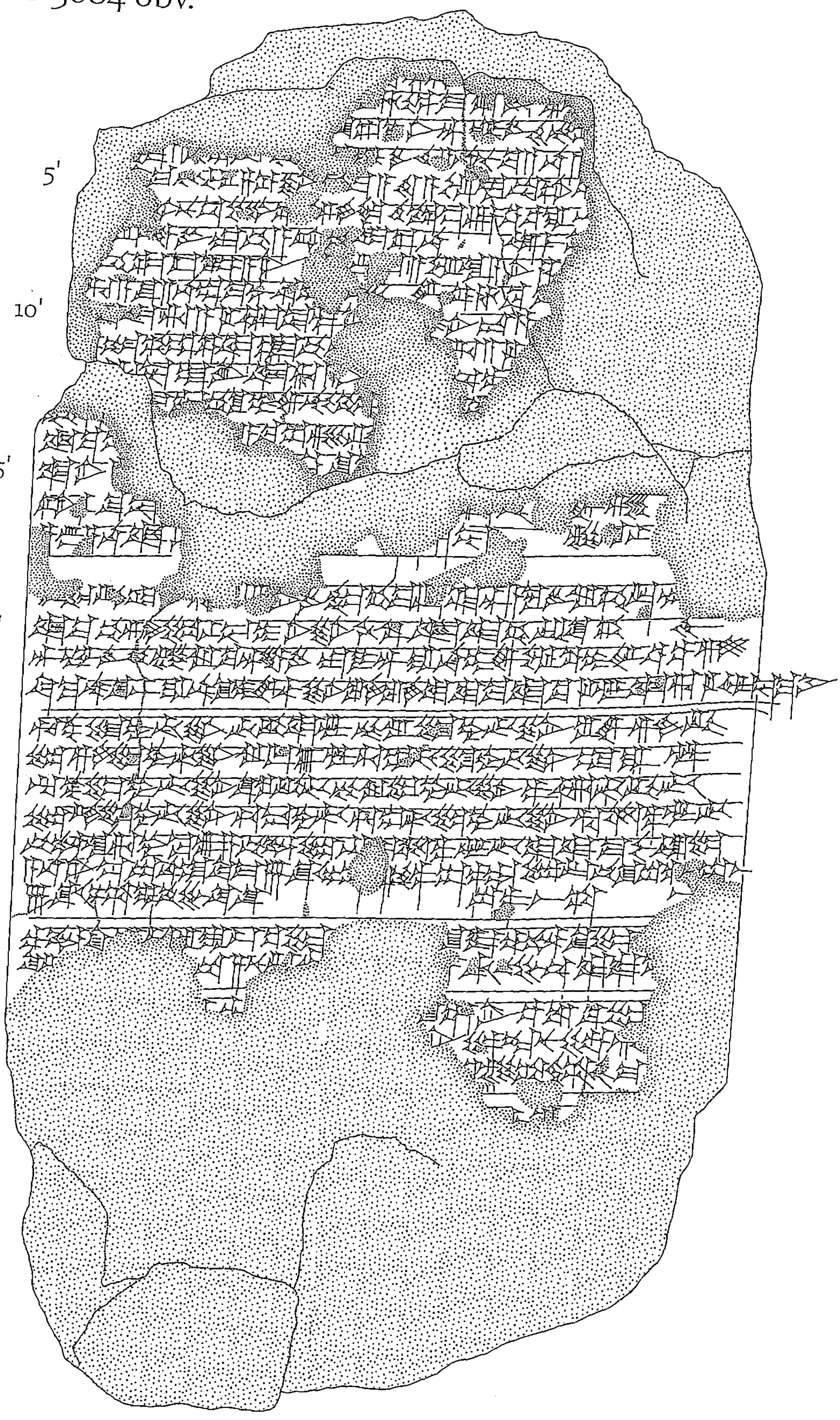


No. 21. MS 3084 obv.

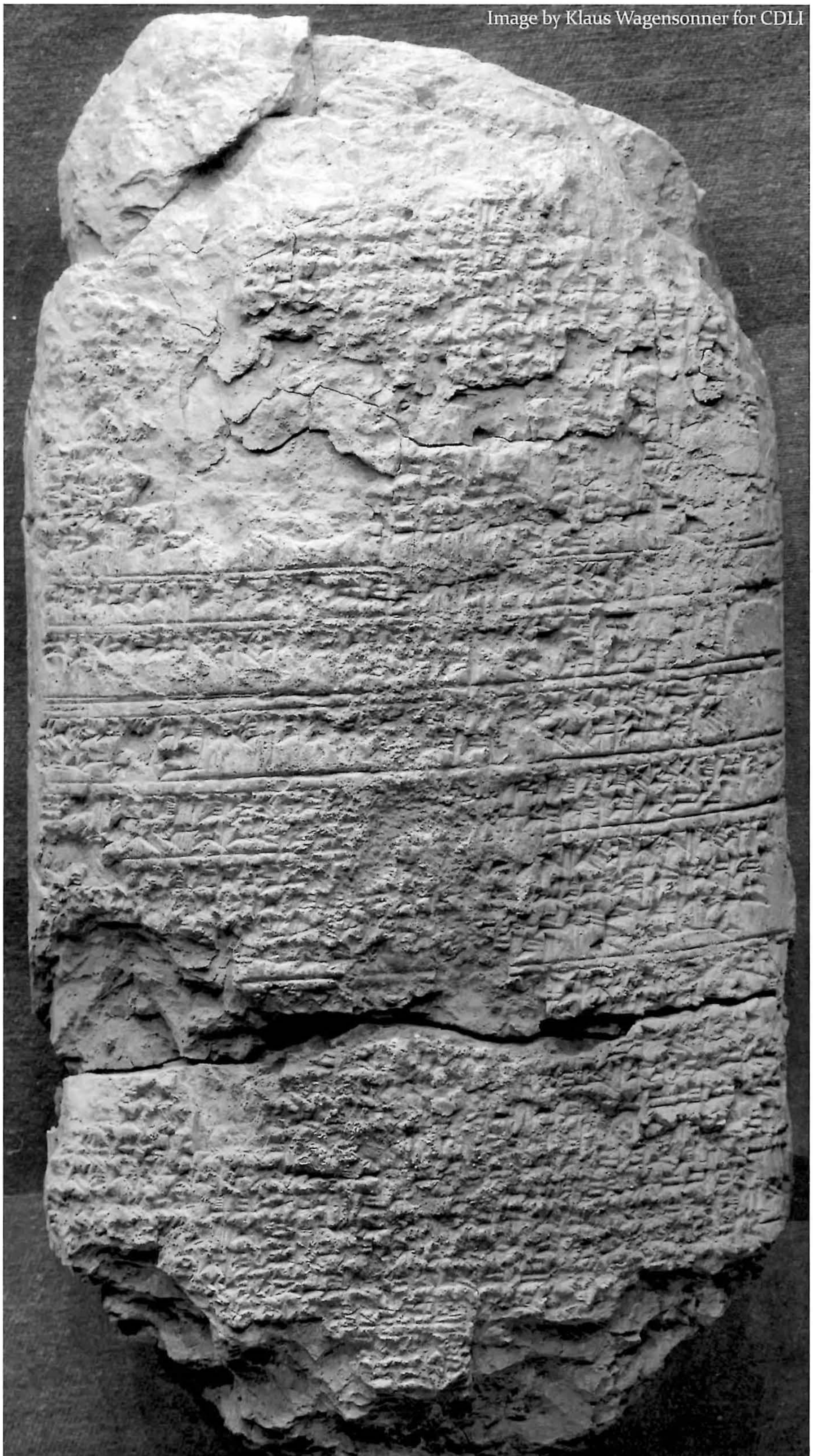




No. 21. MS 3084 obv.

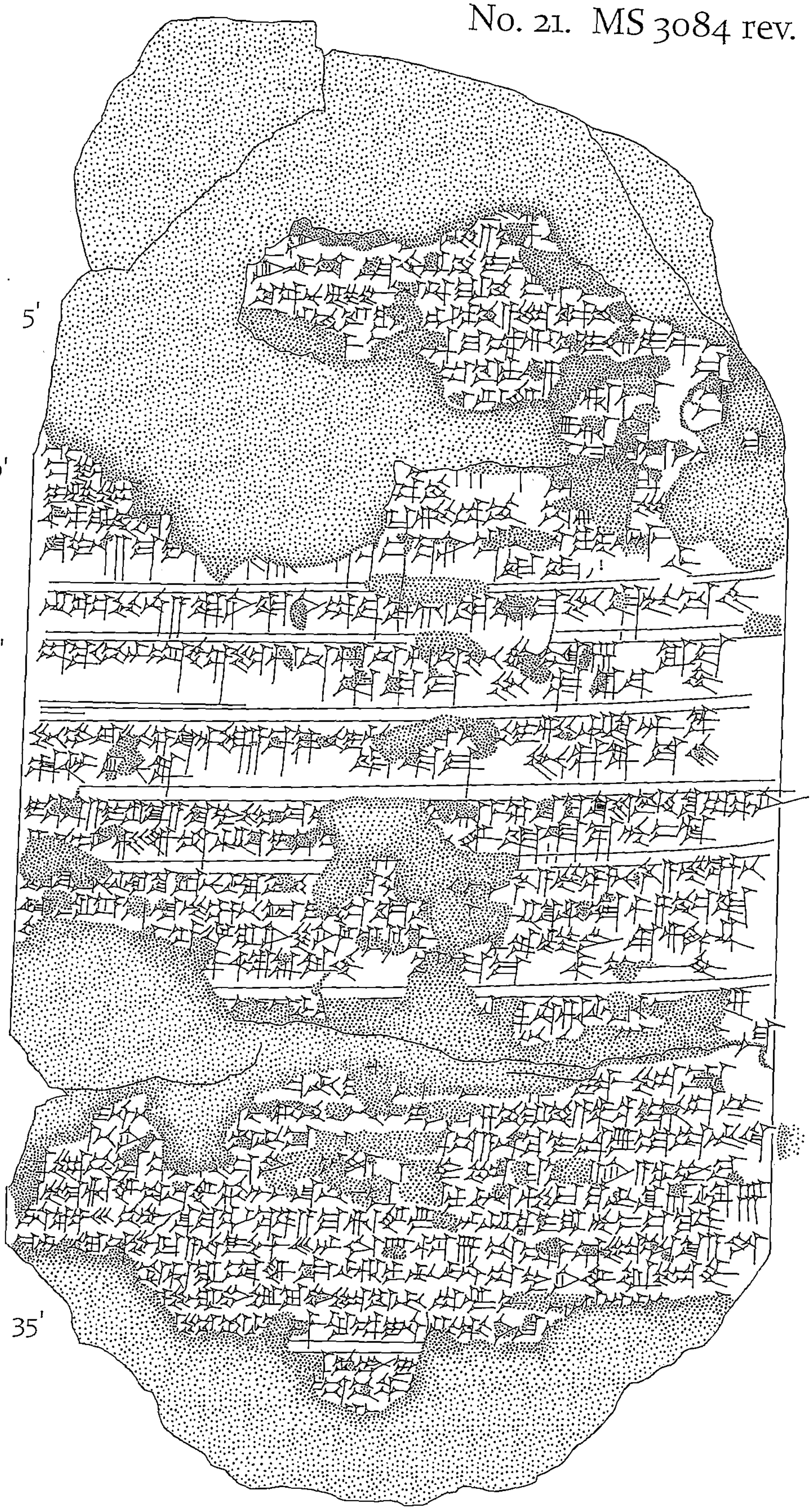


No. 21. MS 3084 rev.





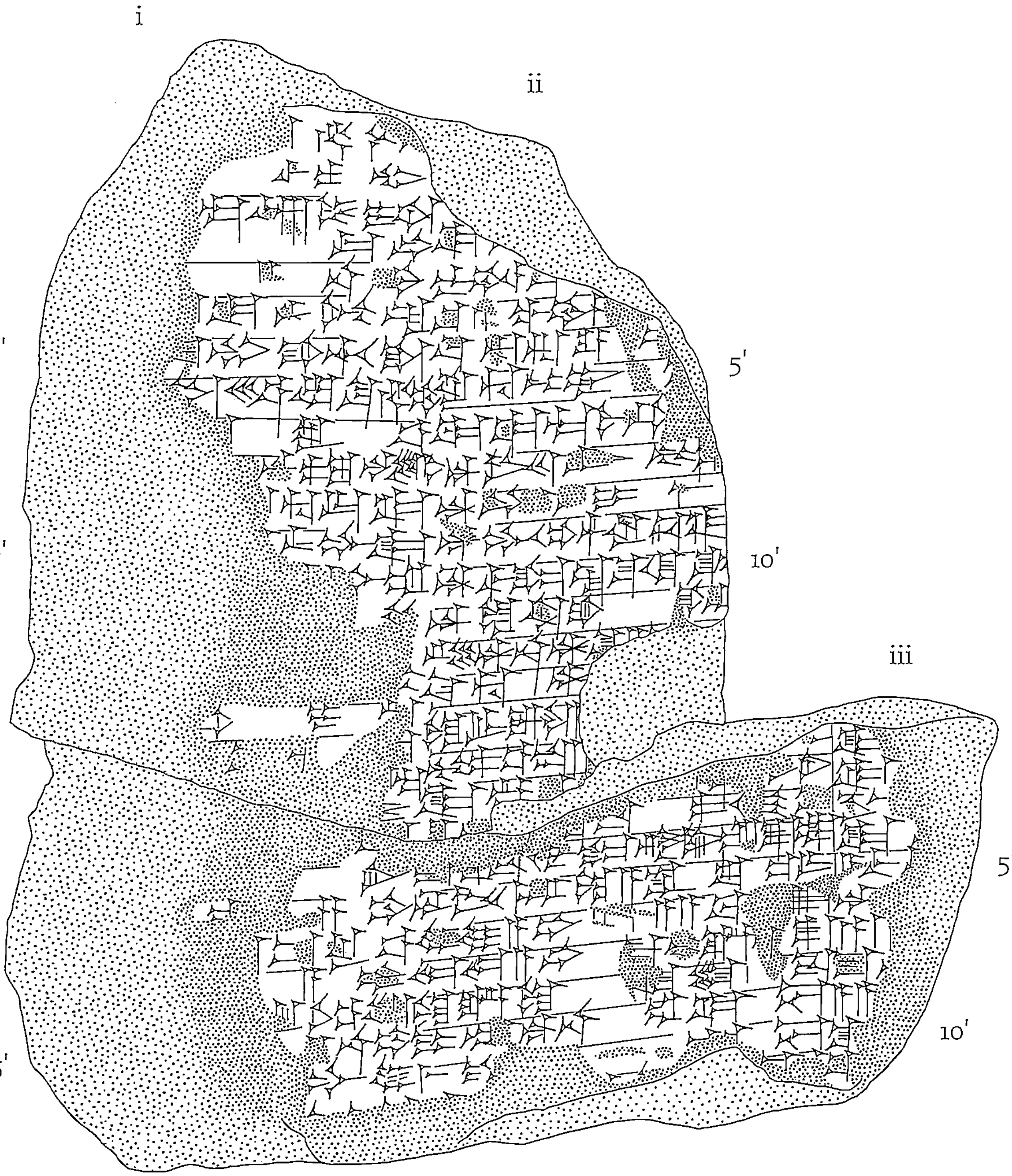
No. 21. MS 3084 rev.



No. 22. MS 3105/1 obv.



No. 22. MS 3105/1 obv.

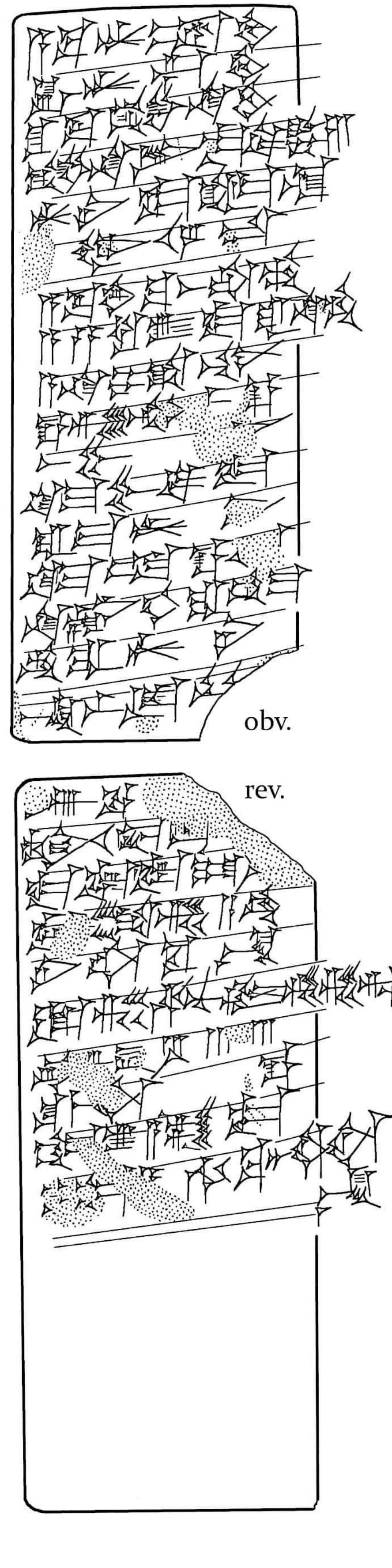


No. 22. MS 3105/1 rev.



No. 23.
MS 3062





No. 24. MS 3059

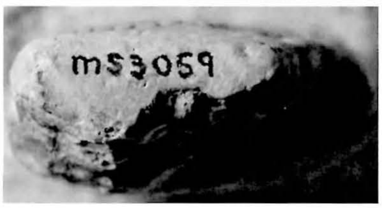




5



obv.

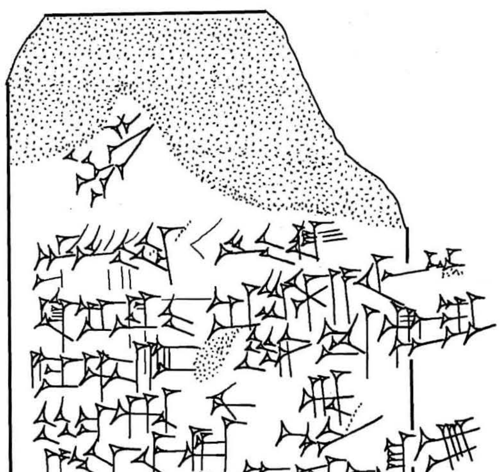


rev.





5'





upper edge





left dge

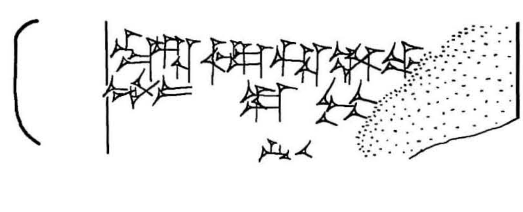
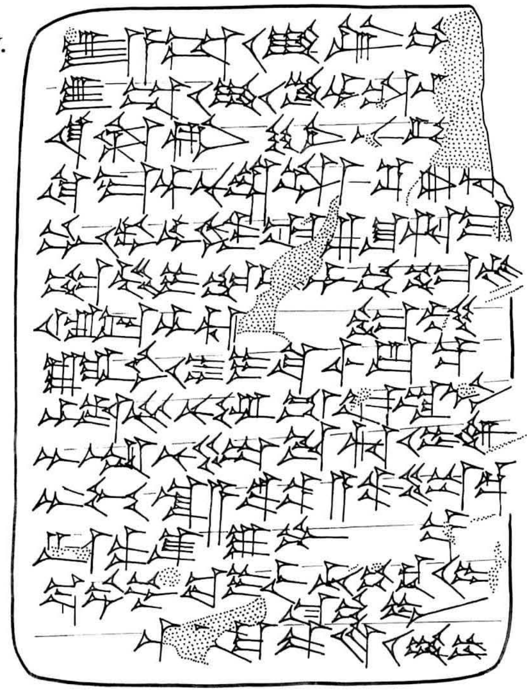


PLATE LXXI

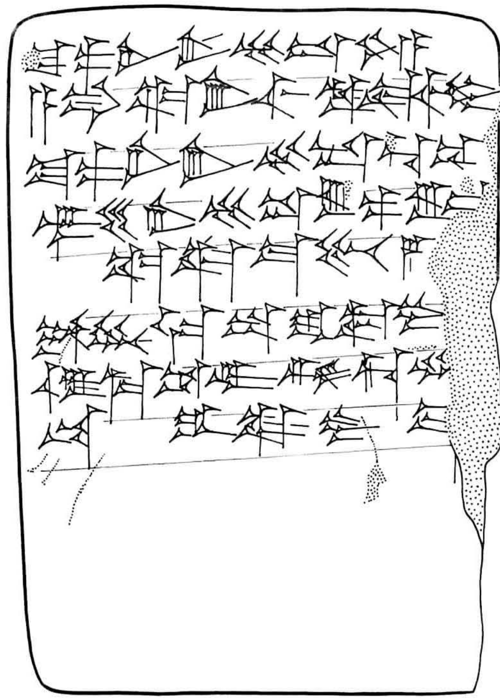
No. 25. MS 2780



obv.



rev.



No. 26. MS 3387



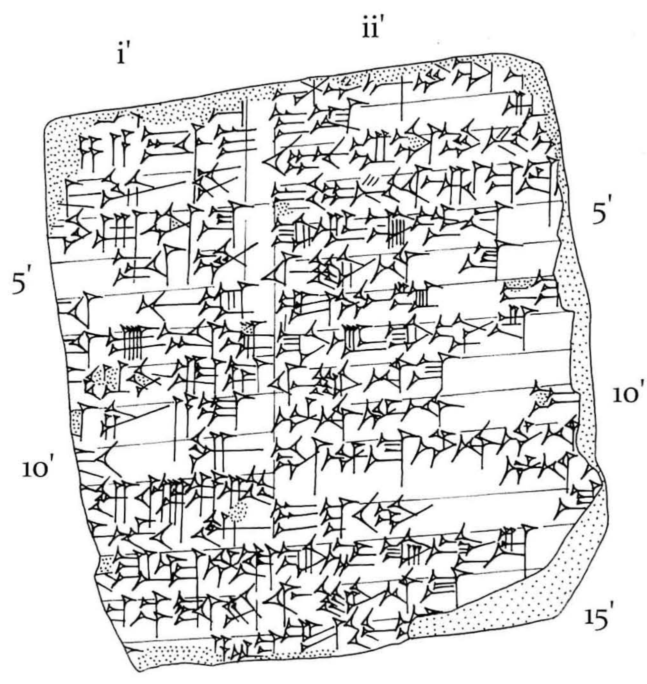
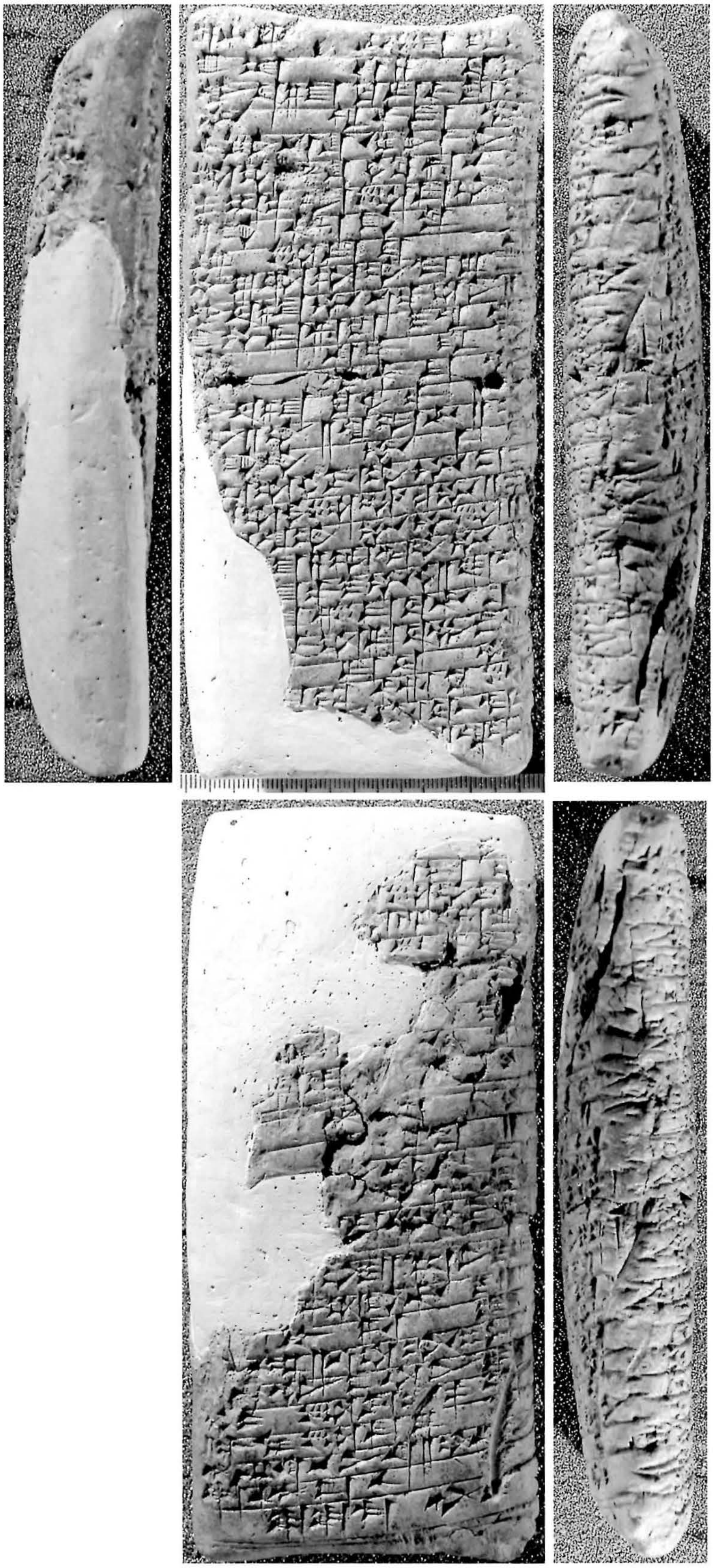


PLATE LXXIII

No. 27. MS 2791



No. 27. MS 2791 obv.

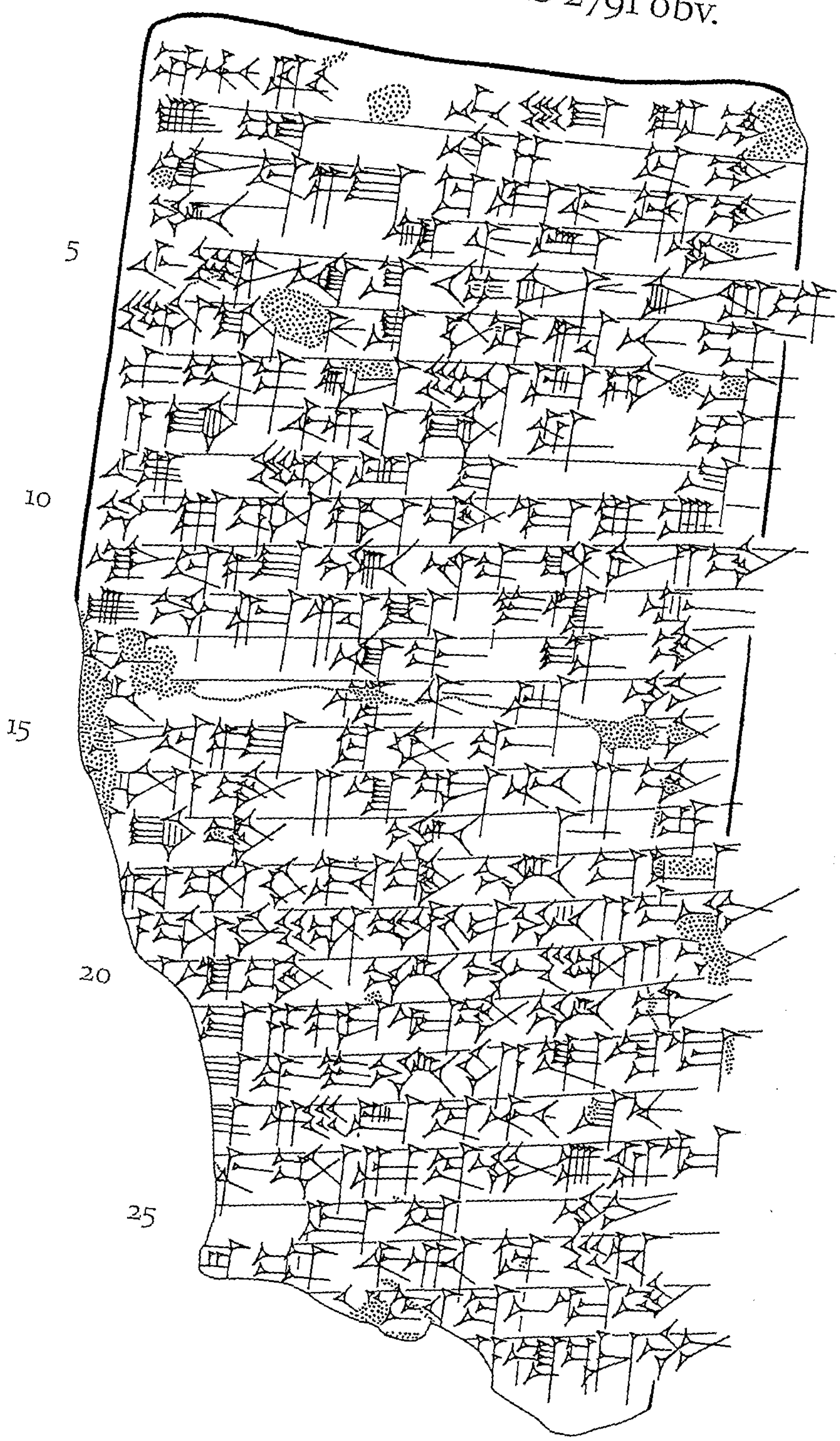
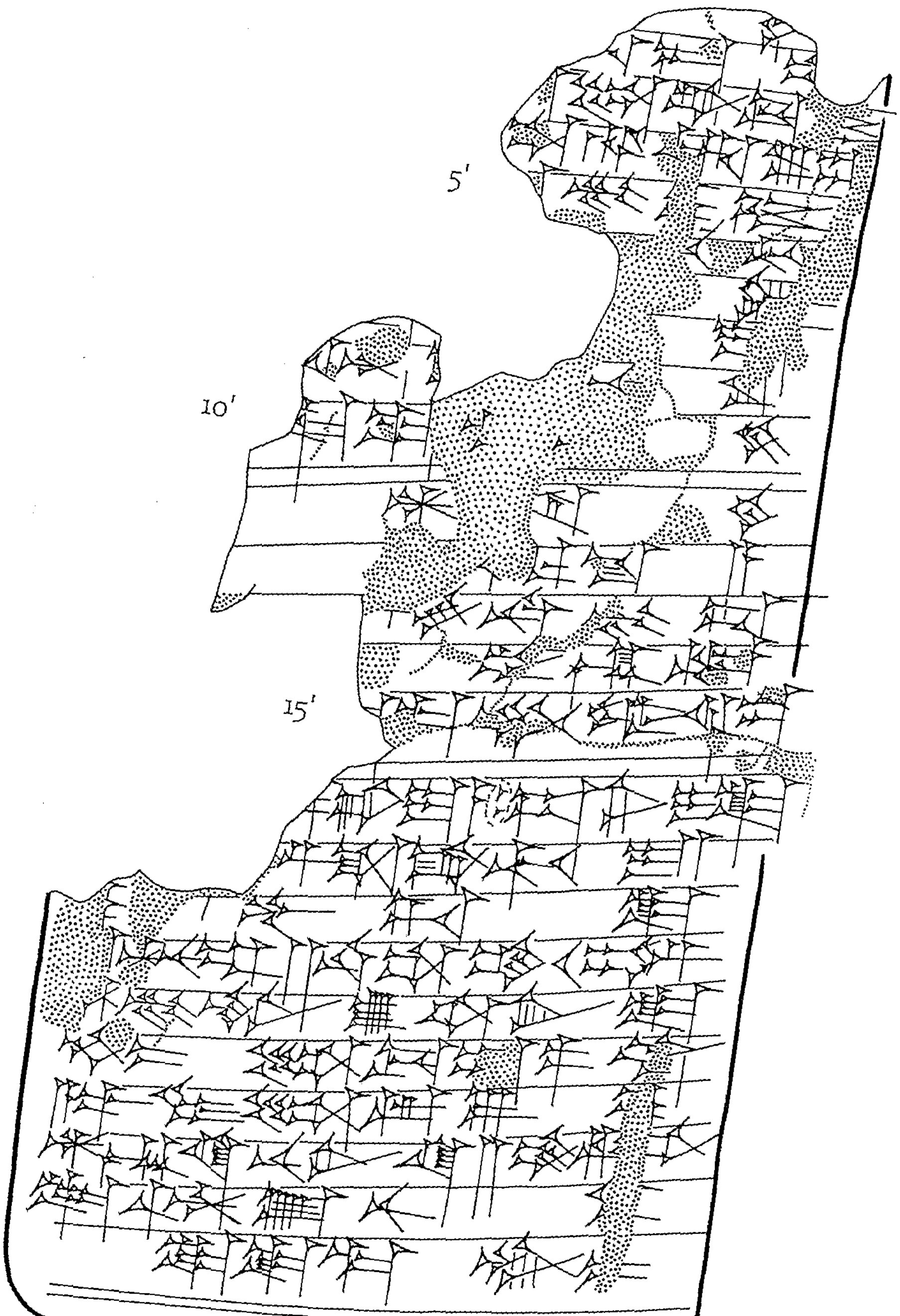
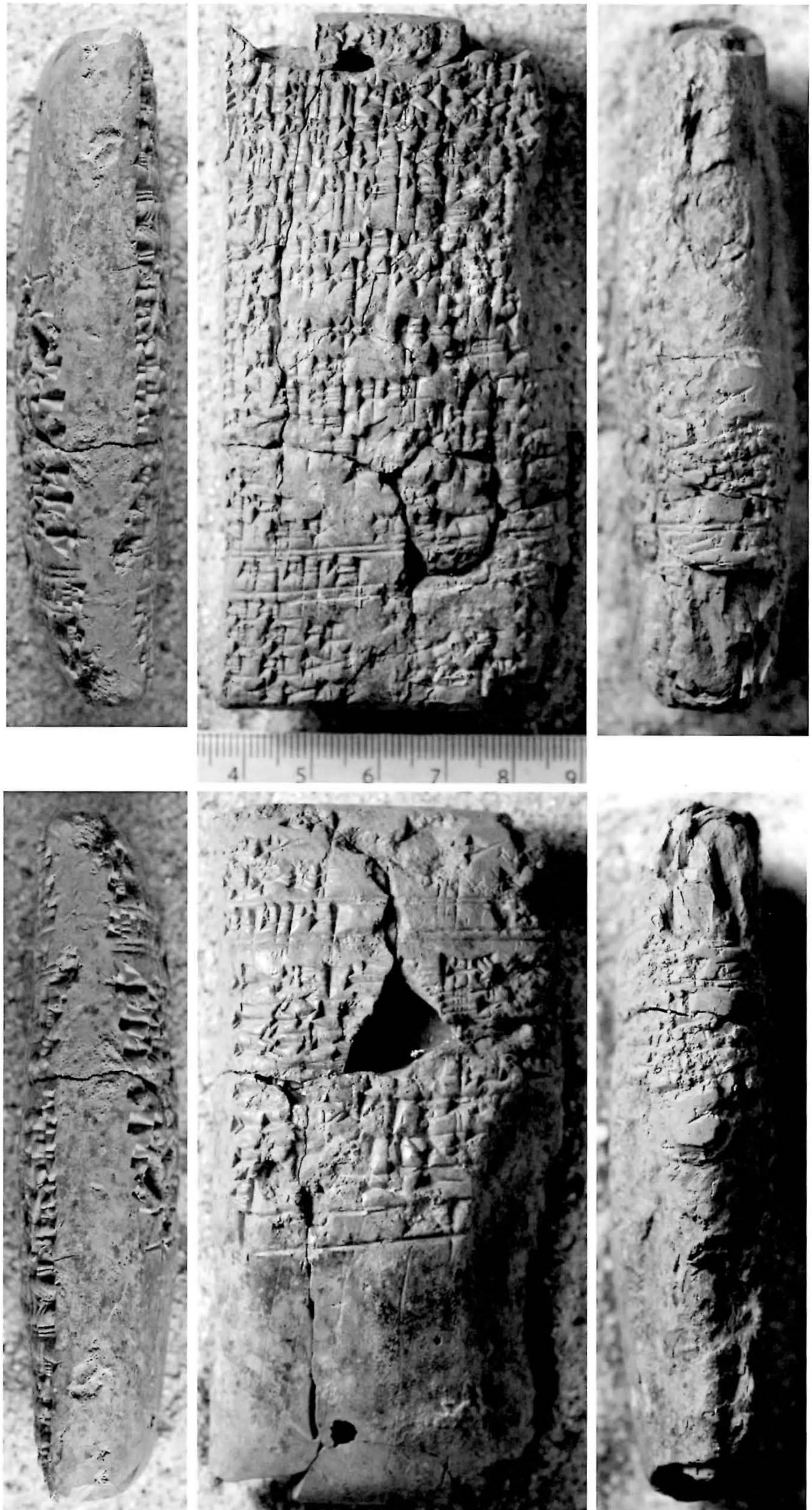


PLATE LXXV

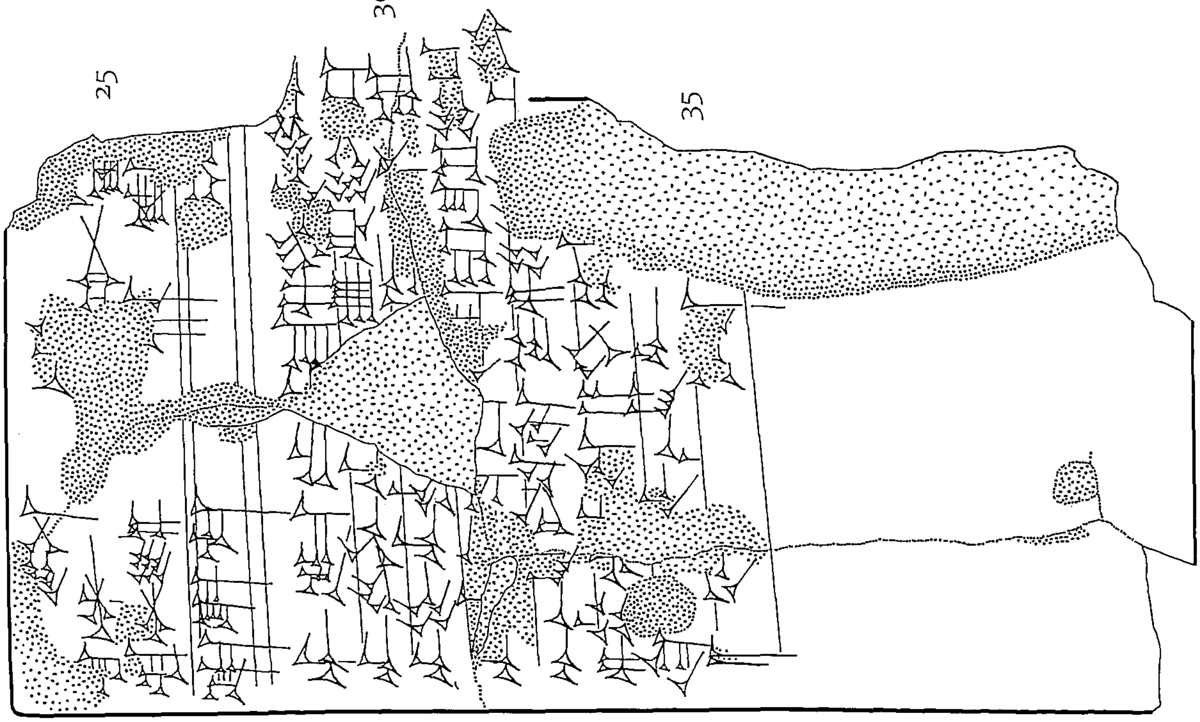
No. 27. MS 2791 rev.

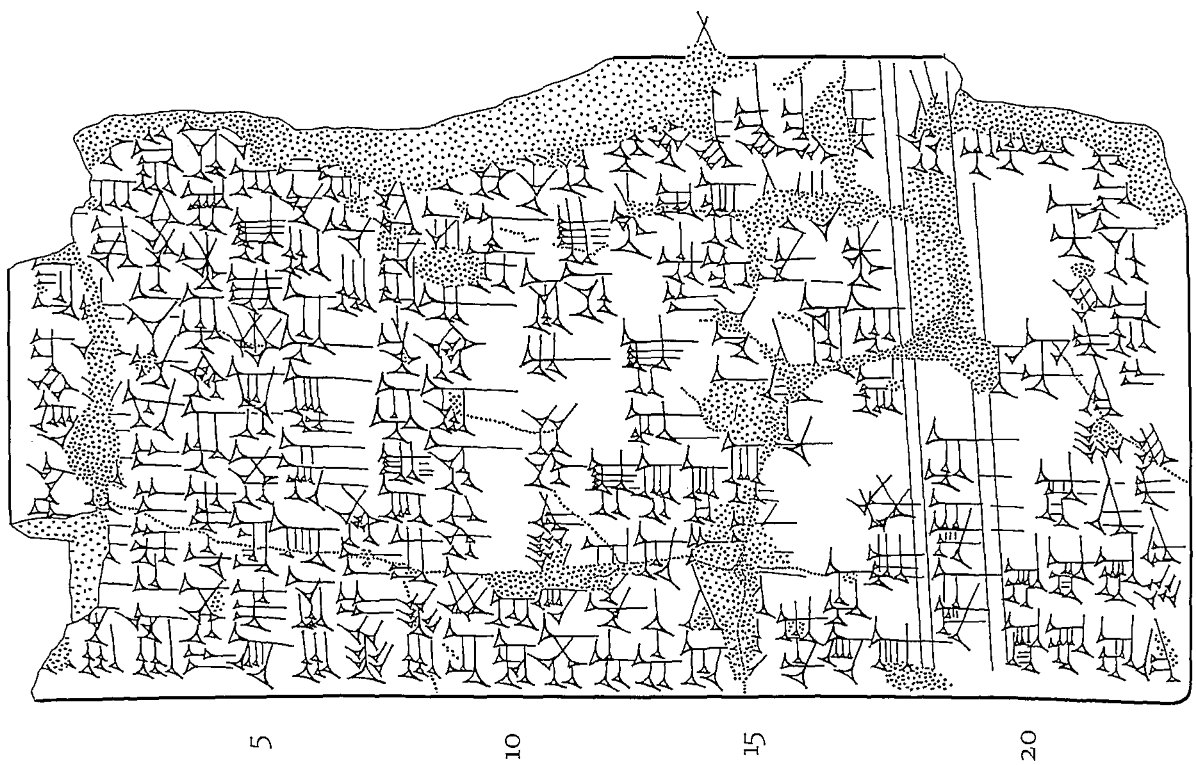


No. 28. MS 3067



No. 28. MS 3067



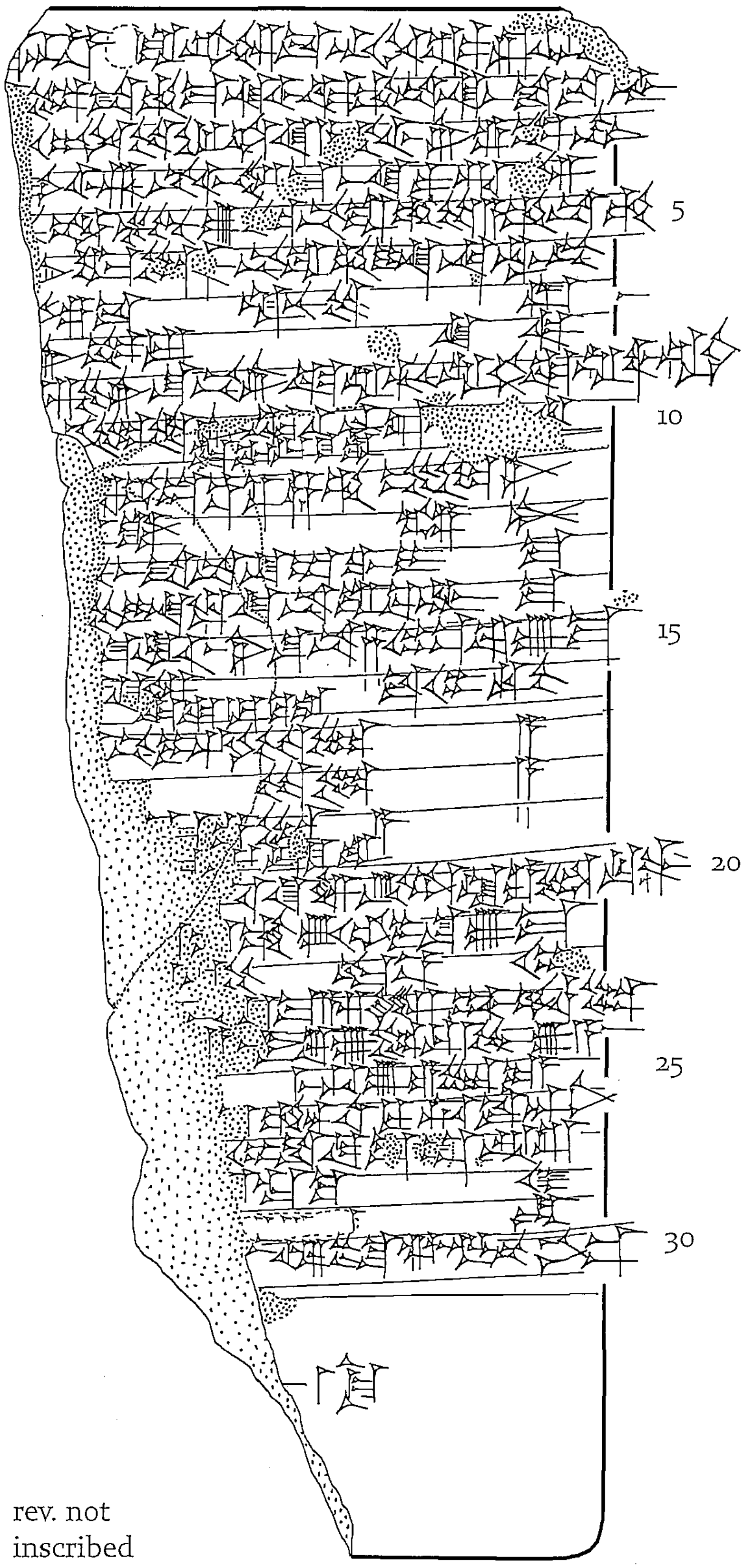


No. 29. MS 3082





No. 29. MS 3082

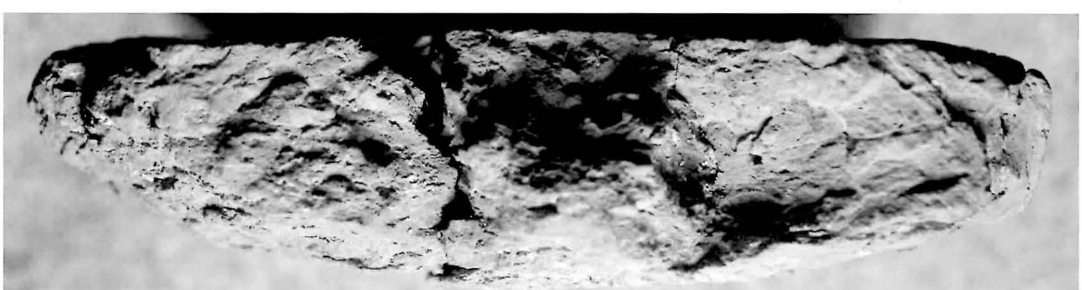


rev. not
inscribed

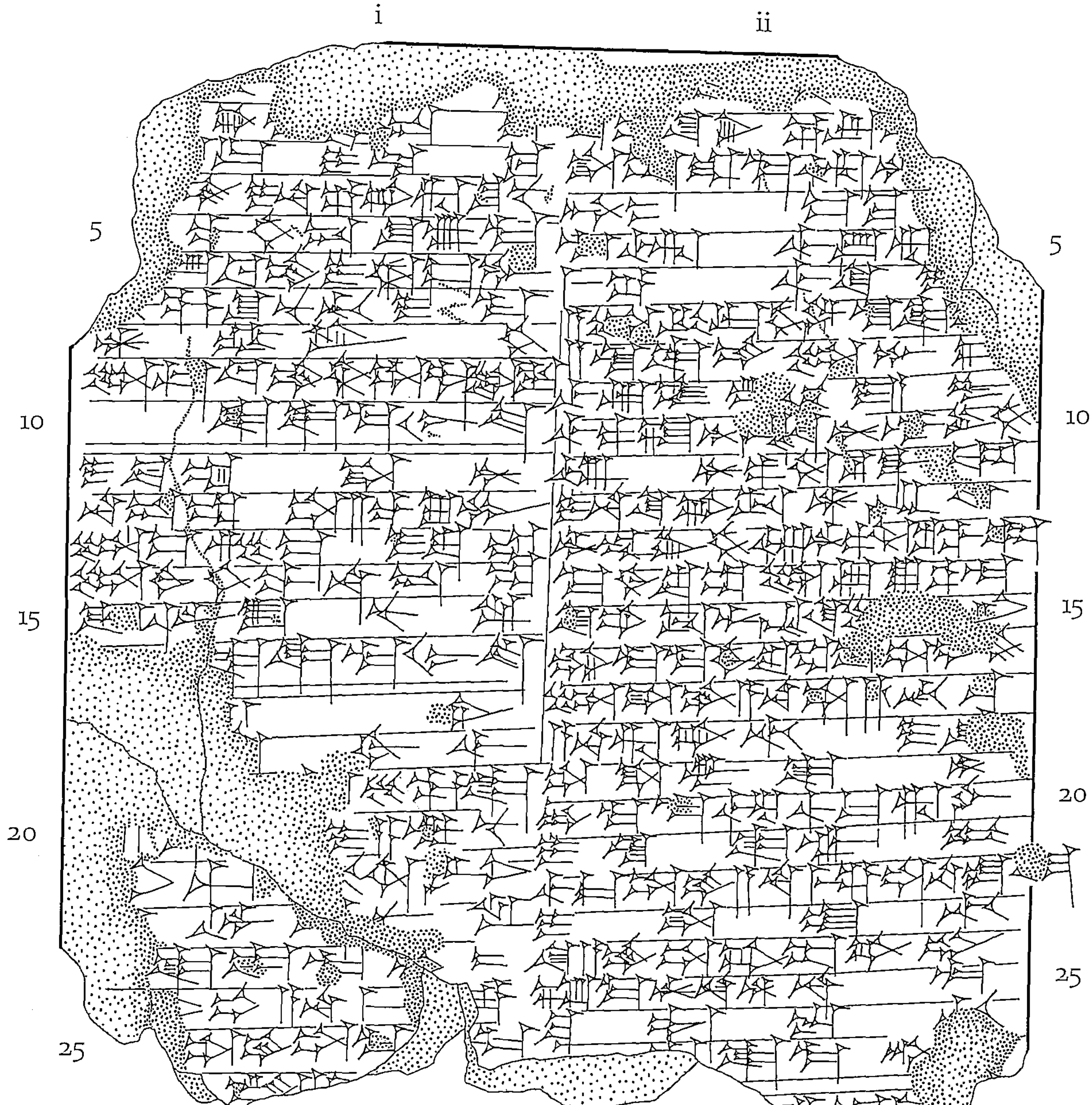
No. 30. MS 3093 obv.



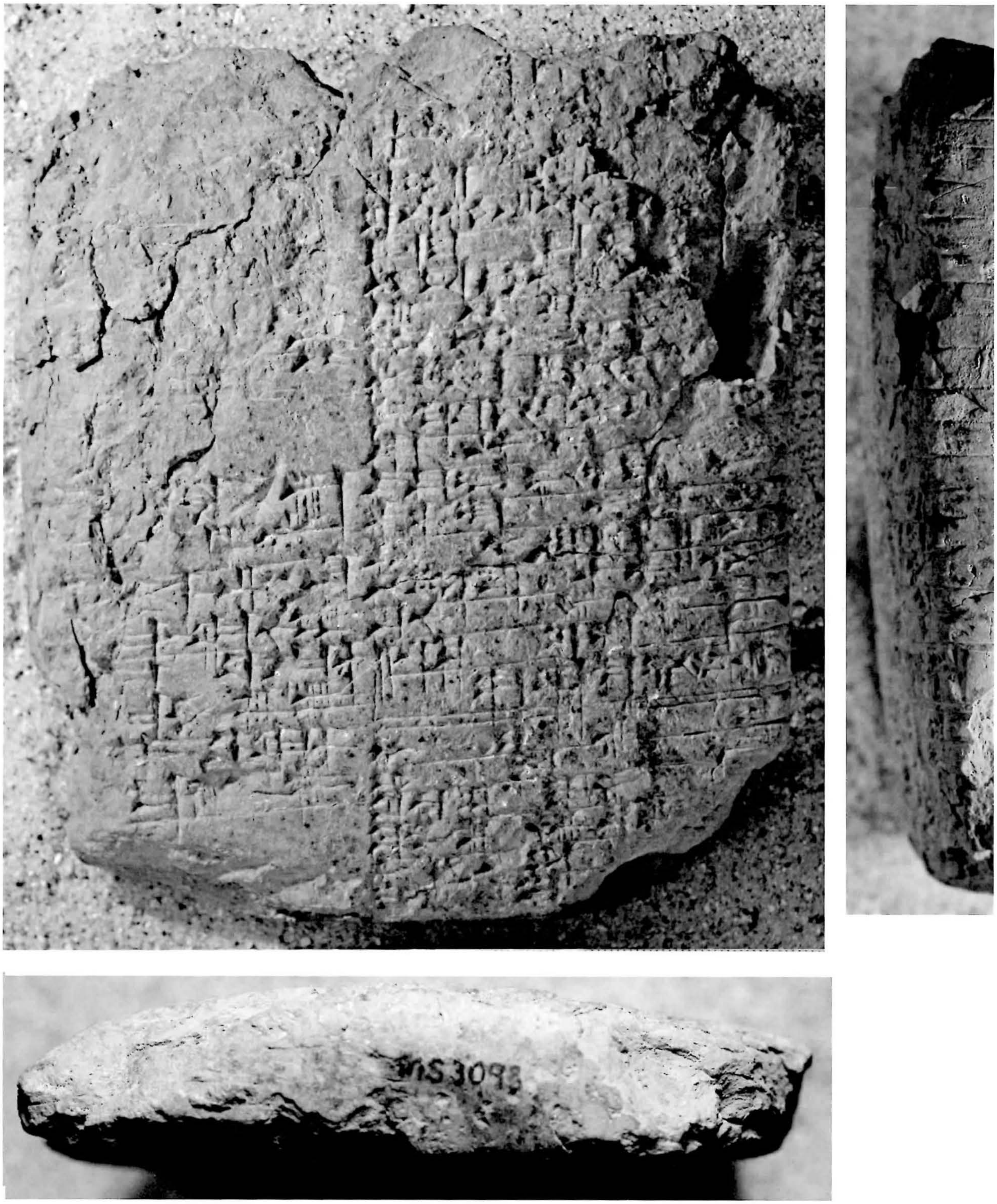




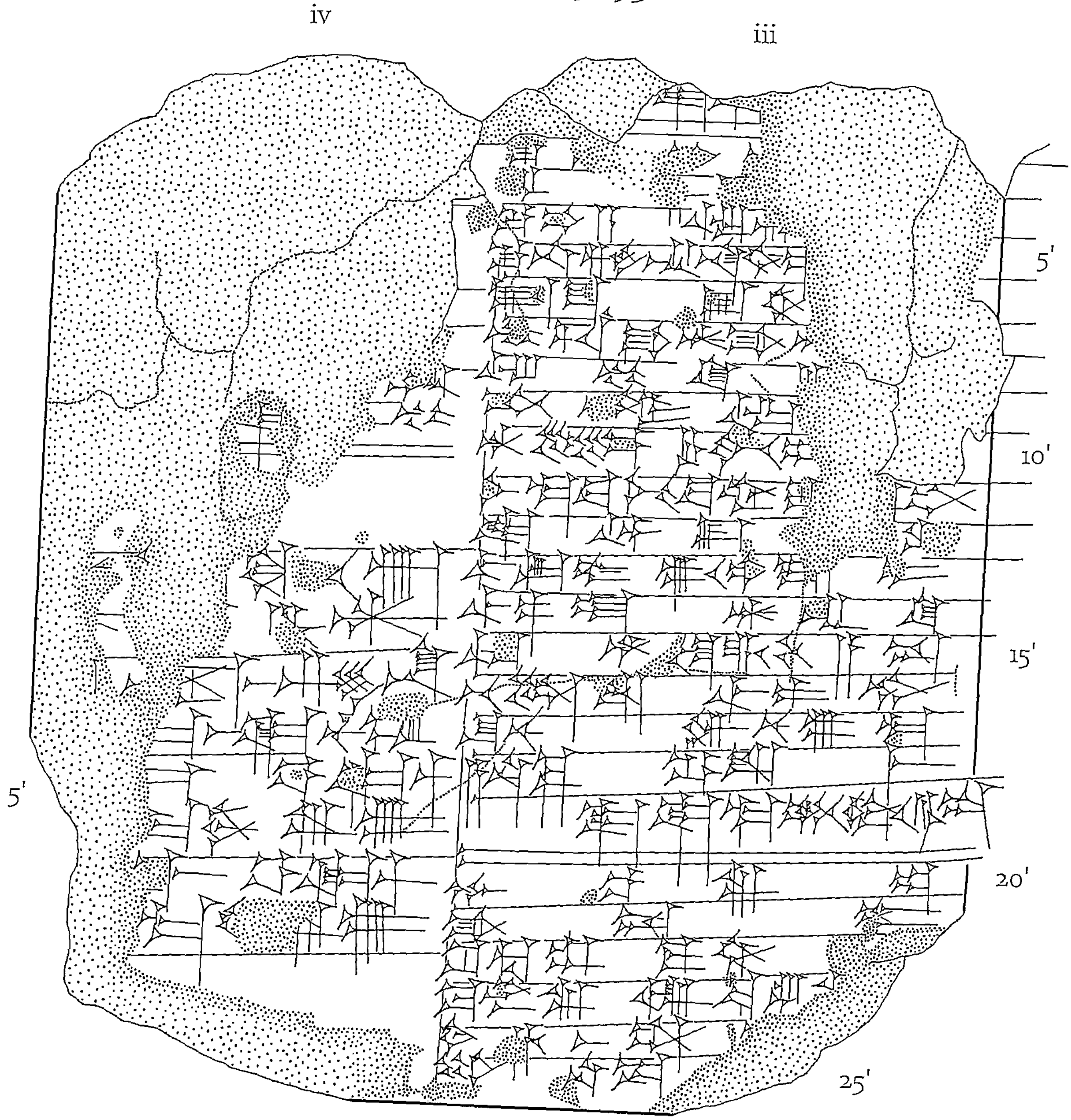
No. 30. MS 3093 obv.



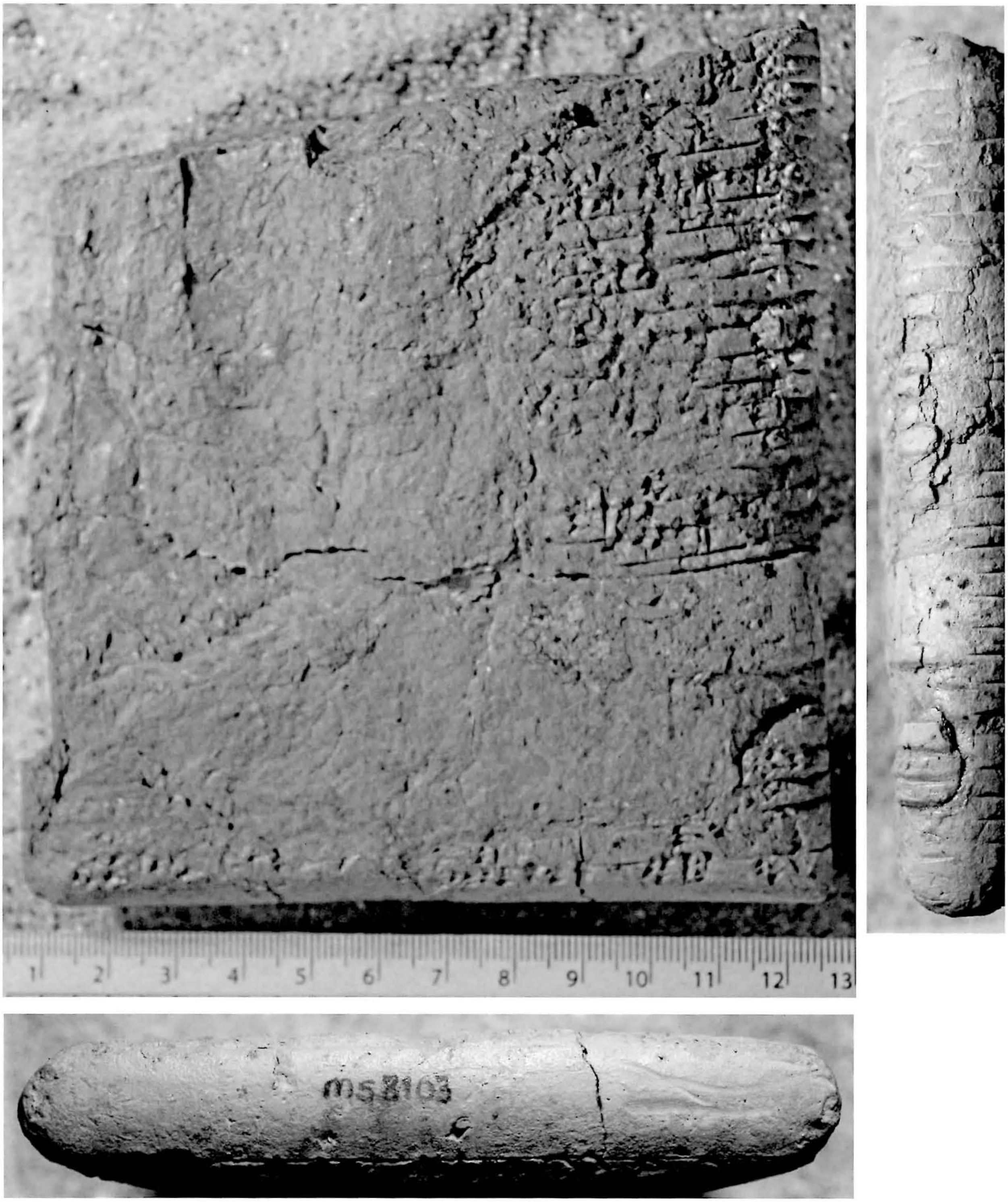
No. 30. MS 3093 rev.



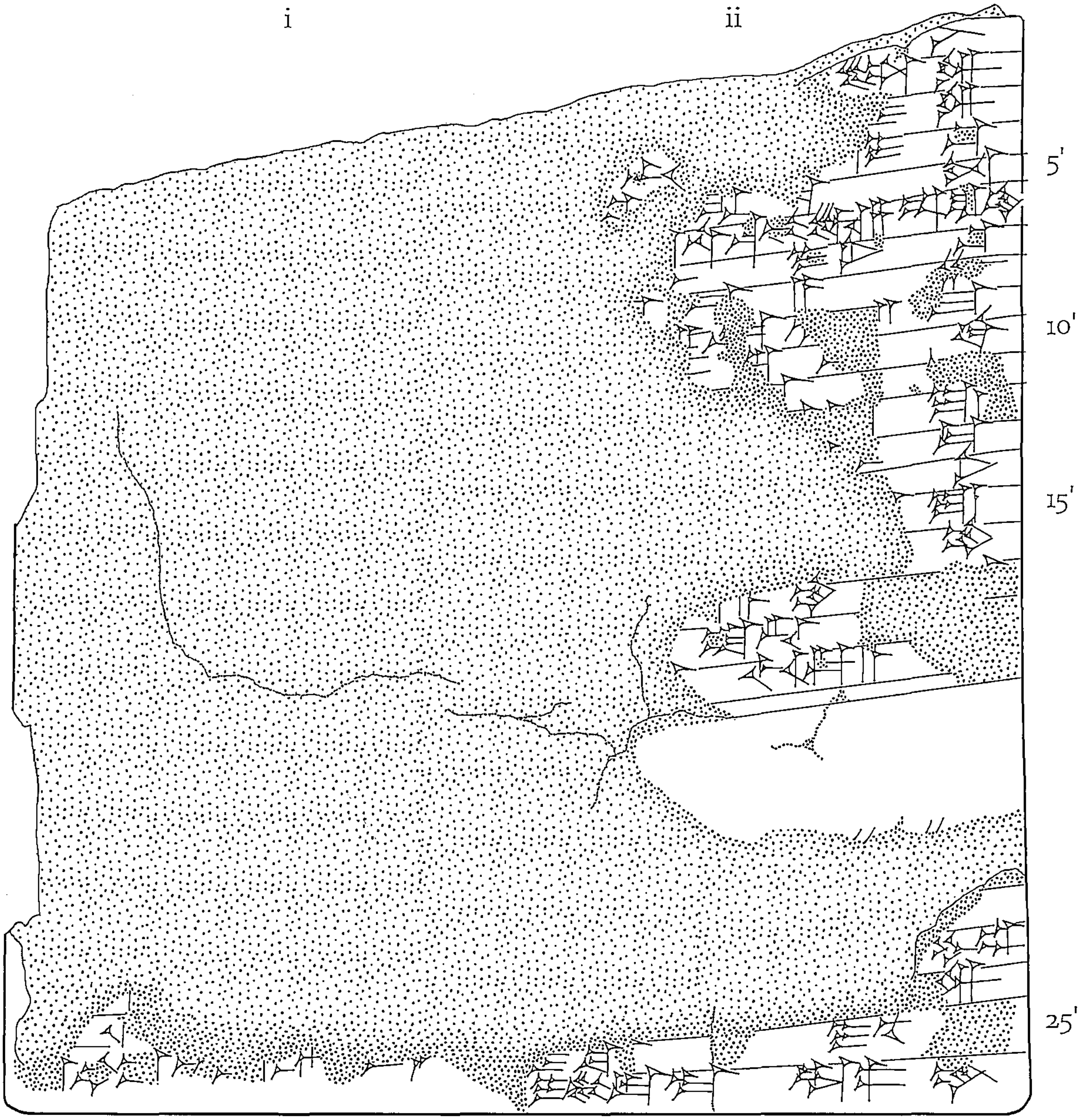
No. 30. MS 3093 rev.



No. 31. MS 3103 obv.

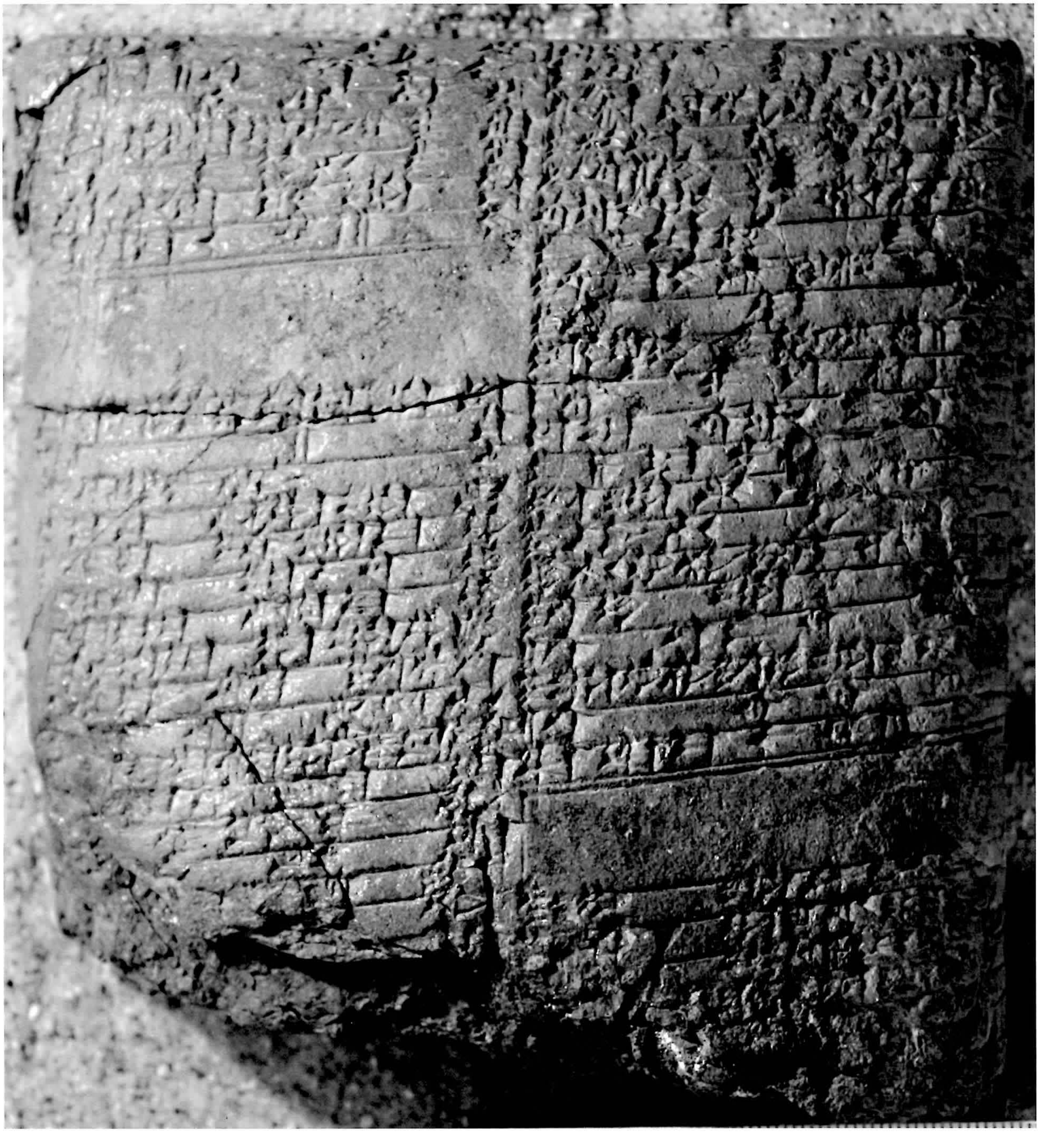


No. 31. MS 3103 obv.

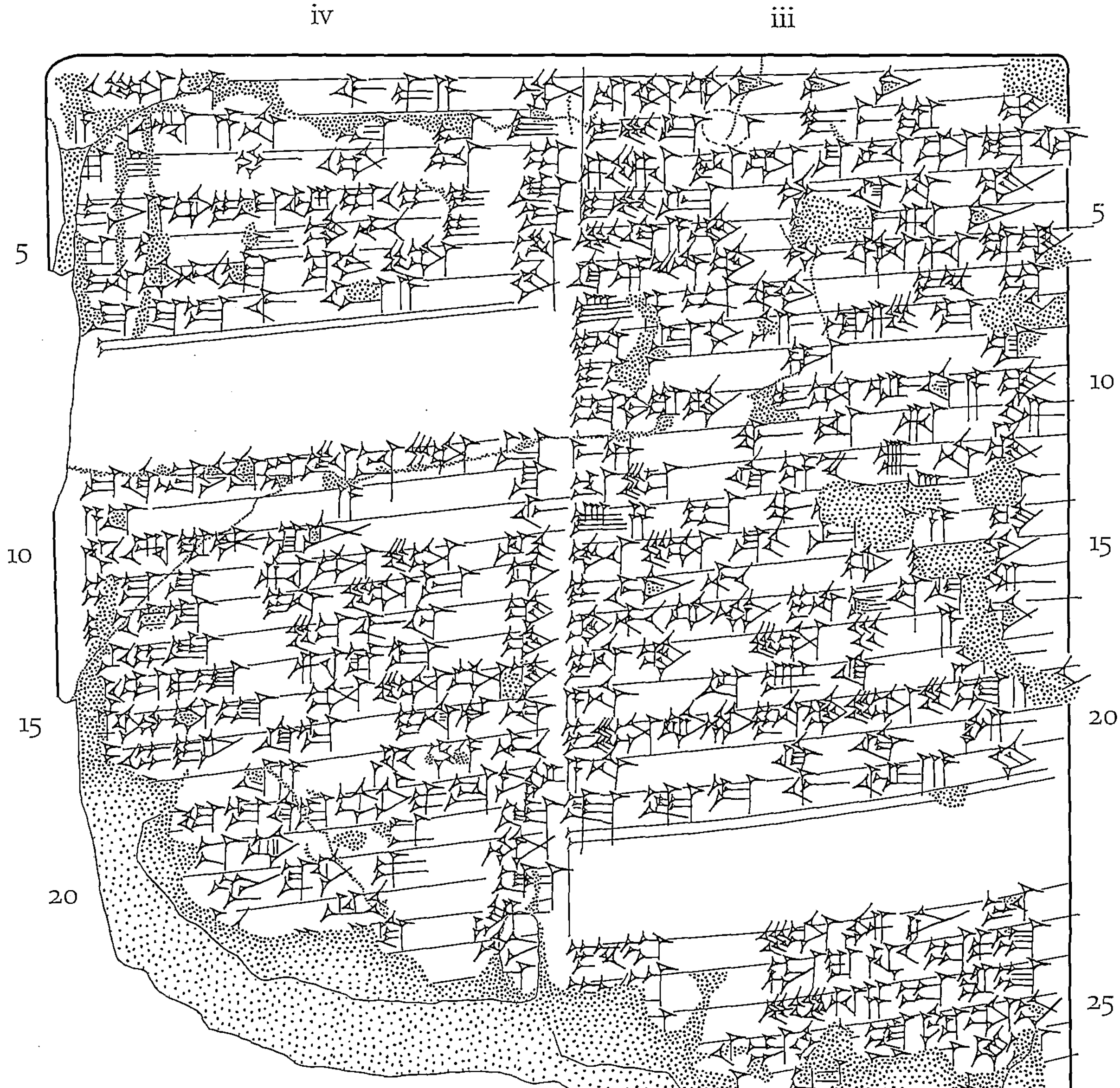


No. 31. MS 3103 rev.

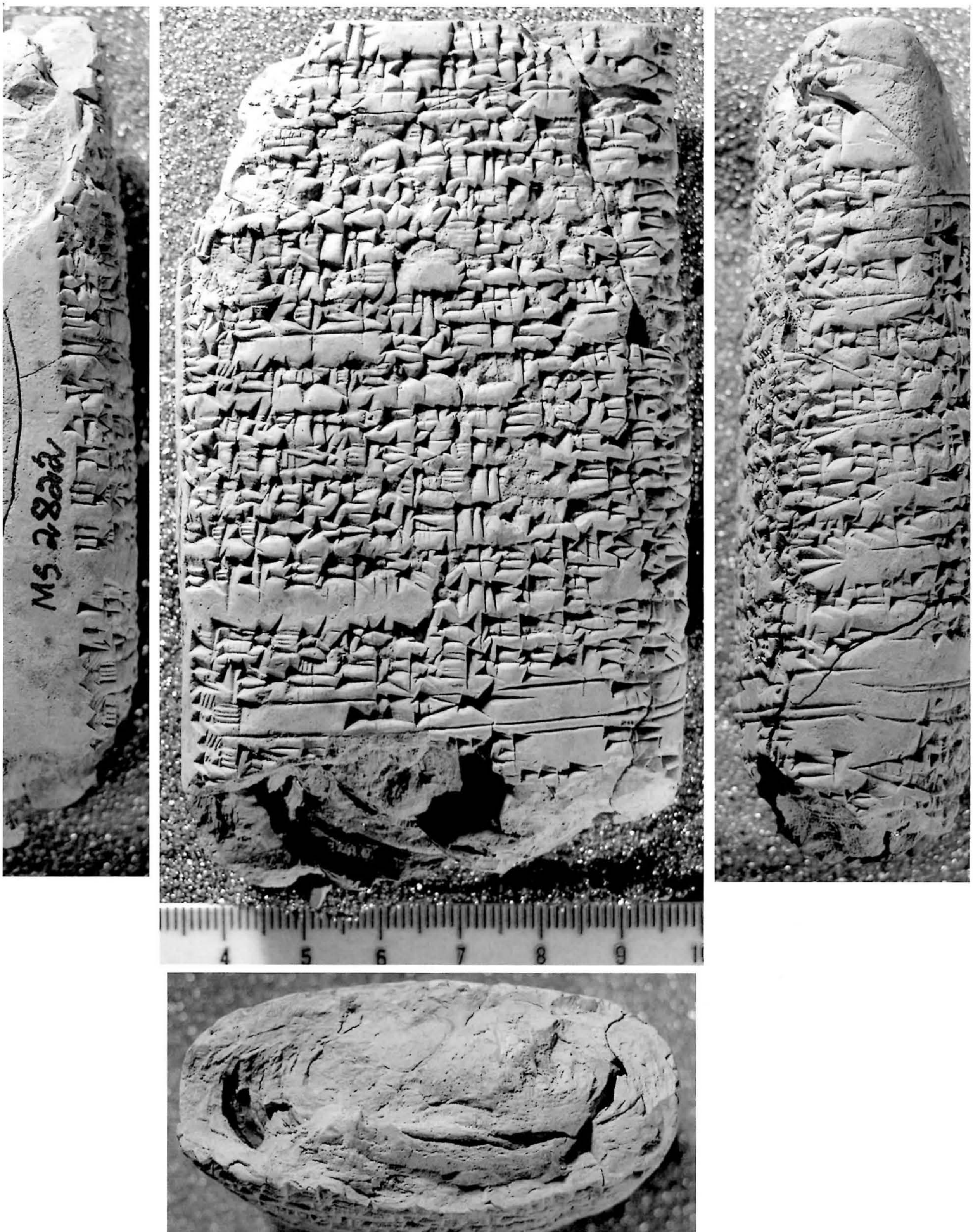




No. 31. MS 3103 rev.



No. 32. MS 2822 obv.



No. 32. MS 2822 obv.

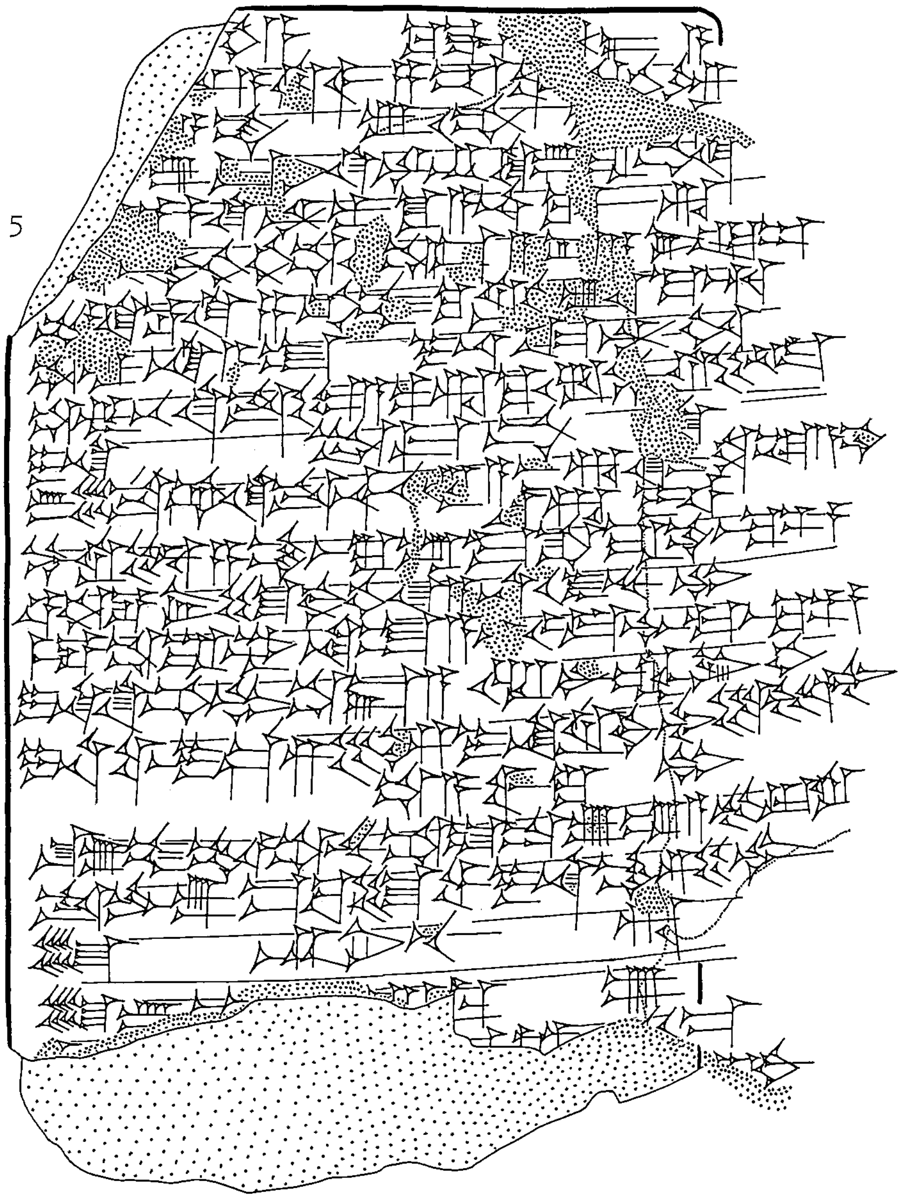
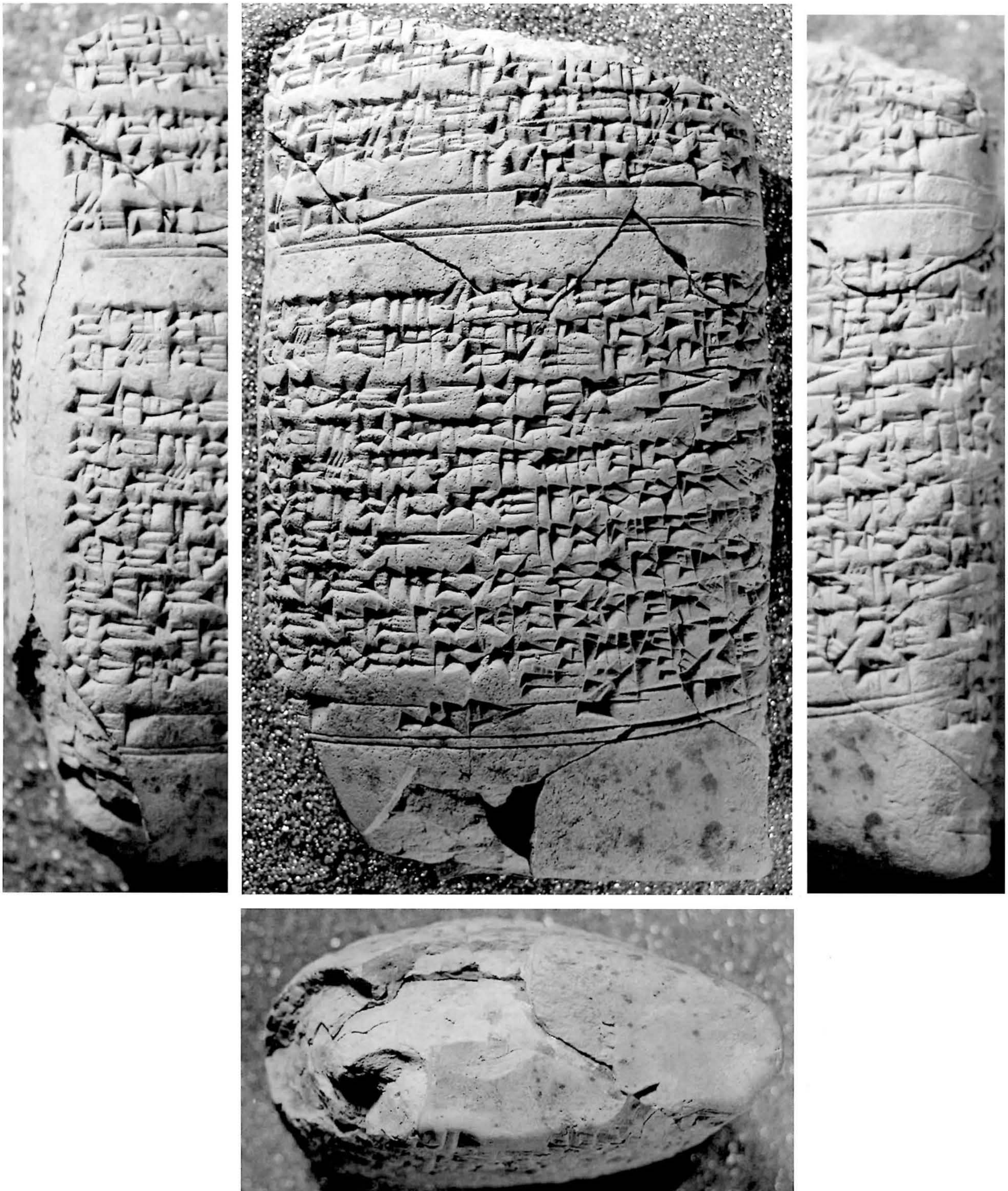


PLATE XC

No. 32. MS 2822 rev.



No. 32. MS 2822 rev.

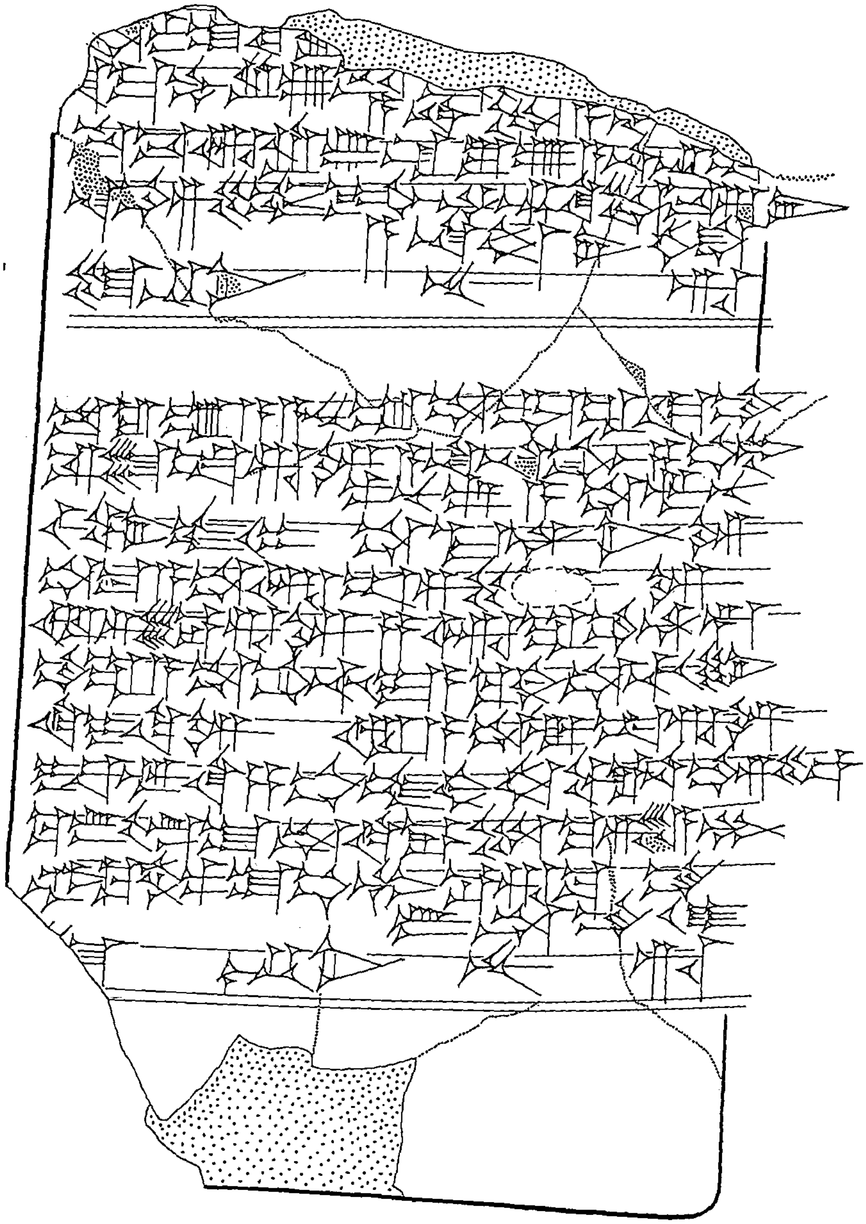
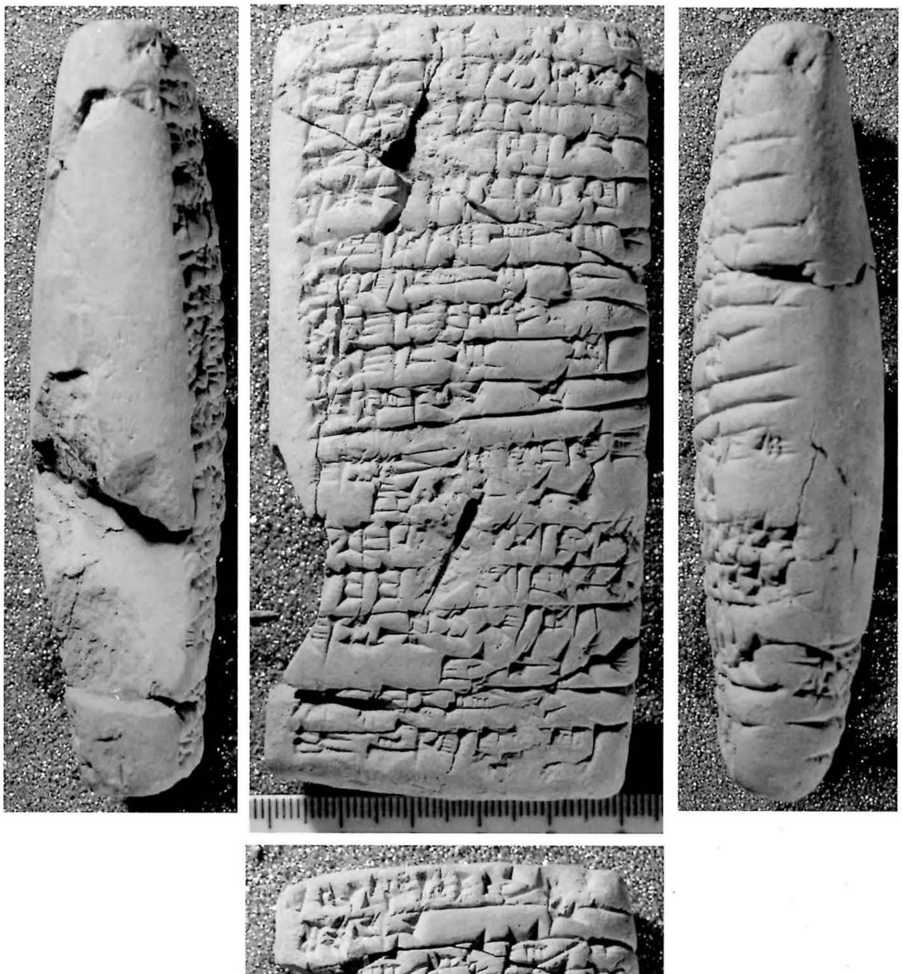


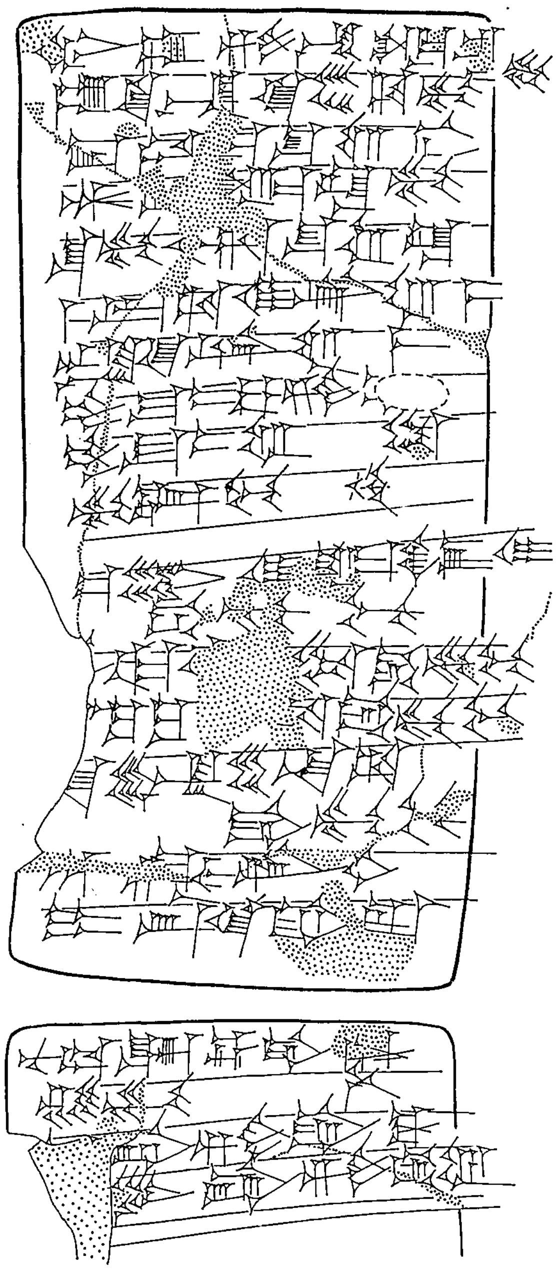
PLATE XCII

No. 33. MS 2844



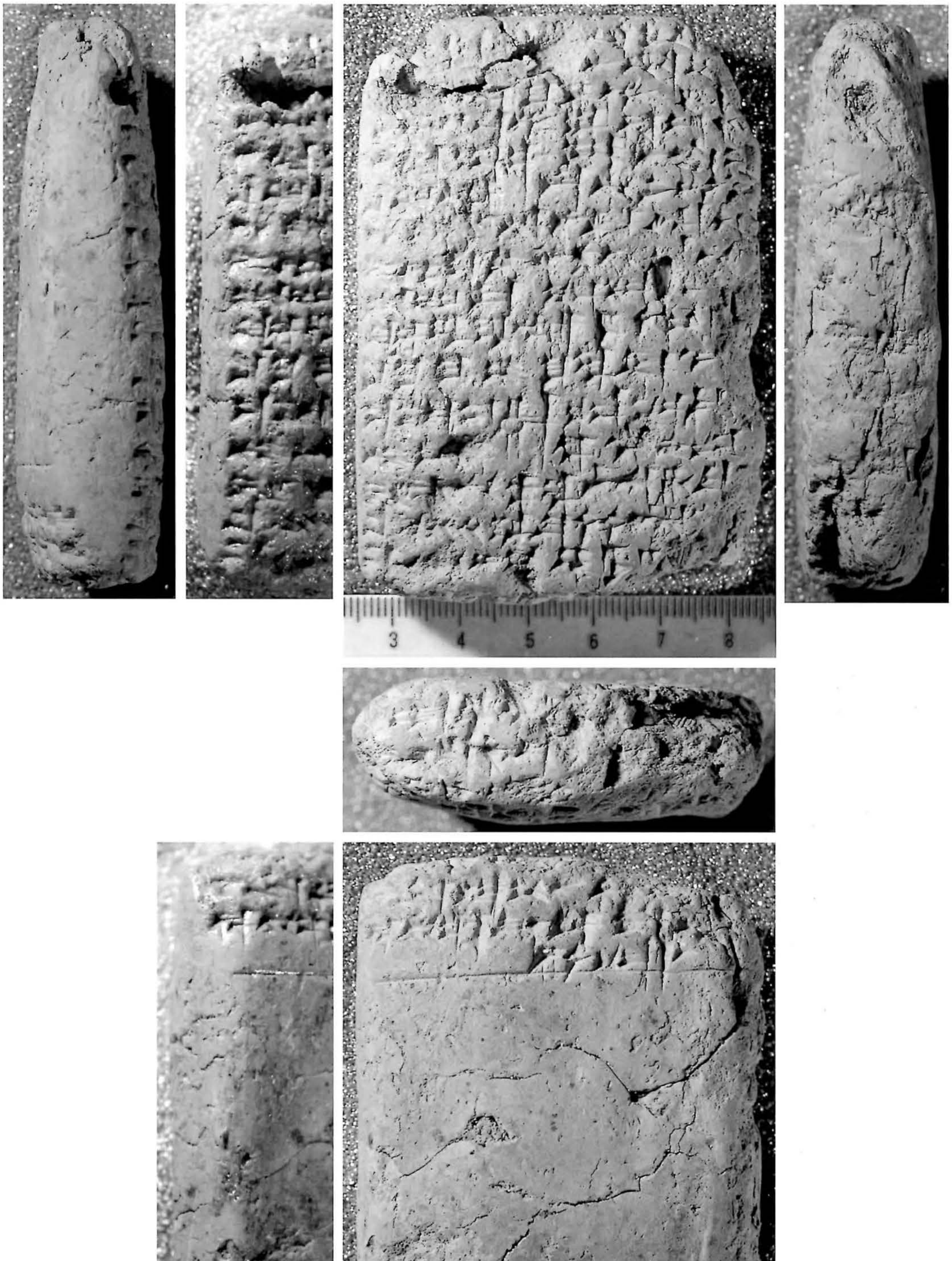
No. 33. MS 2844

obv.

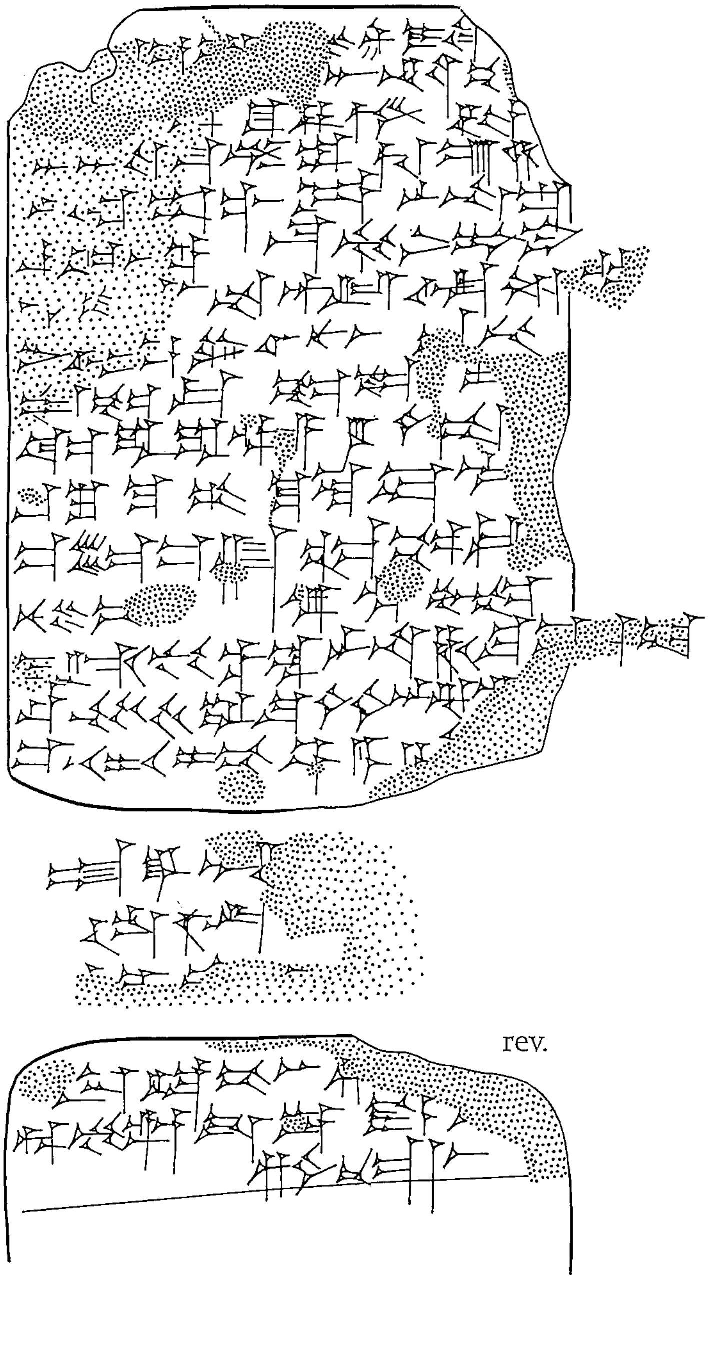


rev.

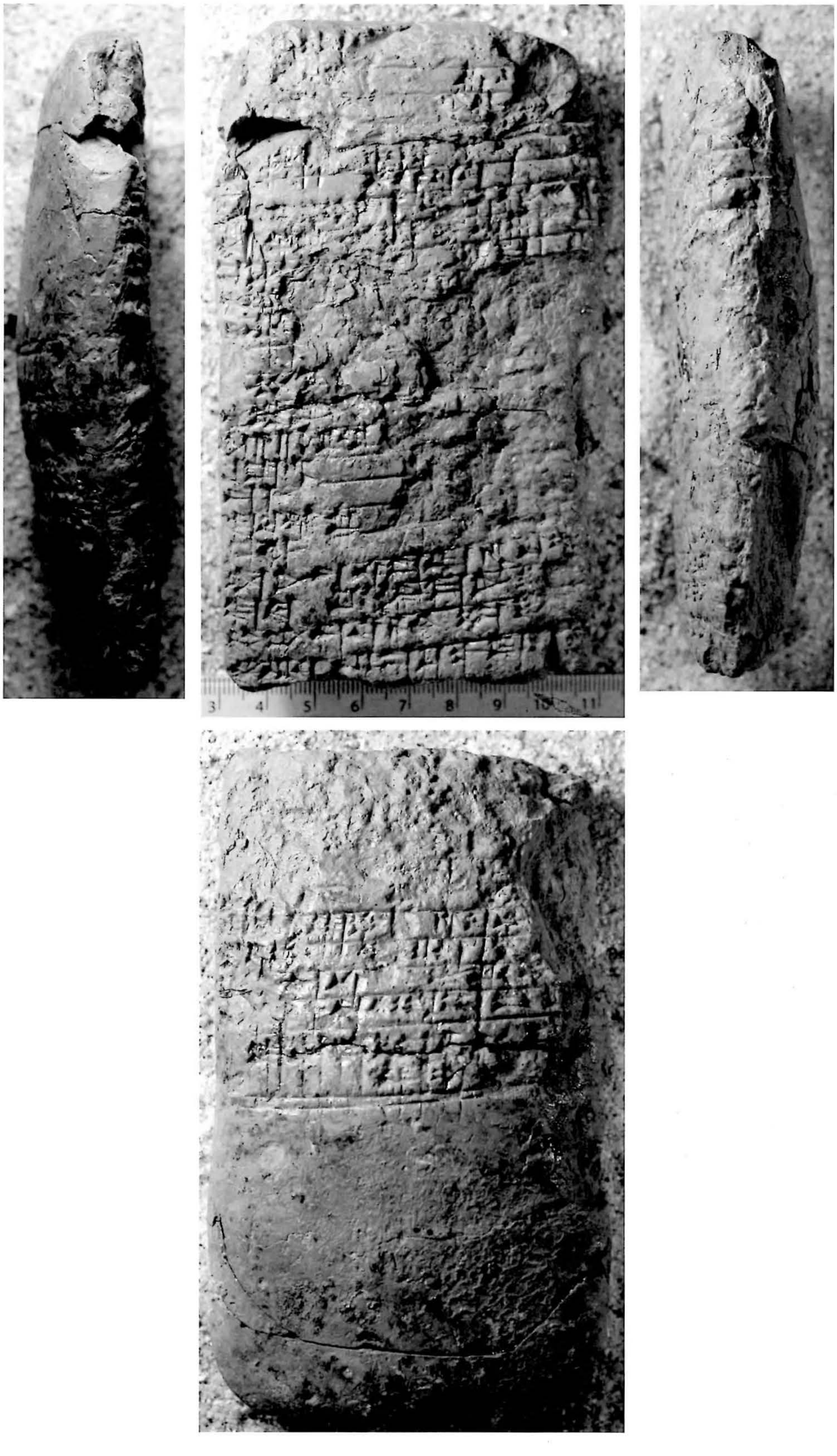
No. 34. MS 2757



No. 34. MS 2757

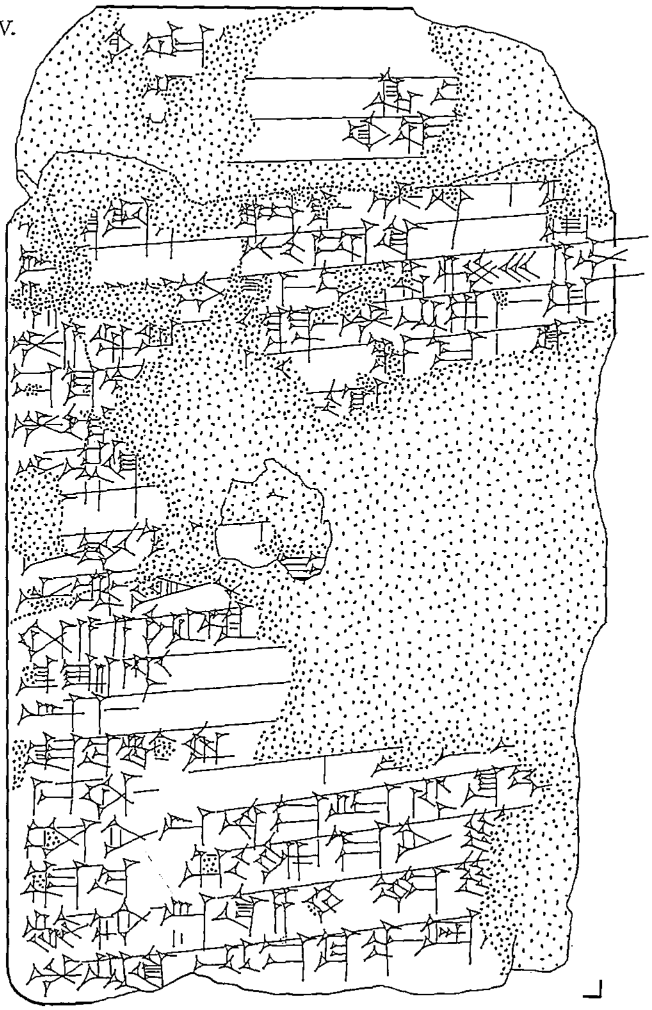


No. 35. MS 3083

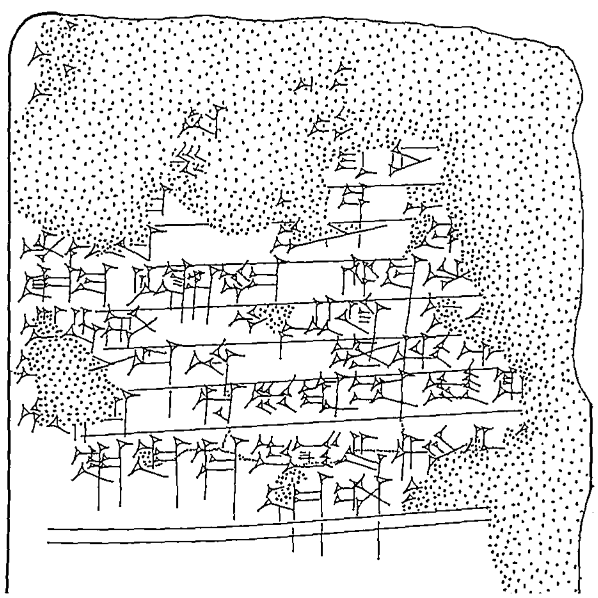


No. 35. MS 3083

obv.



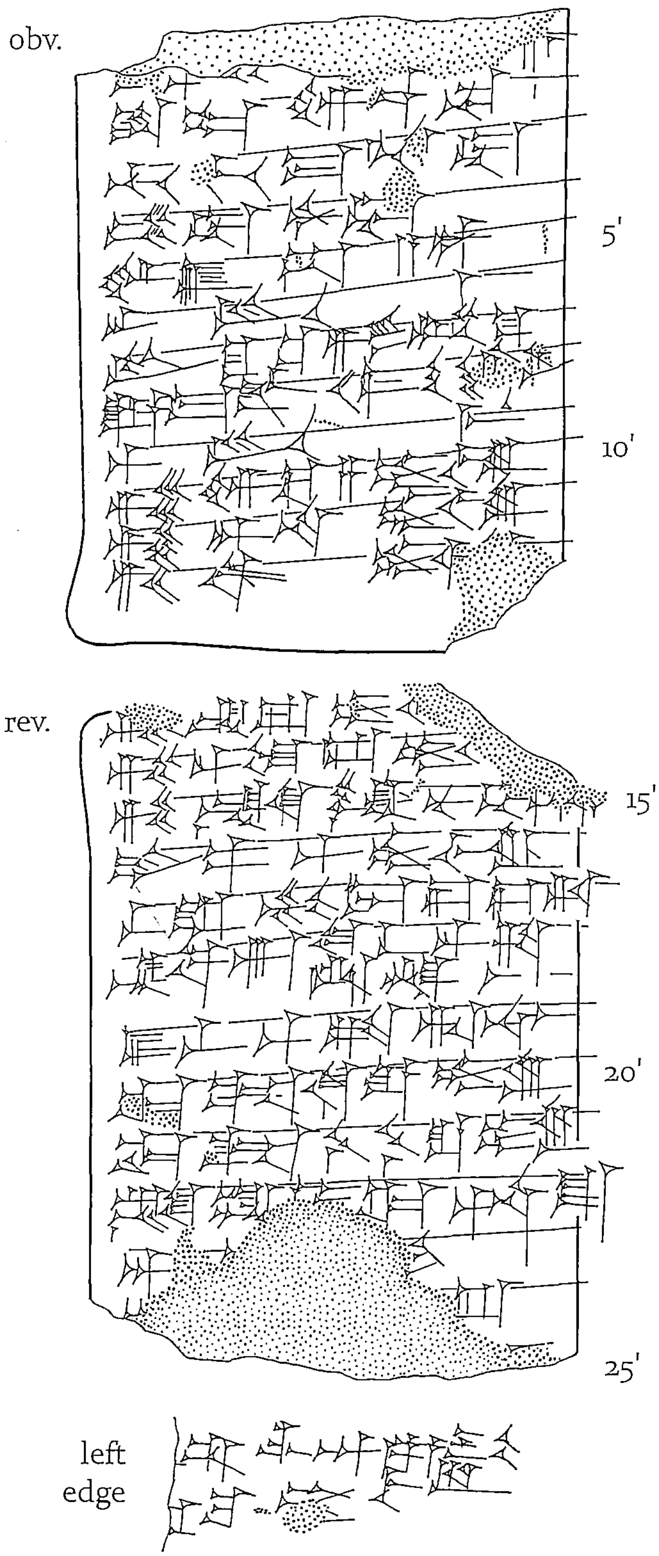
rev.



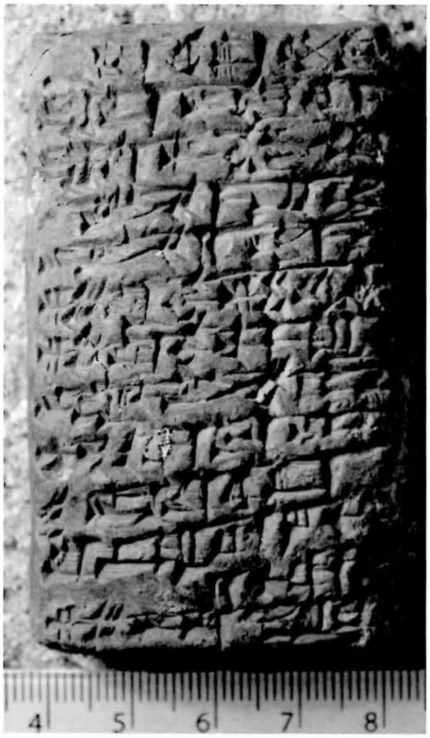
No. 36. MS 2283/1



No. 36. MS 2283/1



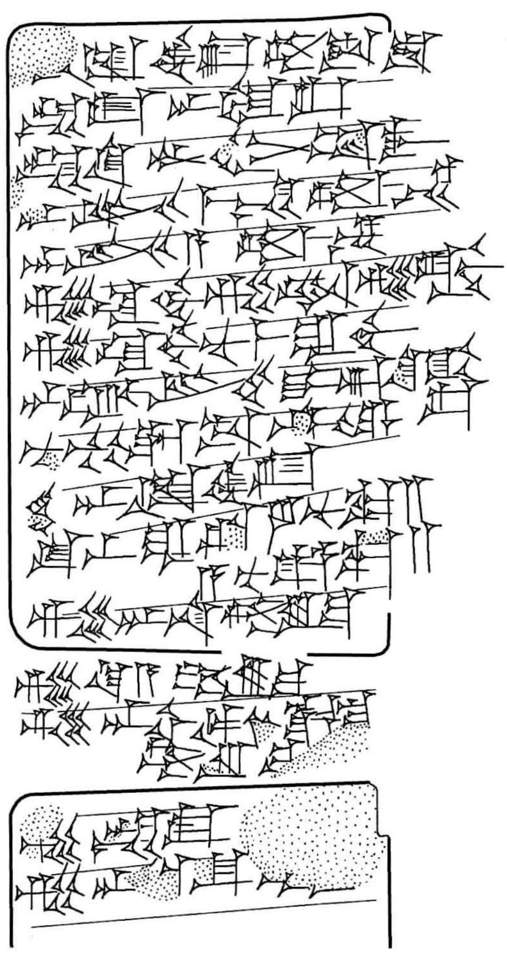
No. 37. MS 3074











obv.

lower edge

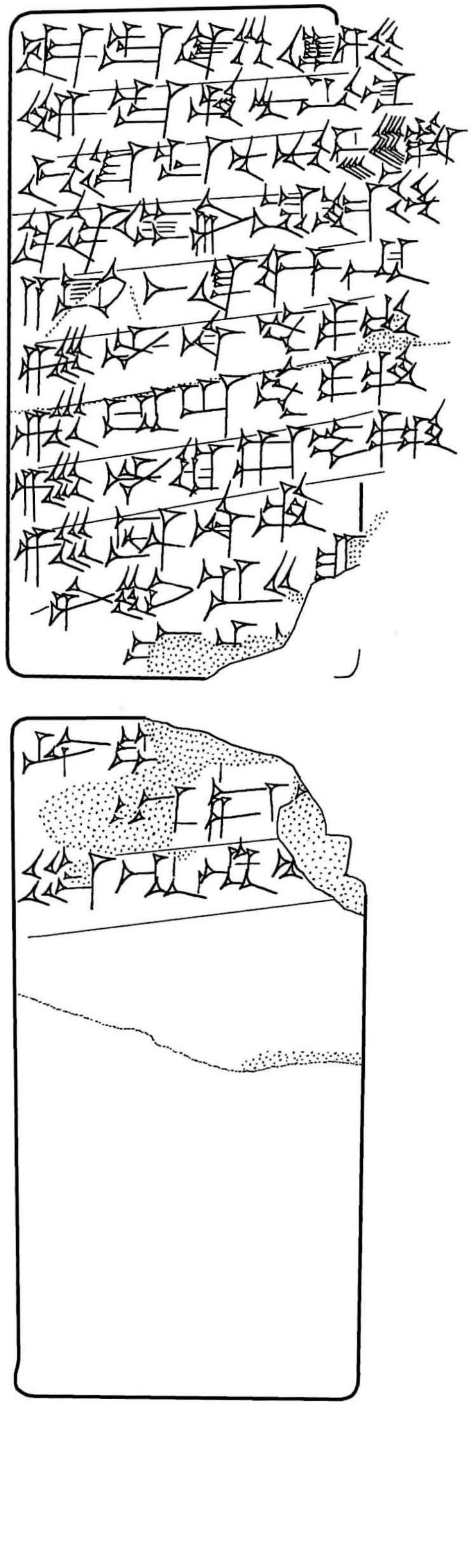
rev.

No. 38. MS 2283/2

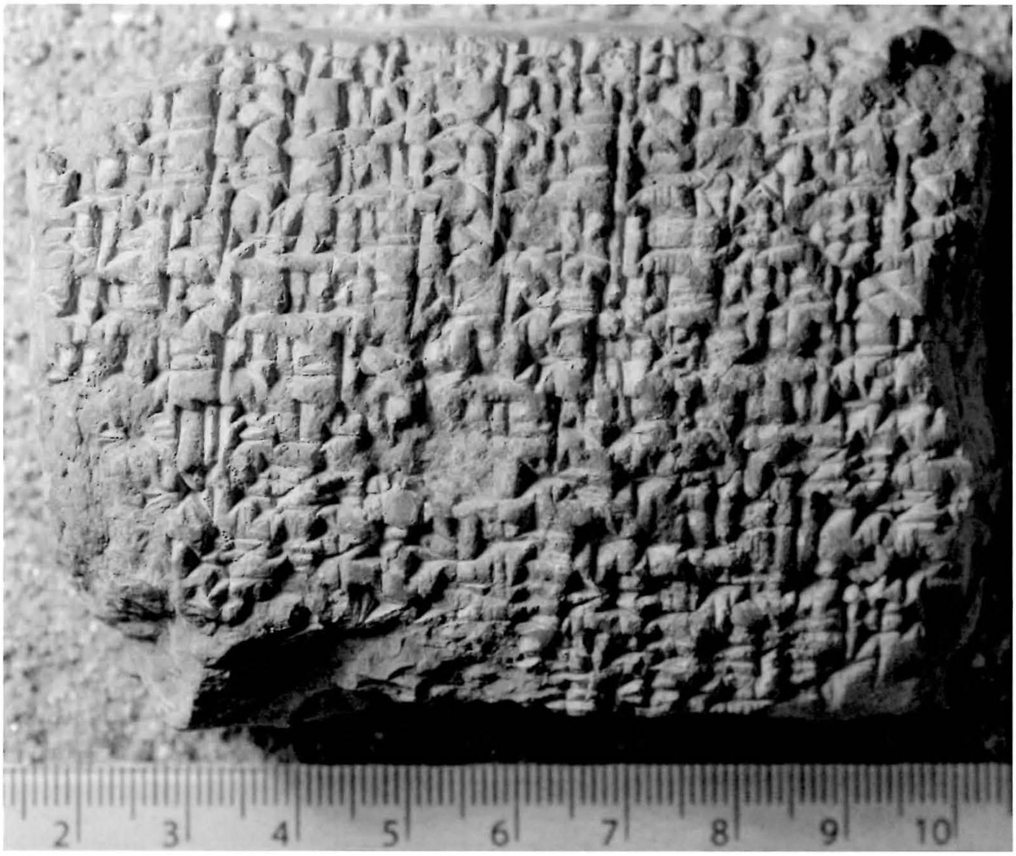


obv.

rev.



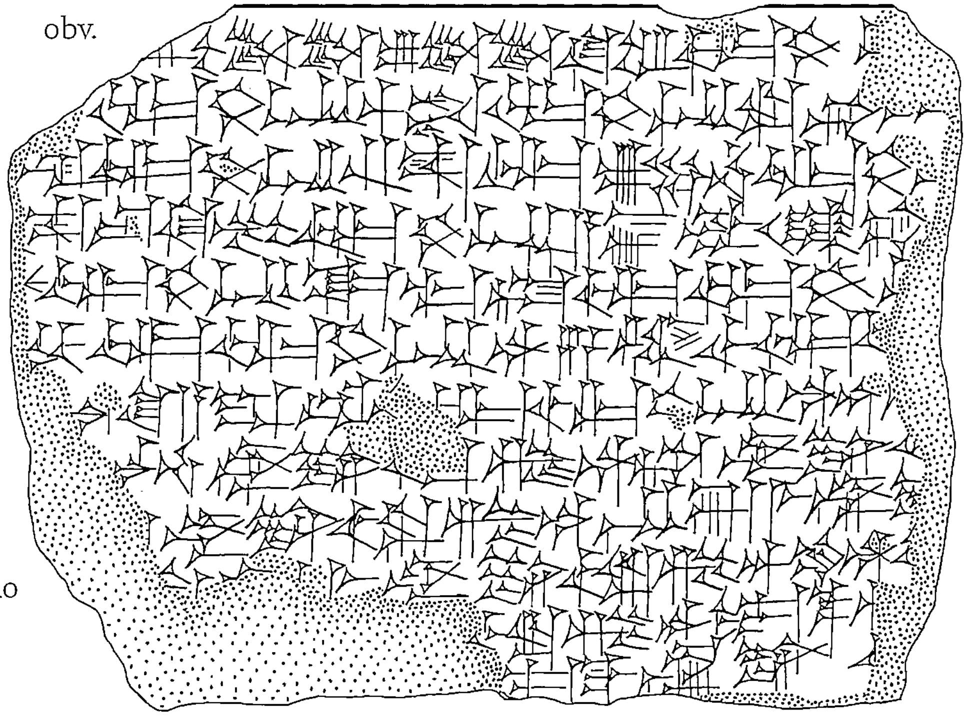
No. 39. MS 3069





No. 39. MS 3069

obv.





rev.

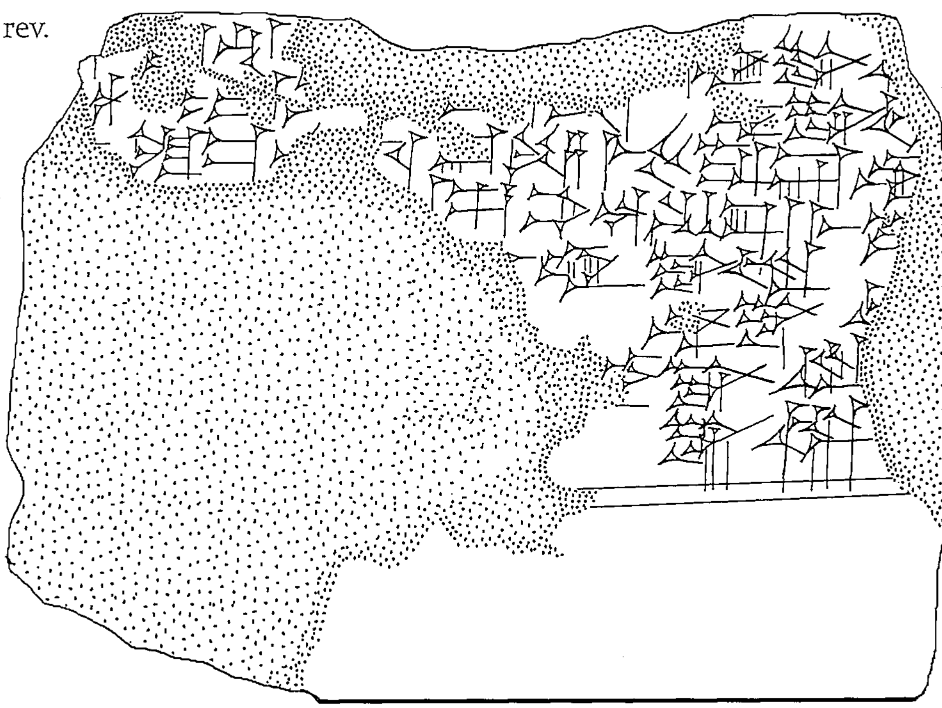
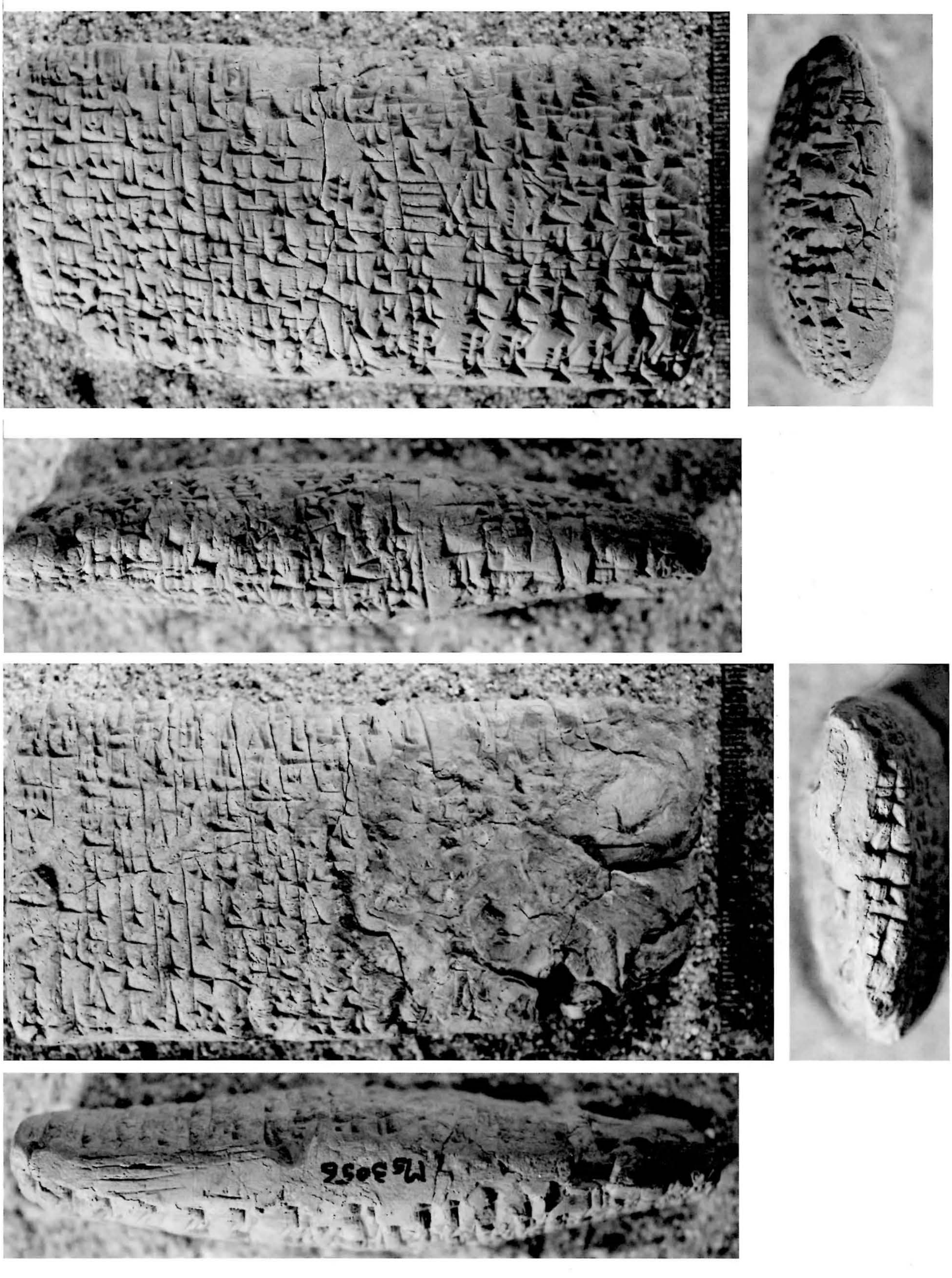
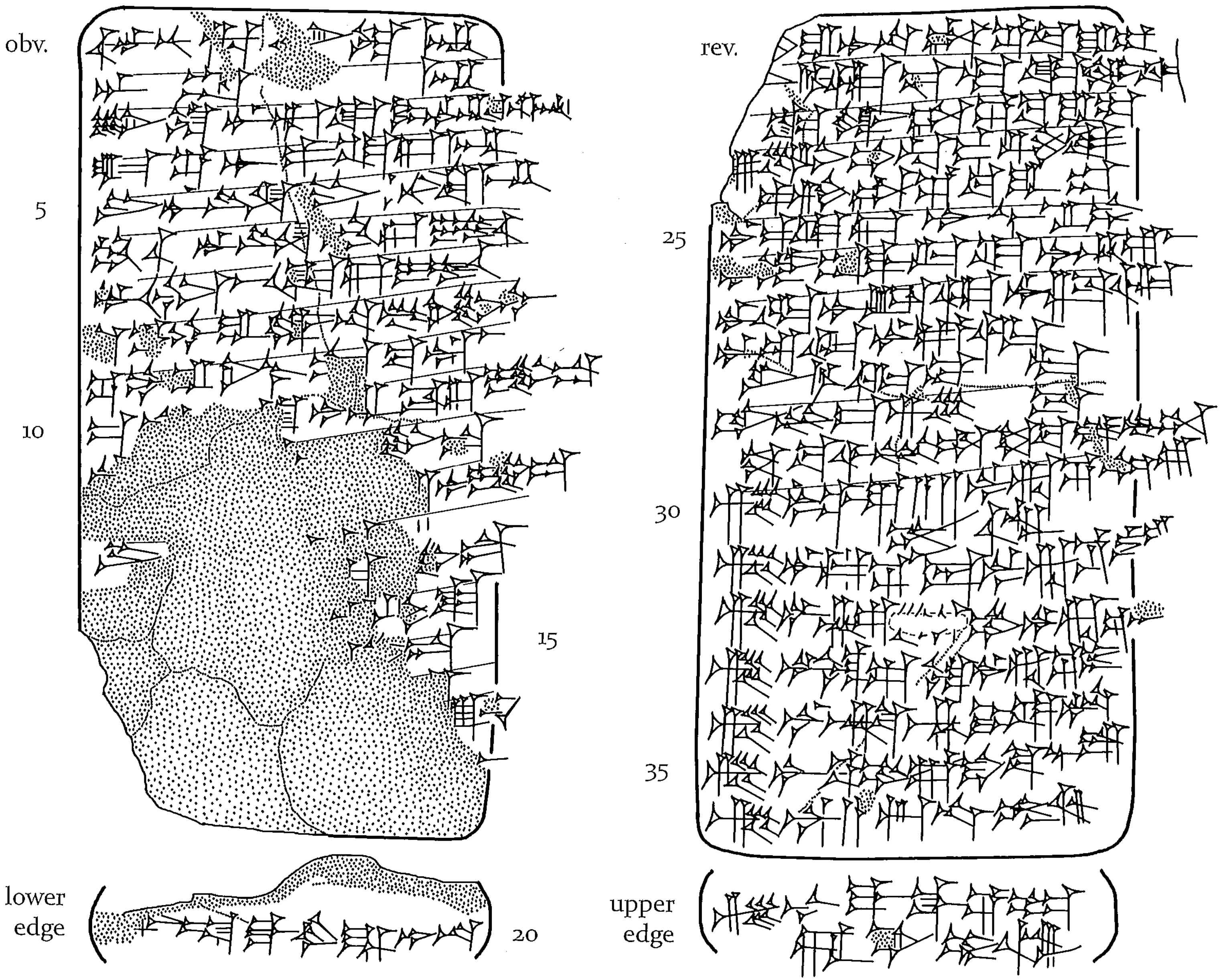


PLATE CIV

No. 40. MS 3056



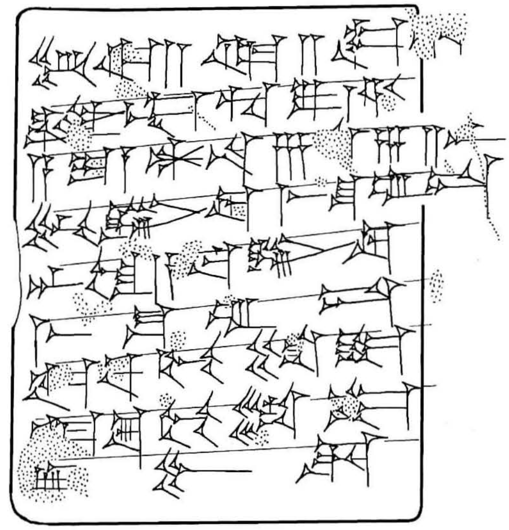
No. 40. MS 3056

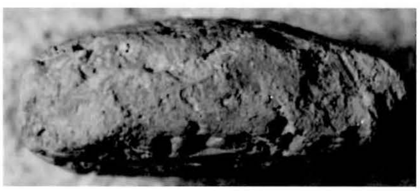


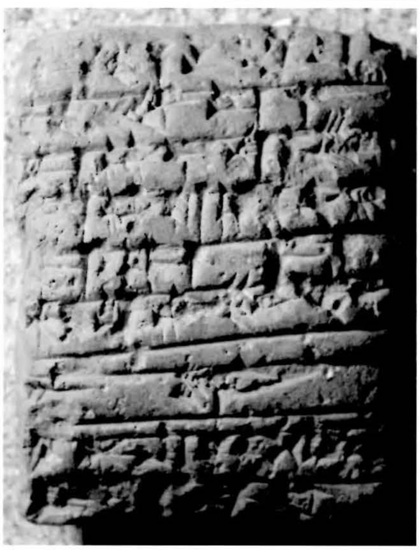
No. 41. MS 3063



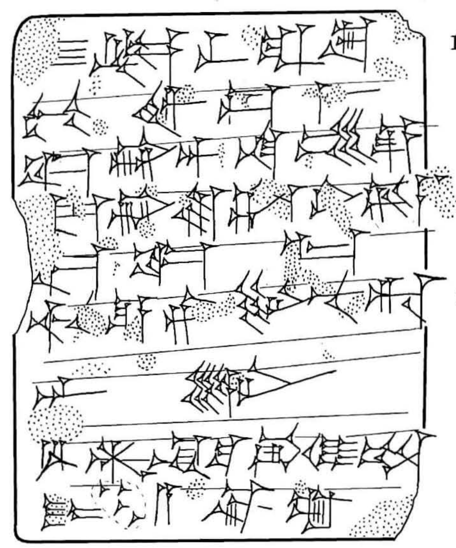

obv.








rev.

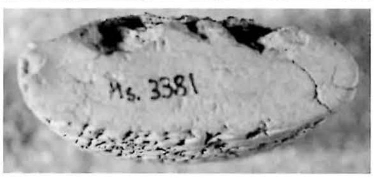


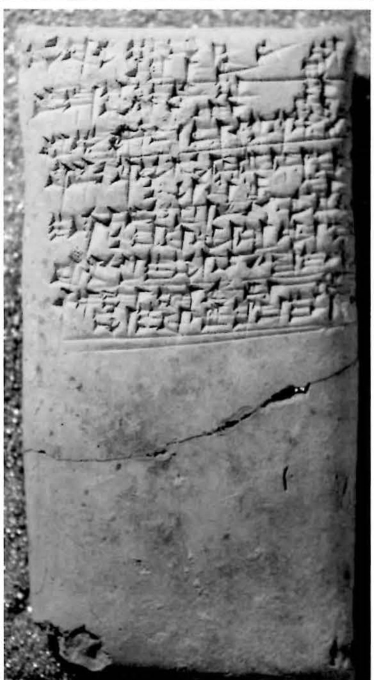


No. 42. MS 3381

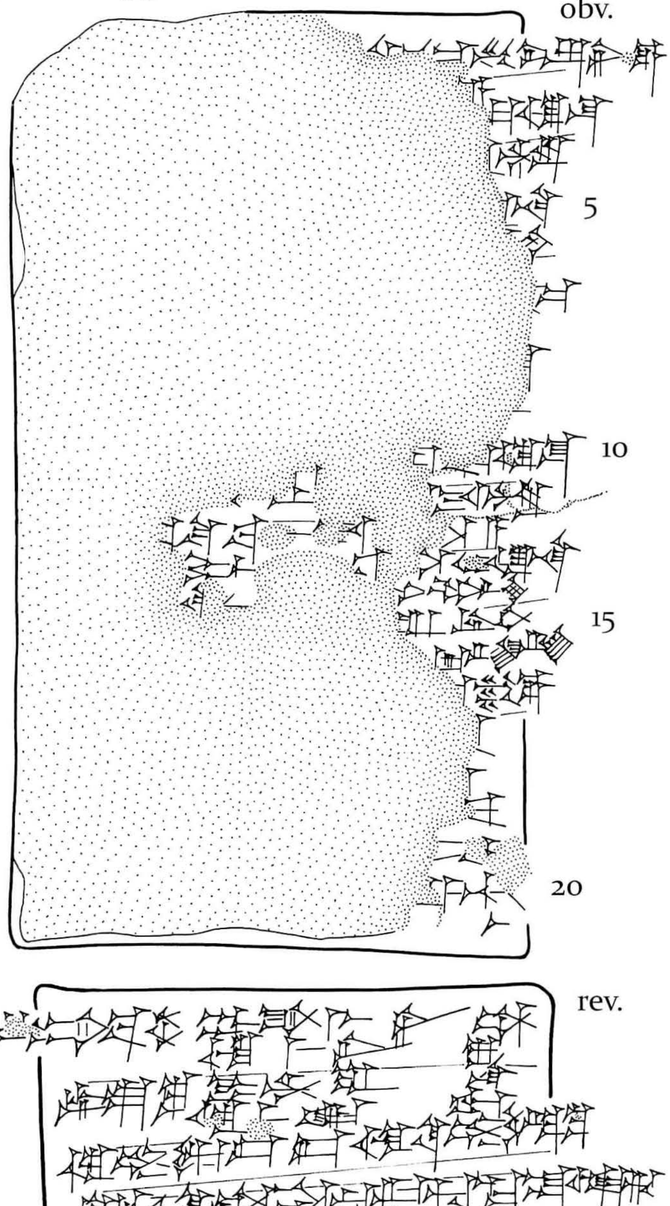


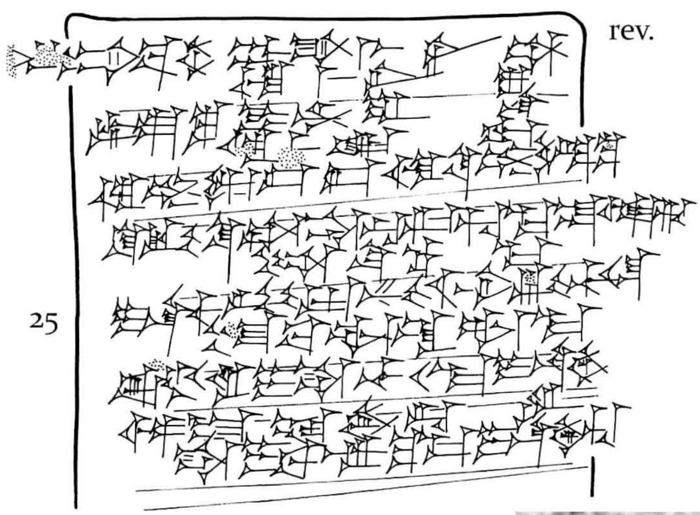








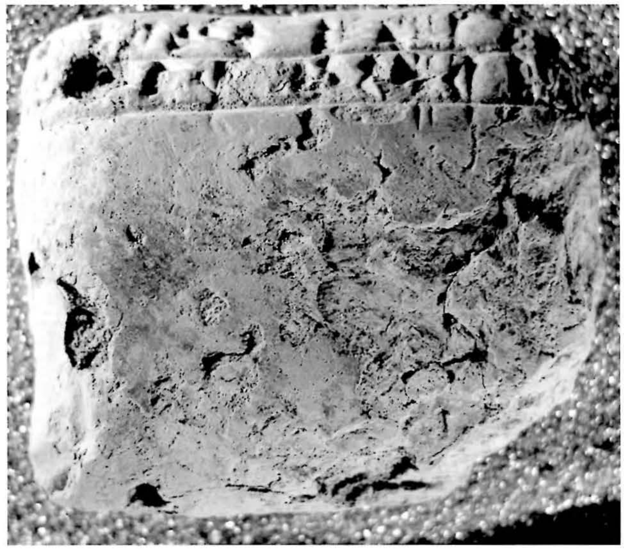


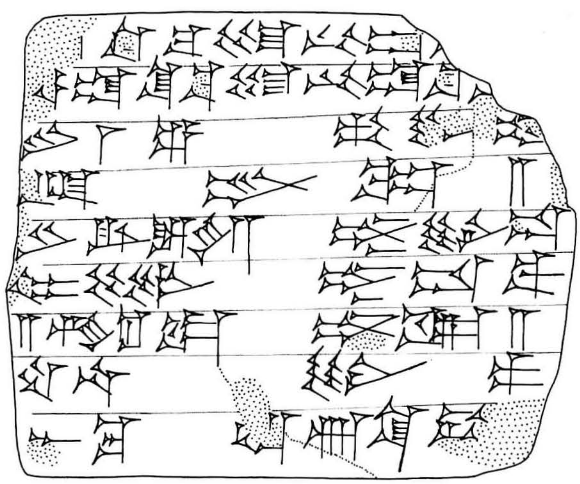


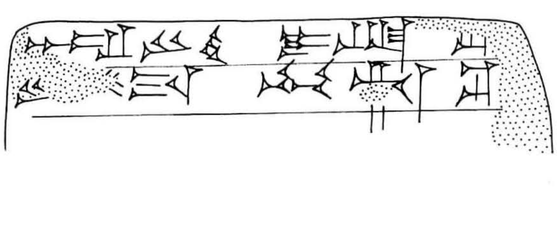

upper left edge, detail

No. 43. MS 3371





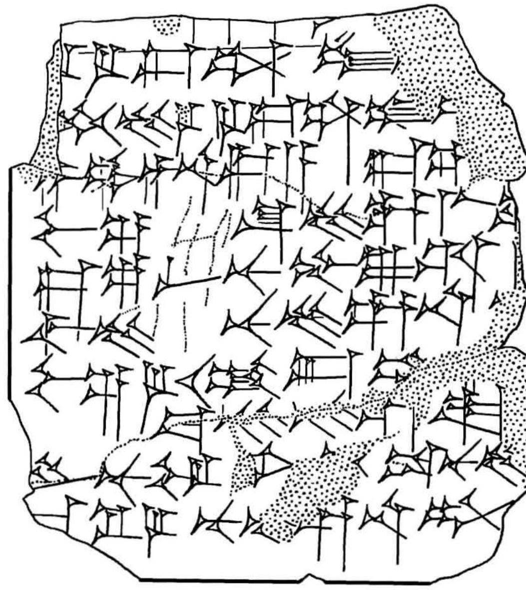




No. 44. MS 3306

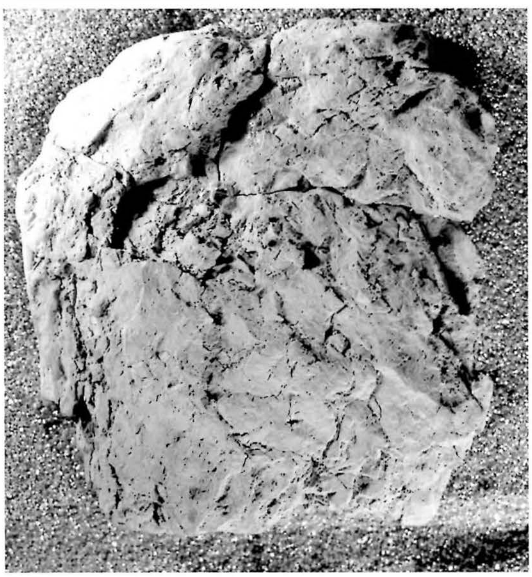


obv.

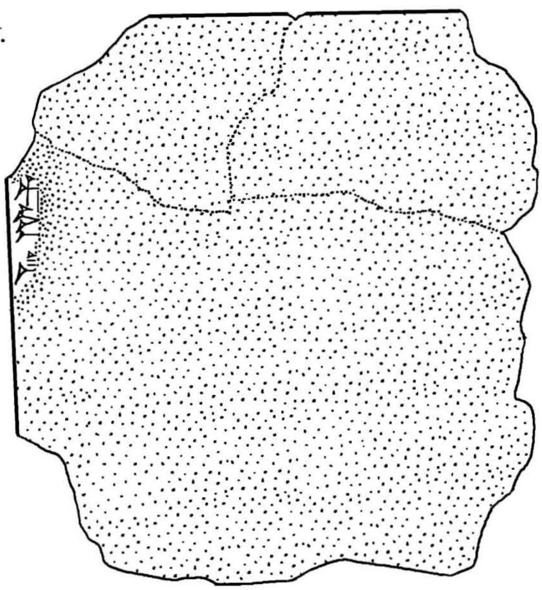


5'

10'



rev.





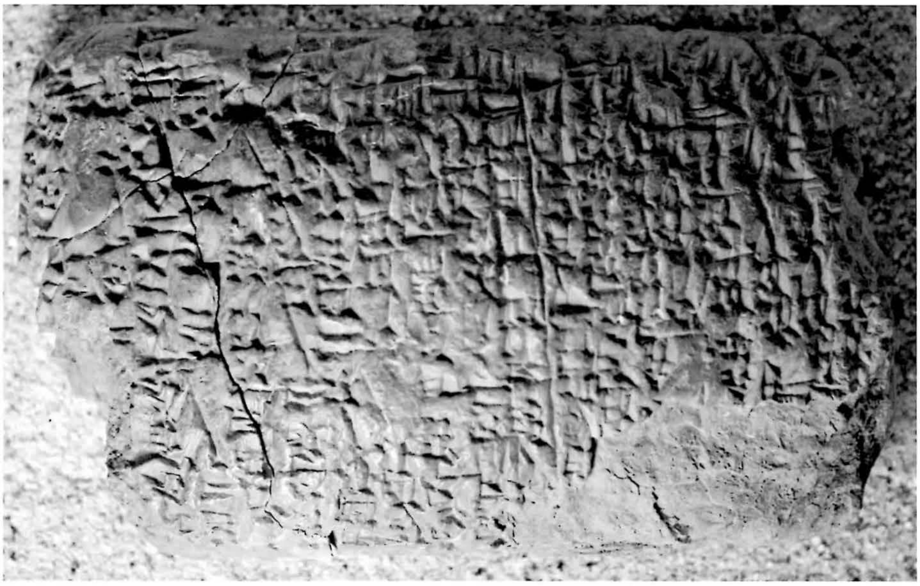
left edge



No. 45.
MS 3068







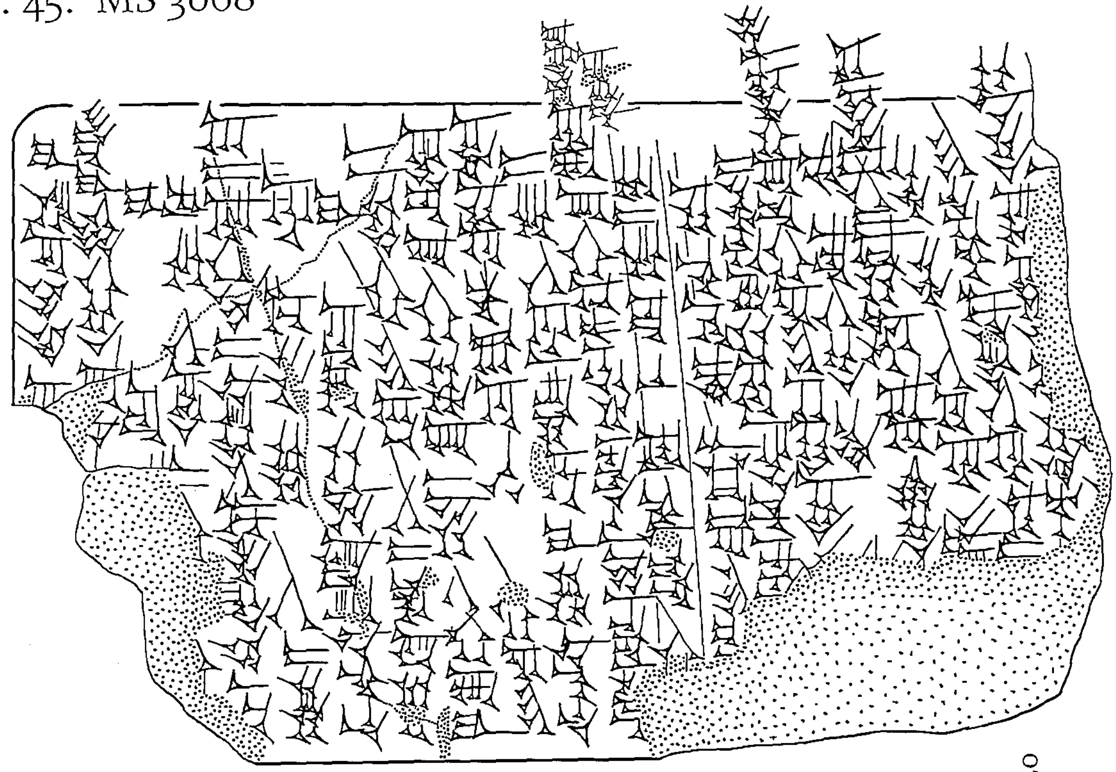




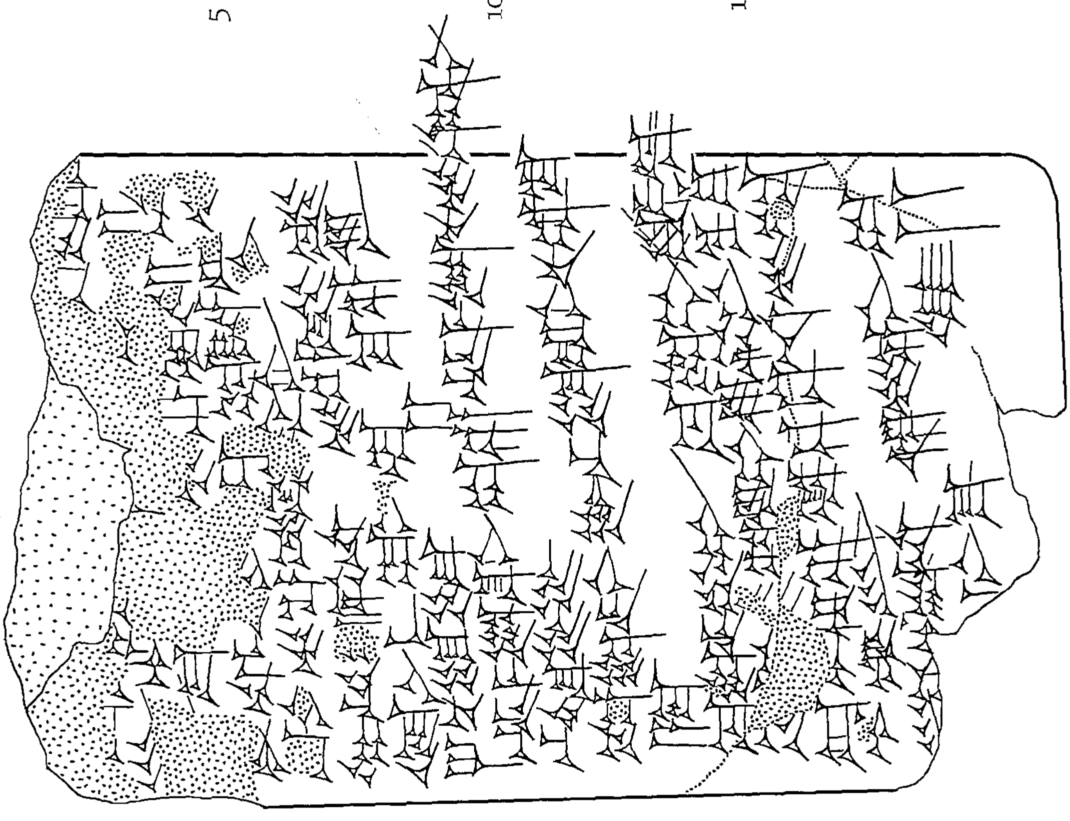


No. 45. MS 3068

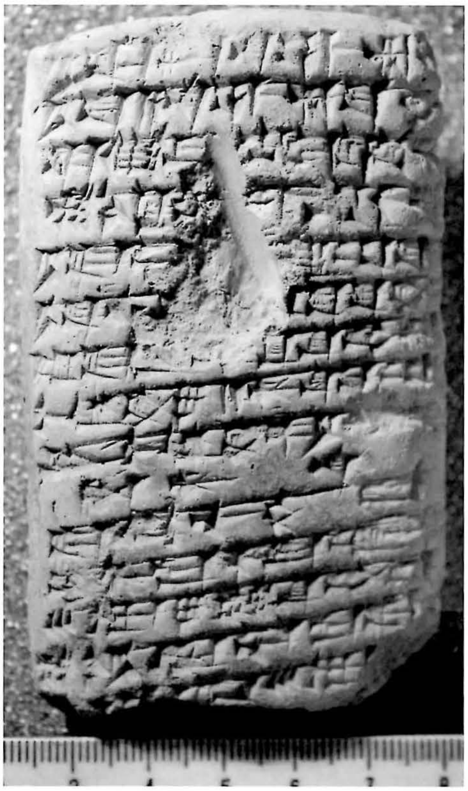
rev.

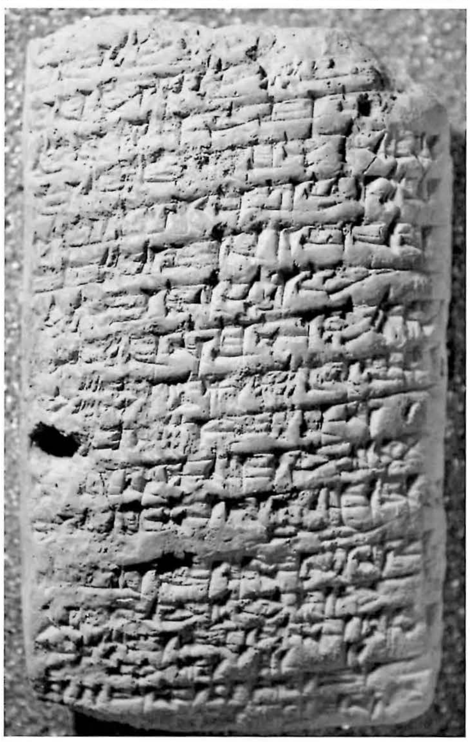


obv.



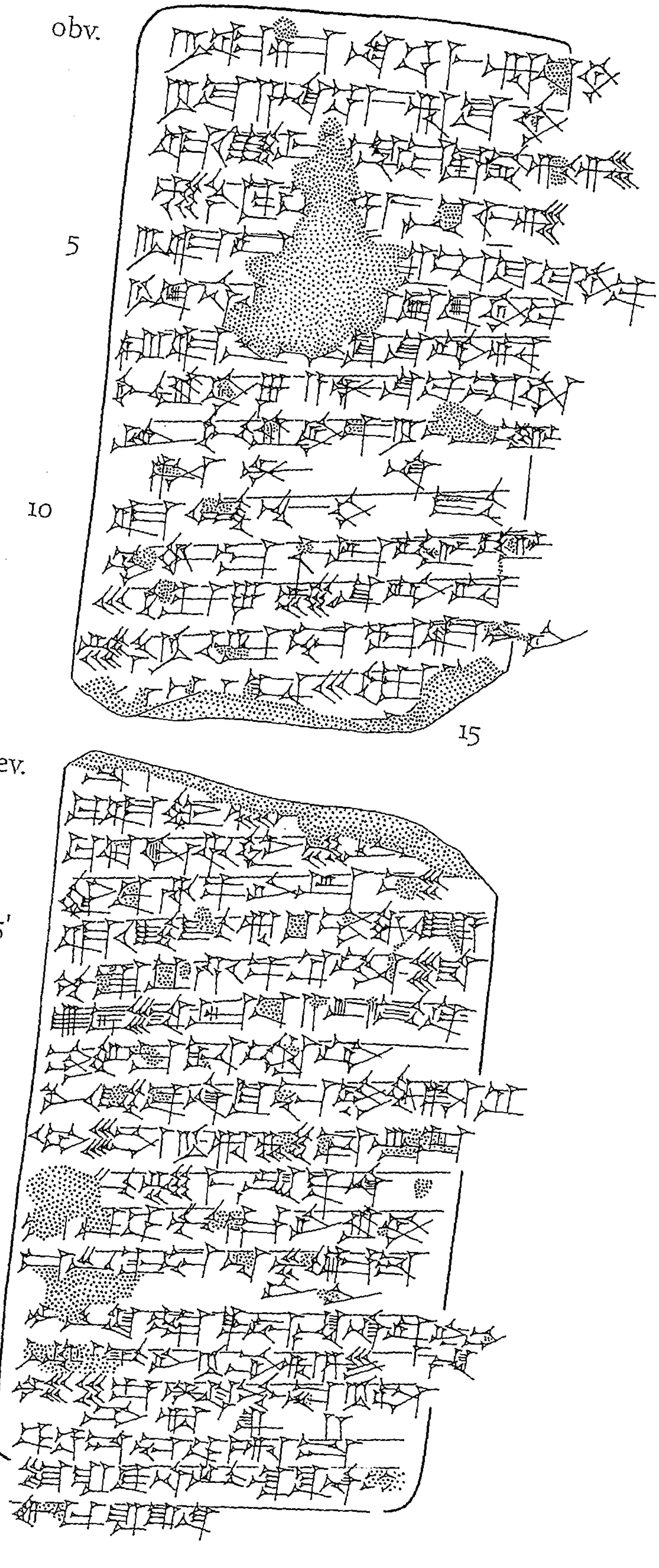
No. 46.
MS 2401






No. 46.
MS 2401



obv.

rev.

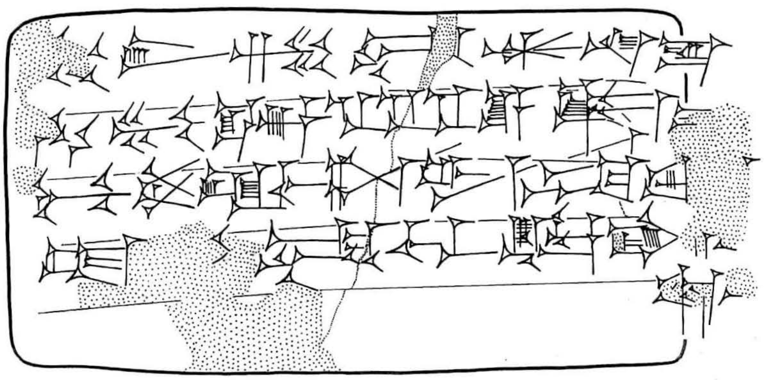
upper edge

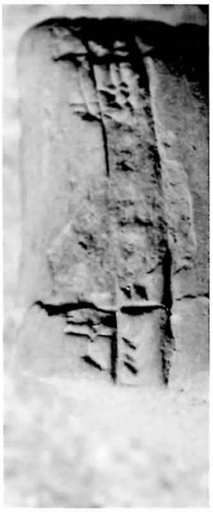
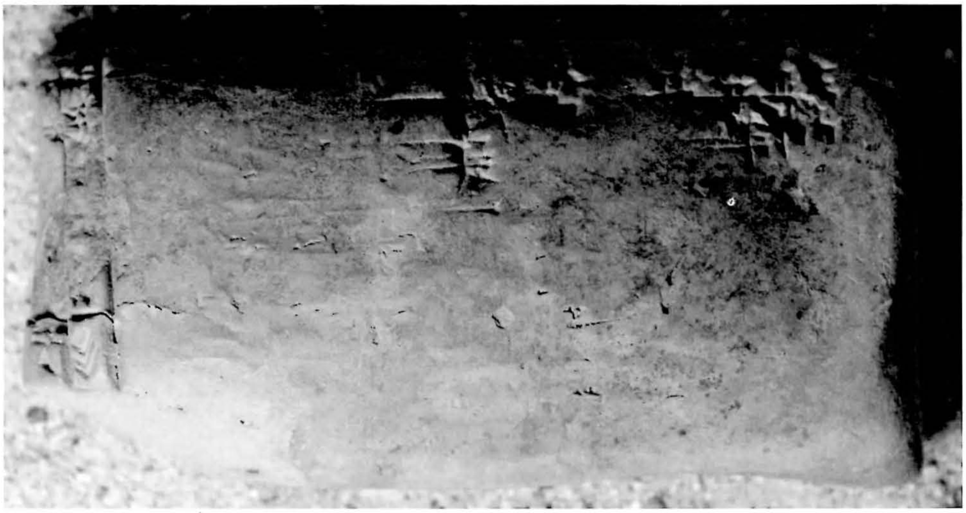
No. 47. MS 2816









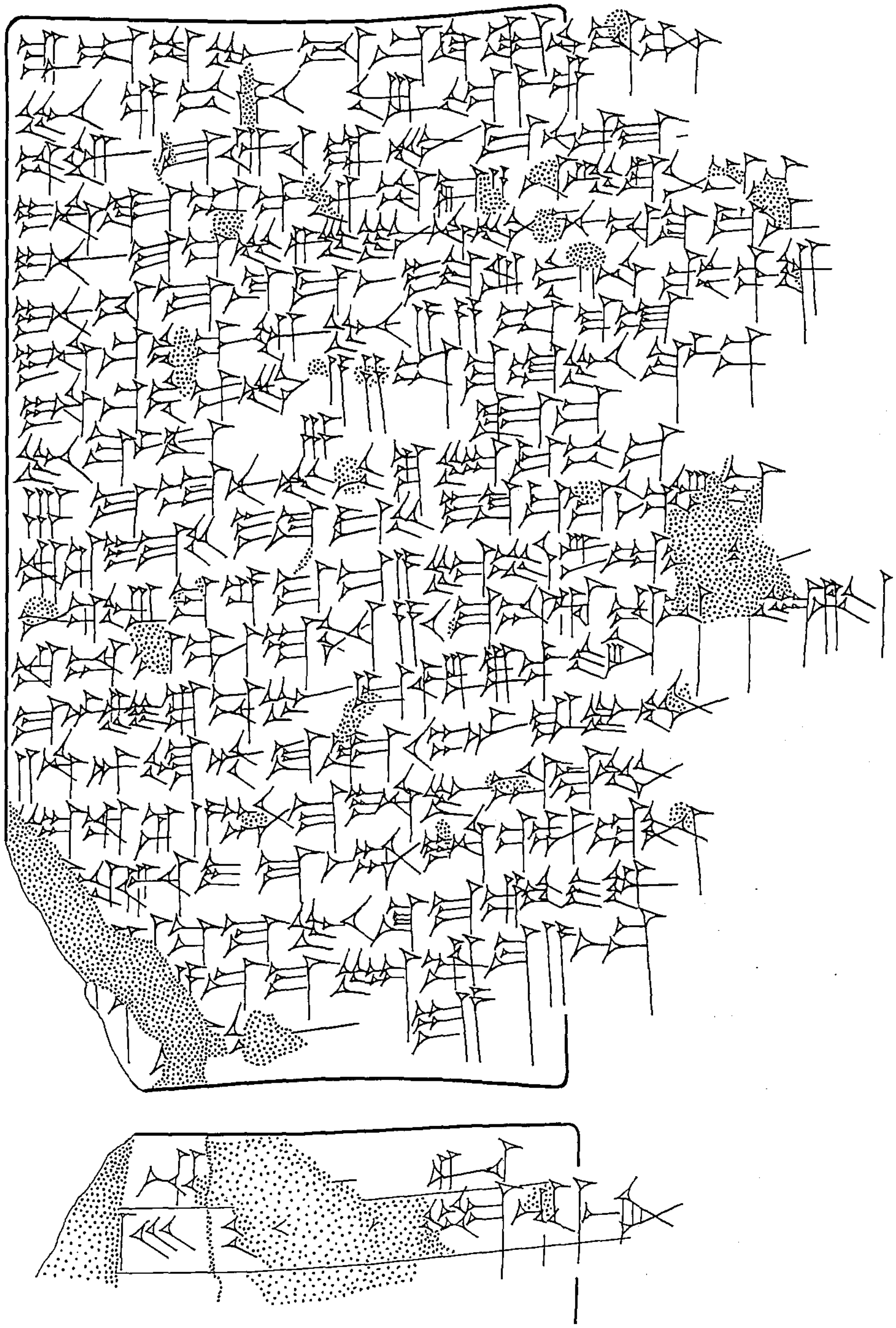
No. 48.
MS 3070





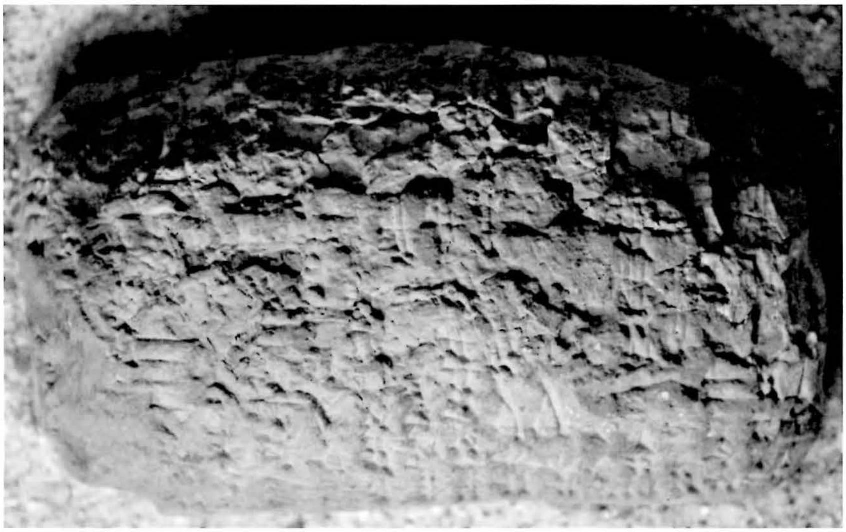

No. 48. MS 3070

obv.



rev.

PLATE CXVII





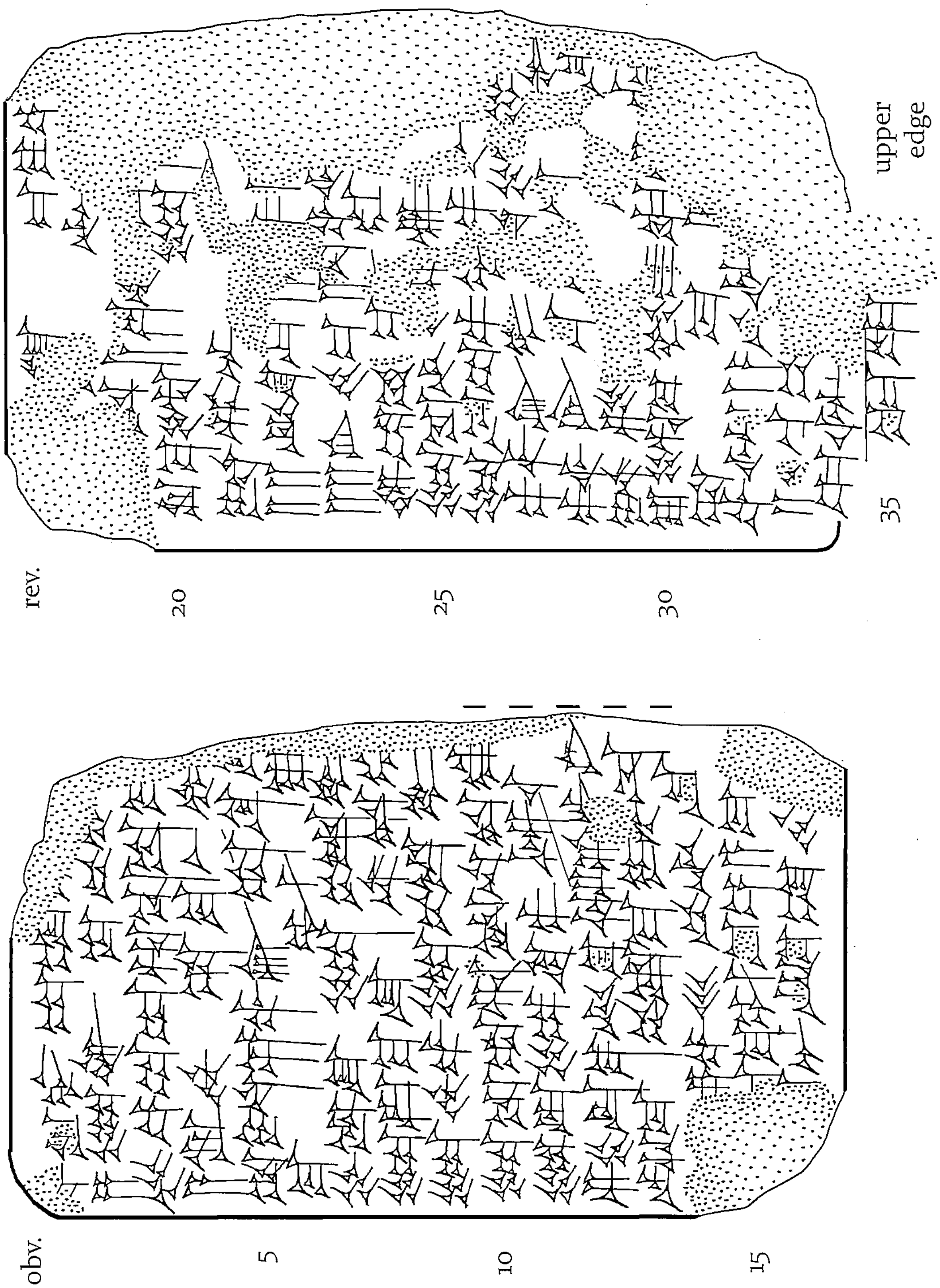
No. 49.
MS 3060







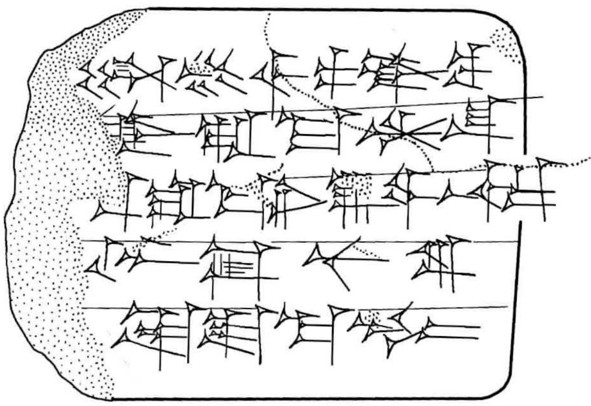
No. 49. MS 3060



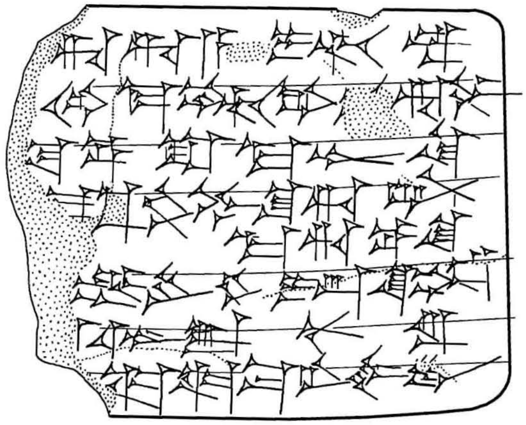
No. 50. MS 3073



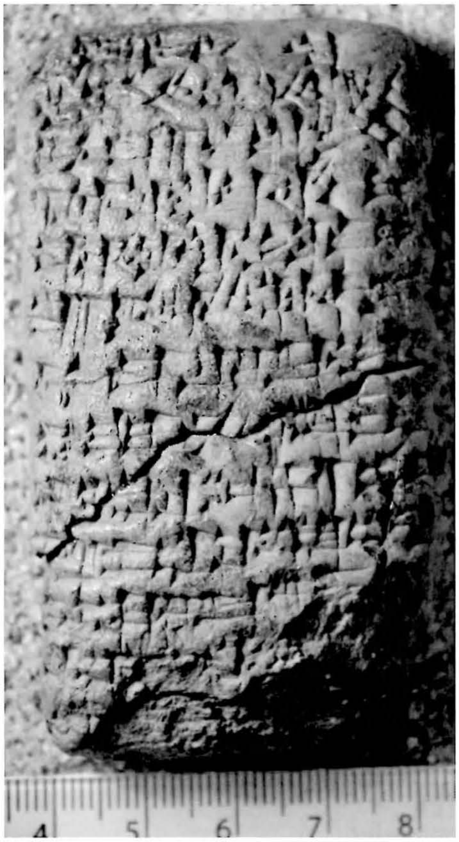
obv.



rev.



No. 51. MS 3061

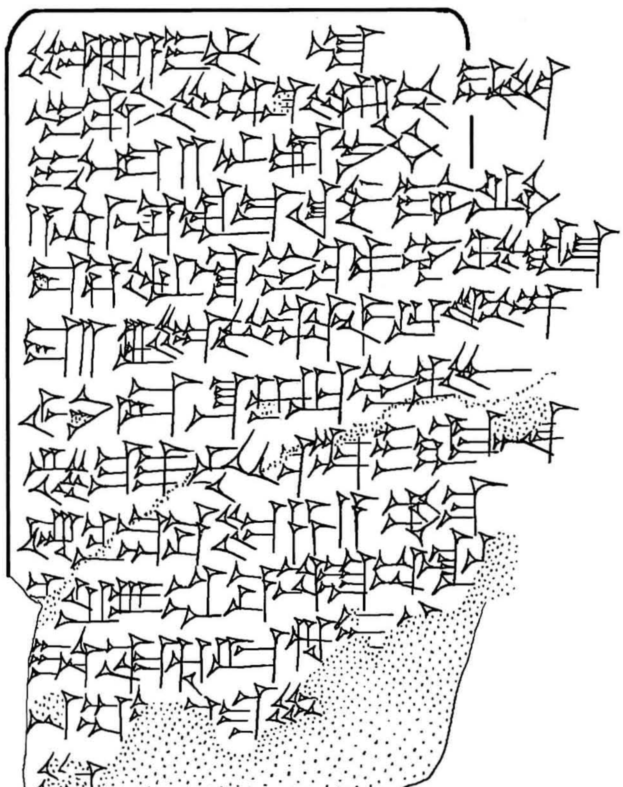








obv.



No. 52. MS 2662





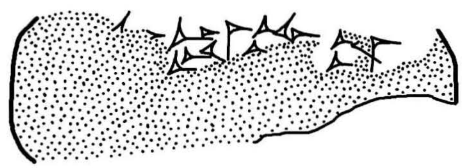




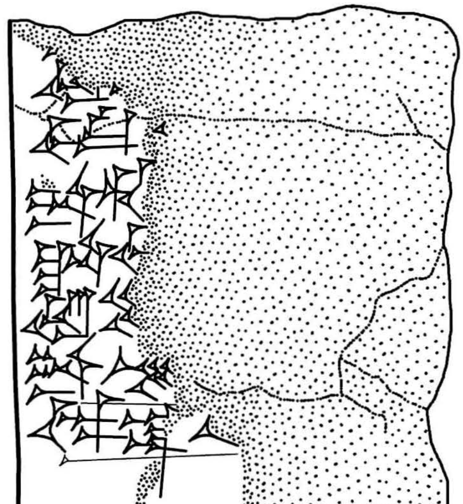
obv.



lower edge



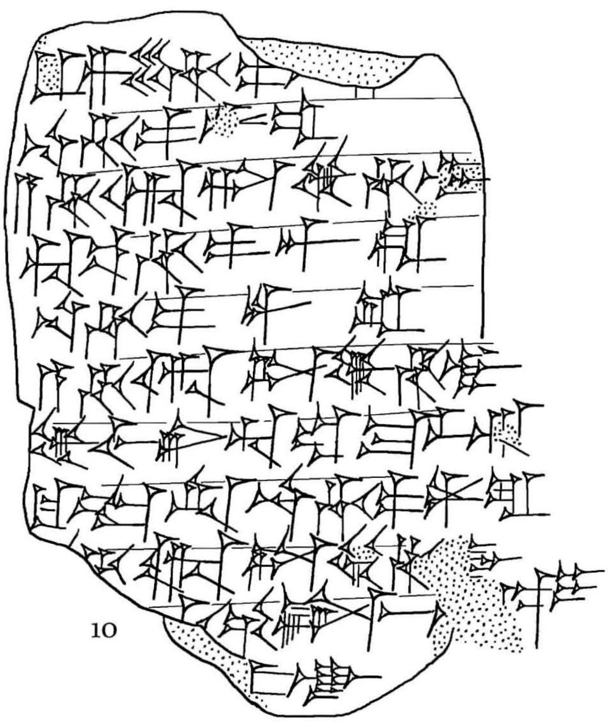
rev.



No. 53. MS 2321



obv.



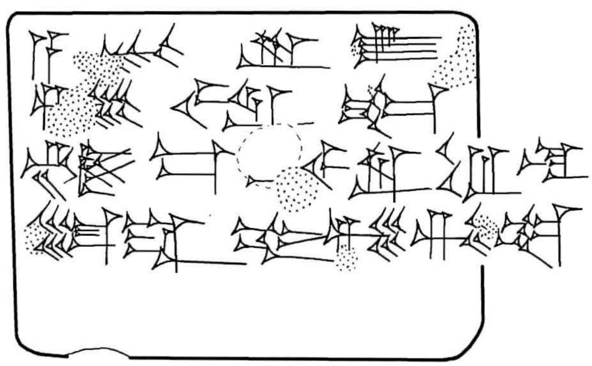
rev.



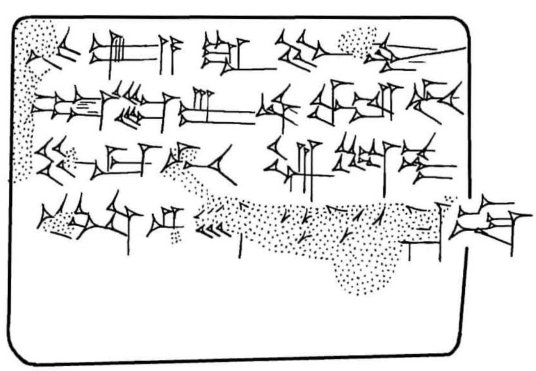
No. 54. MS 3072



obv.



rev.

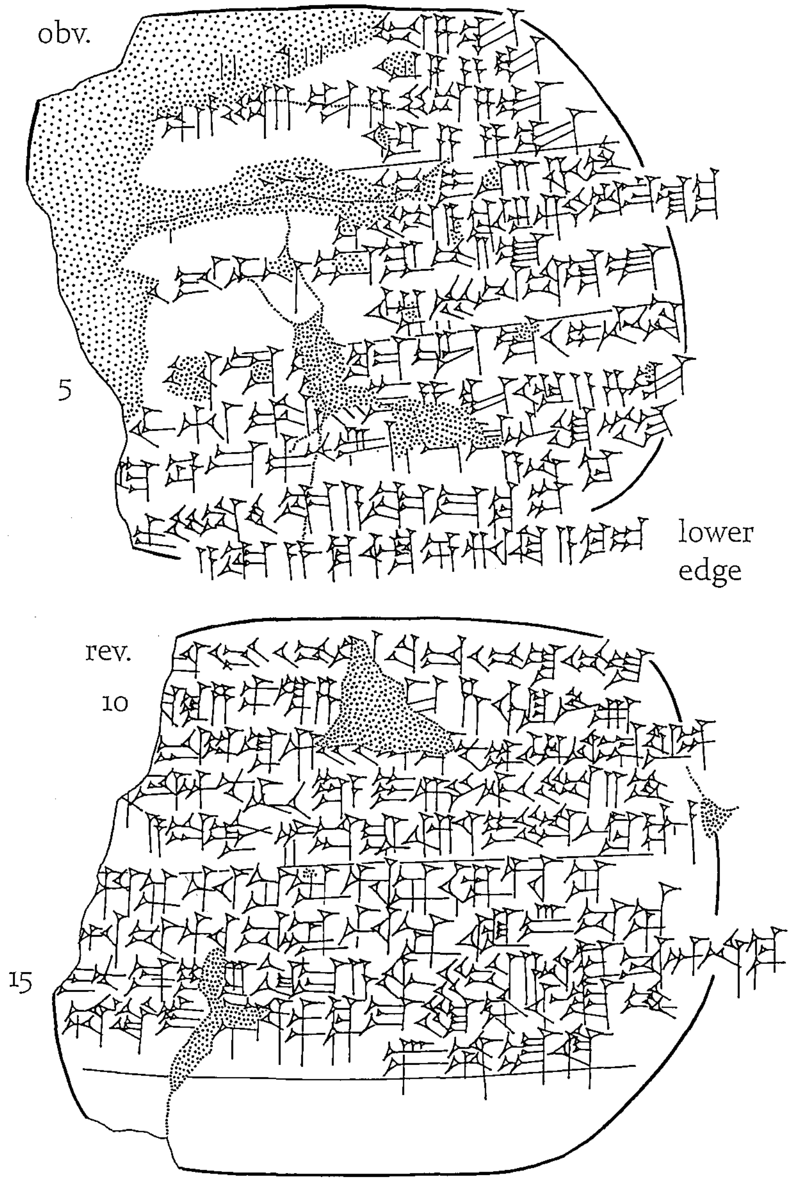


No. 55. MS 3388

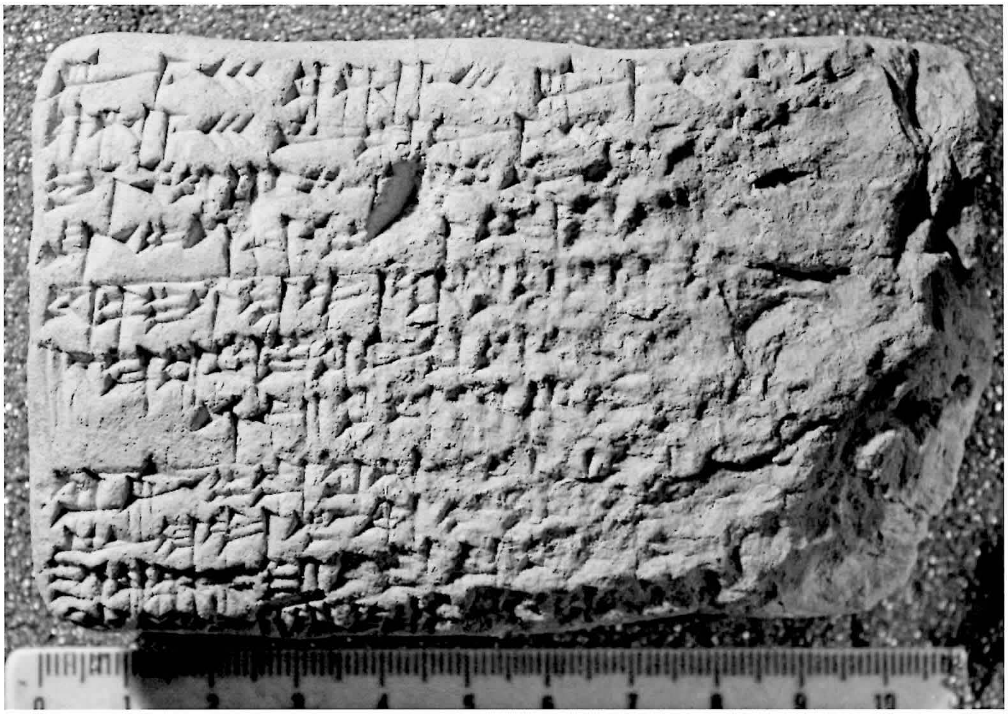


PLATE CXXV

No. 55. MS 3388



No. 56. MS 3380





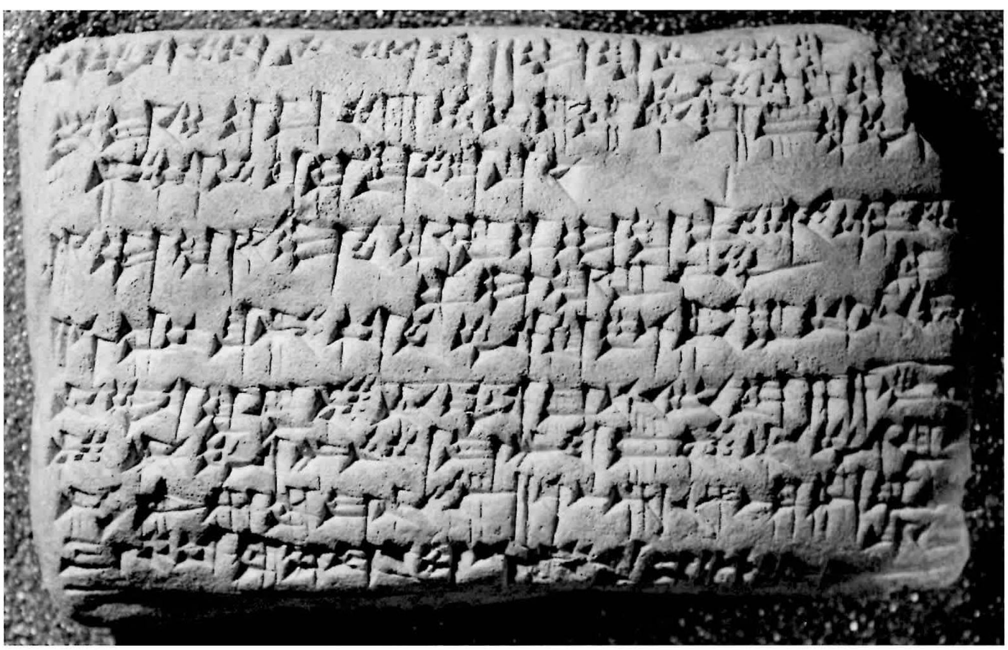
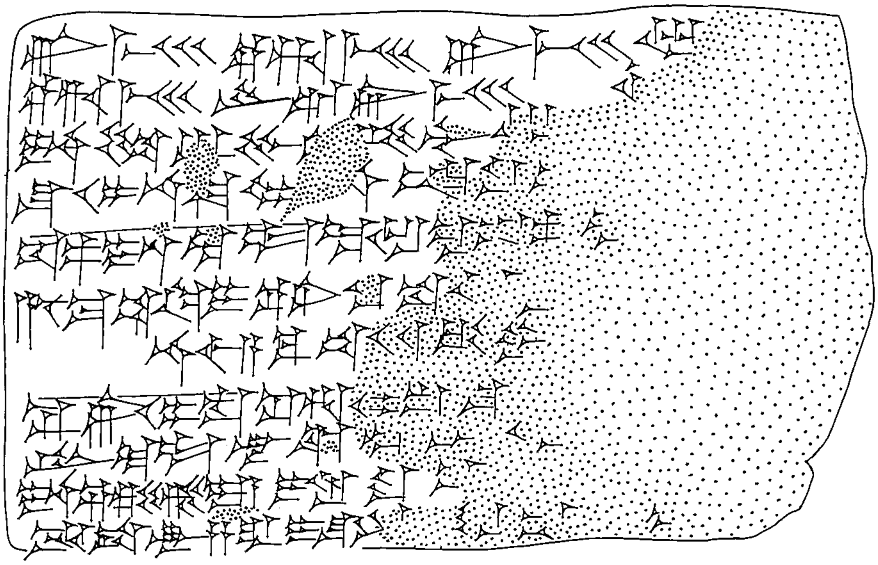


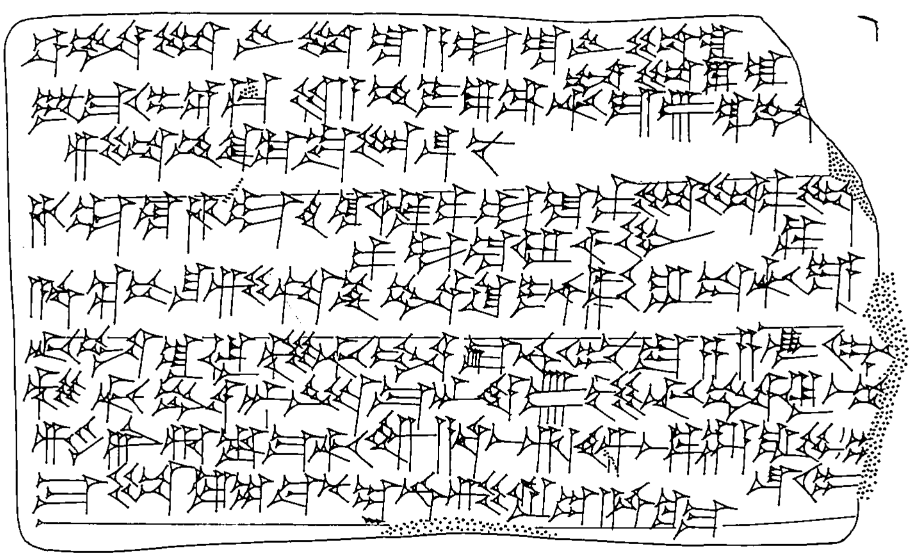
PLATE CXXVII

No. 56. MS 3380

obv.



rev.

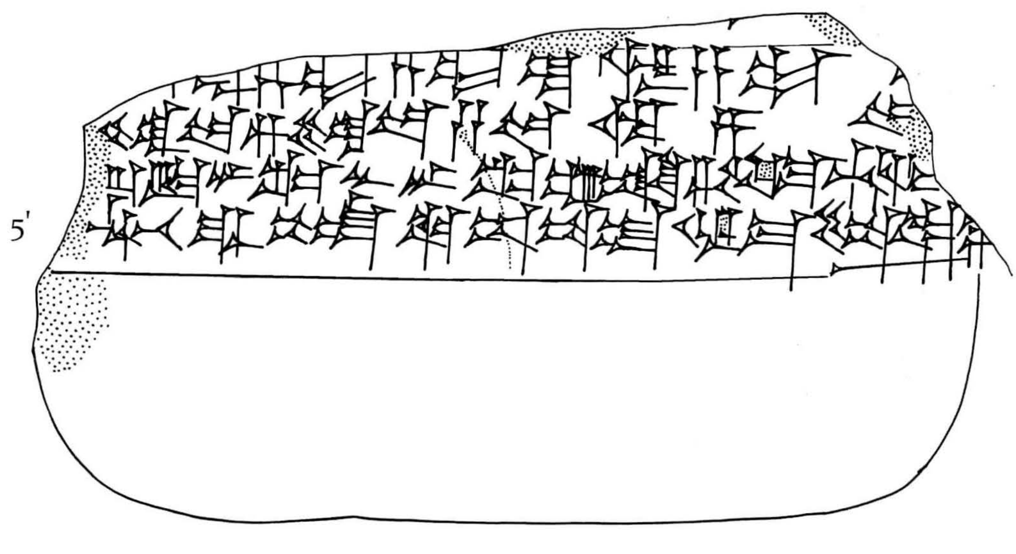


No. 57. MS 3334

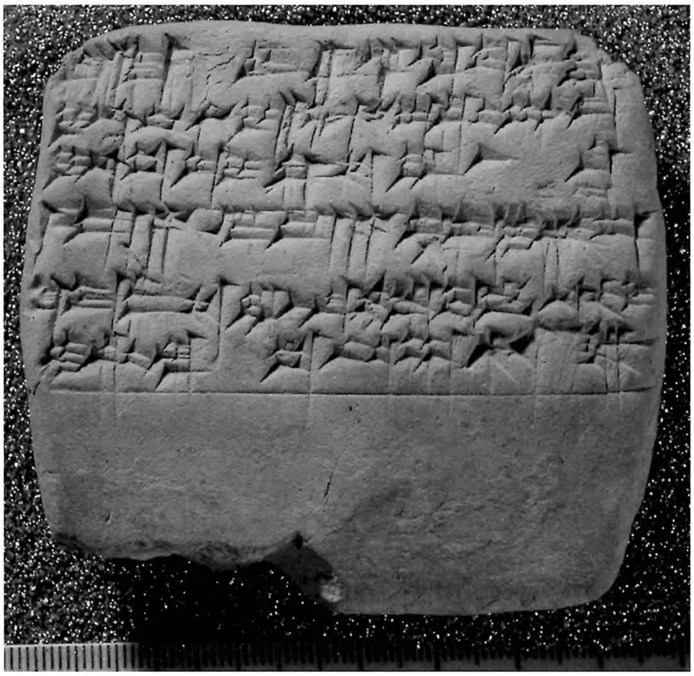




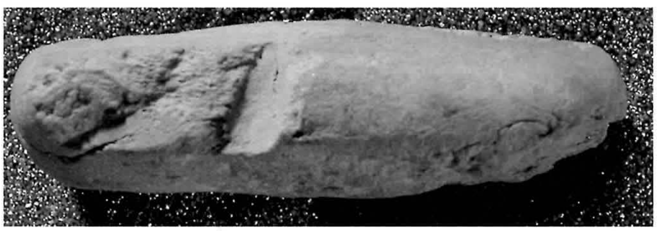


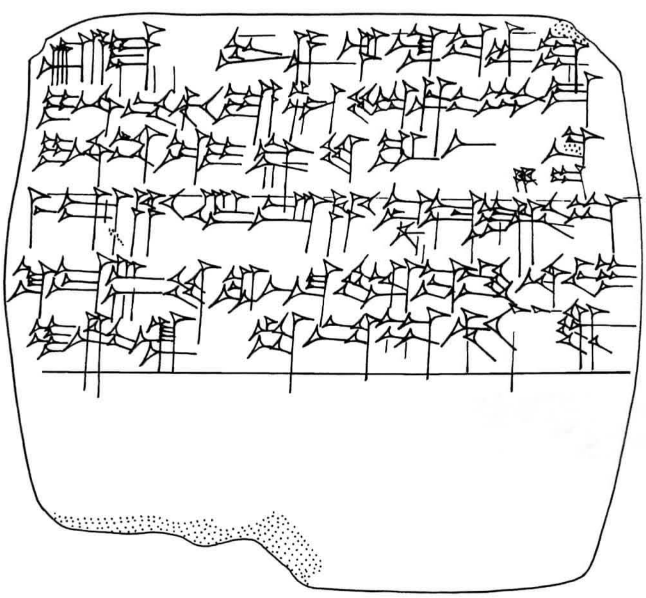


No. 58. MS 3323

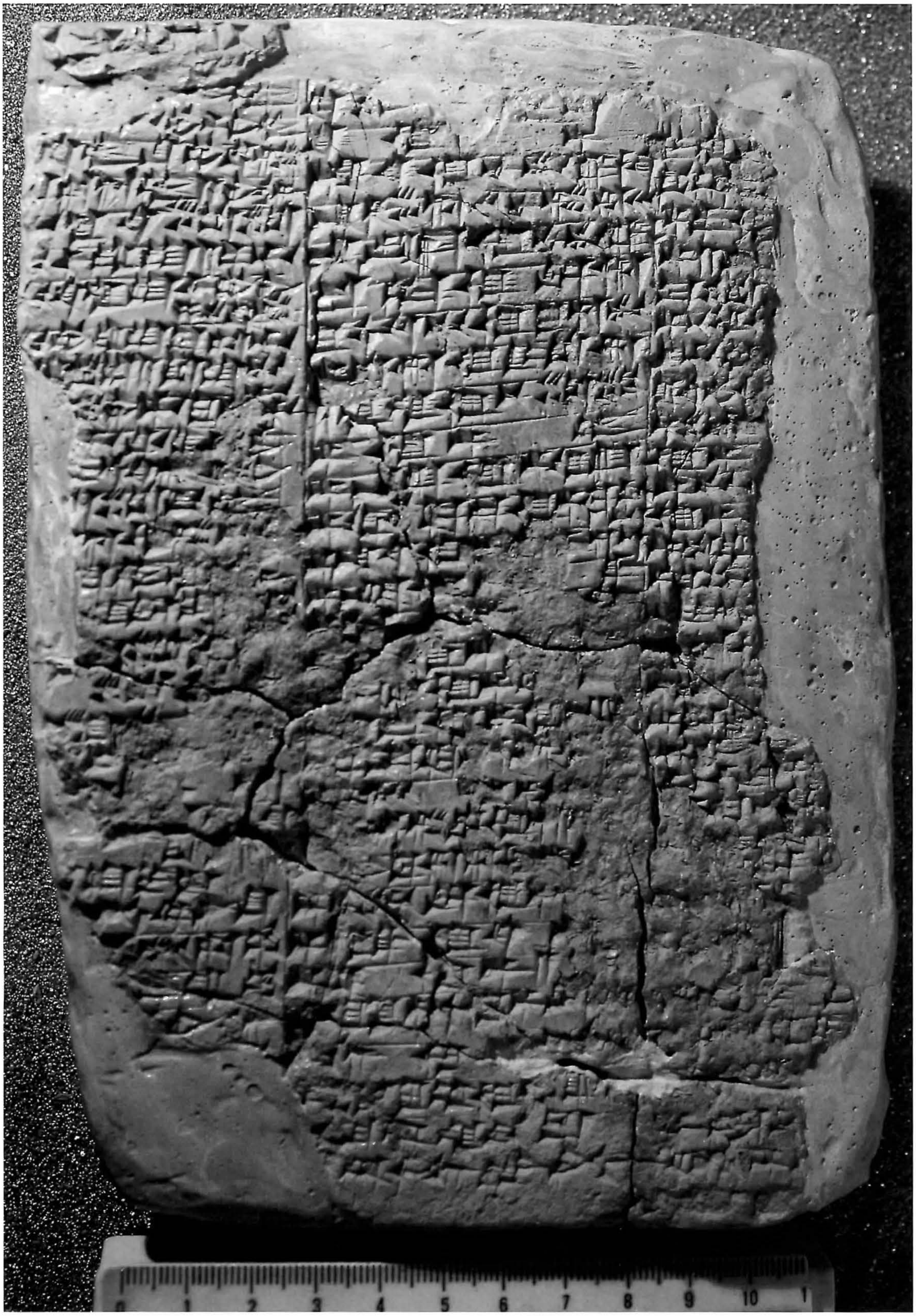








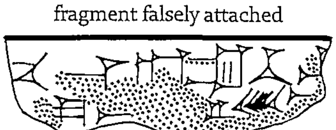
No. 59. MS 3419



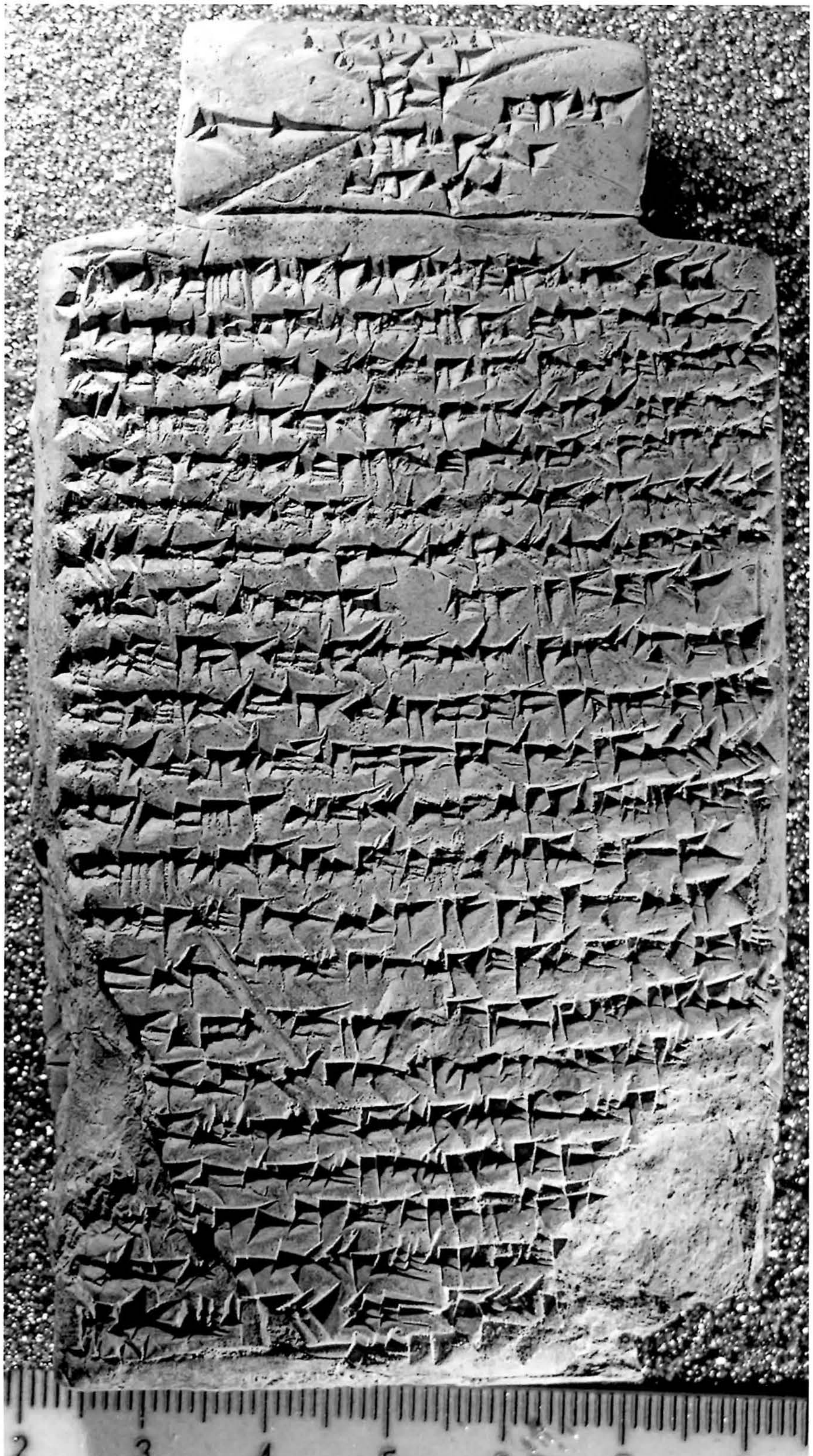
No. 59. MS 3419



fragment falsely attached

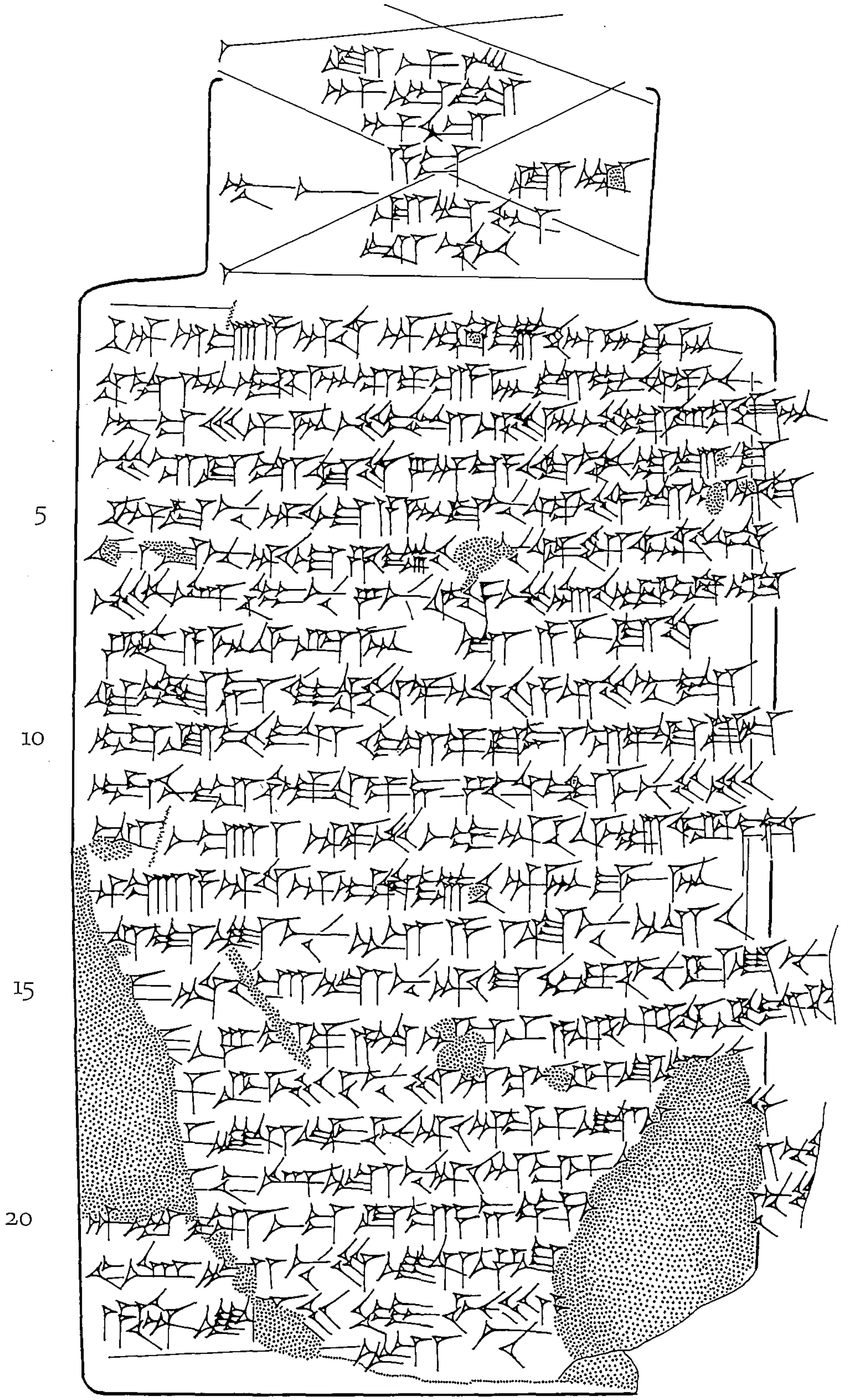


No. 61. MS 3187 obv.





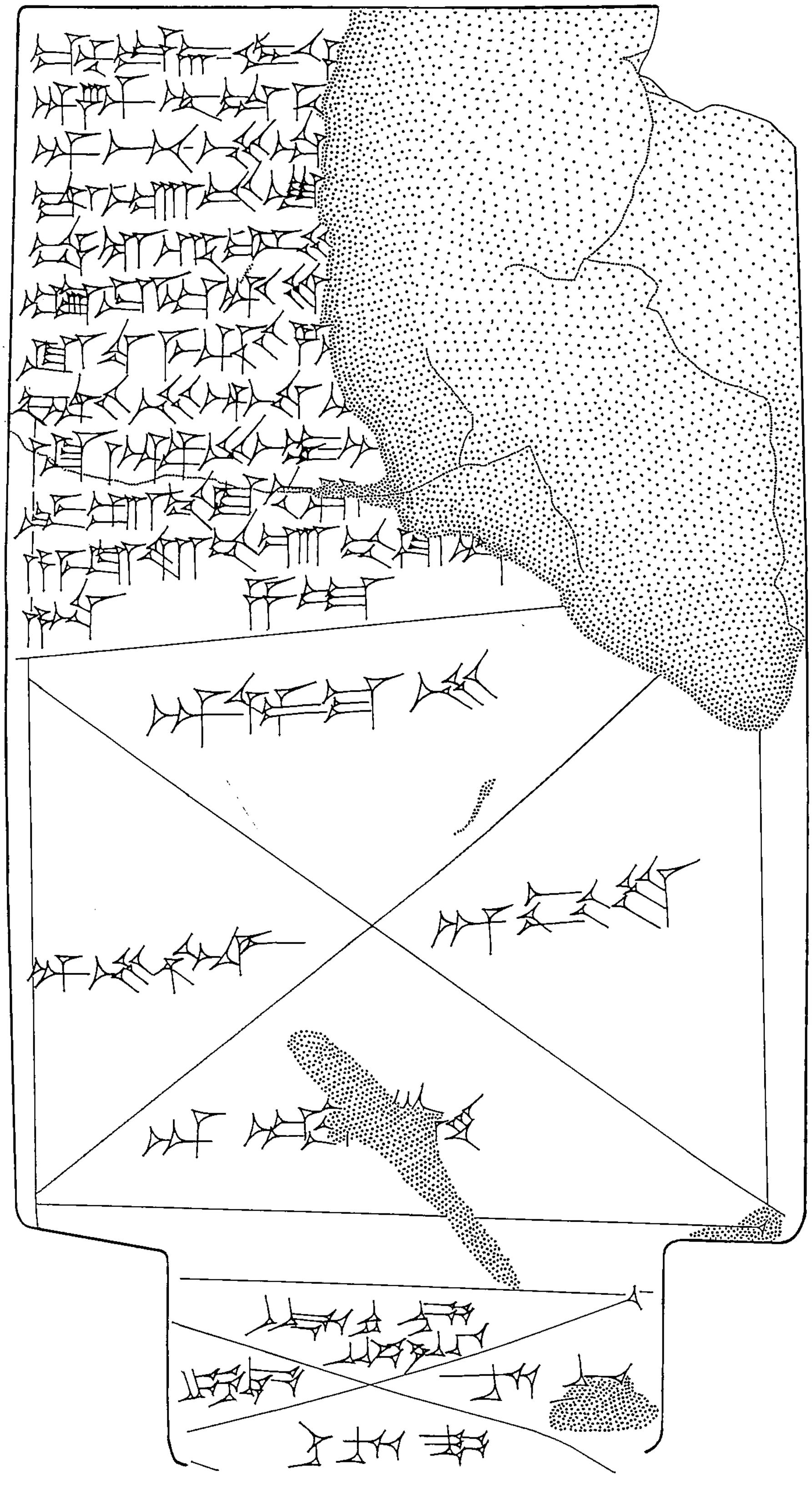
No. 61. MS 3187 obv.



No. 61. MS 3187 rev.



No. 61. MS 3187 rev.



No. 61. MS 3187 lug



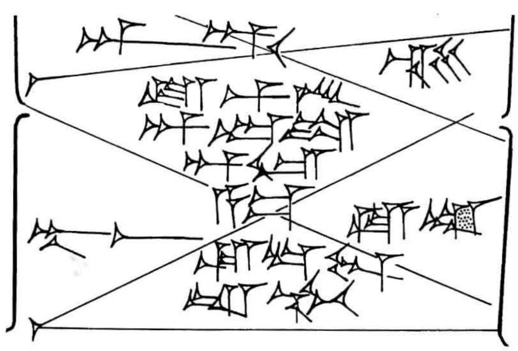






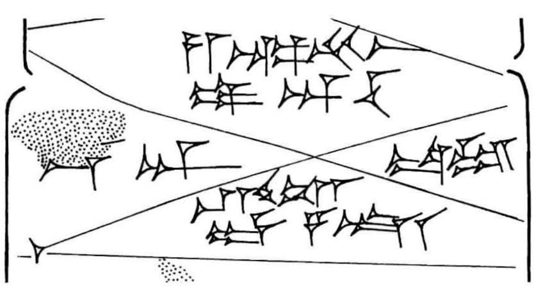
upper edge

obv.



upper edge

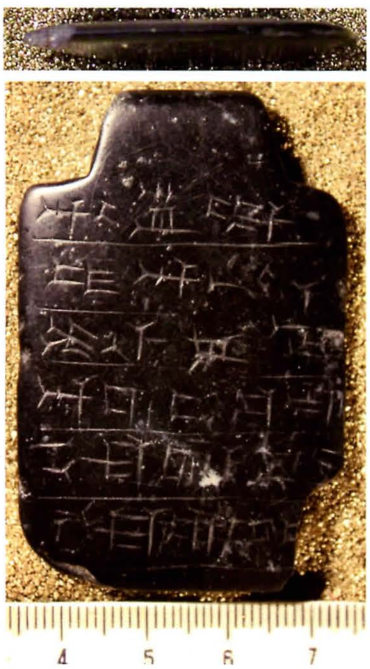
rev.



No. 62. MS 1913



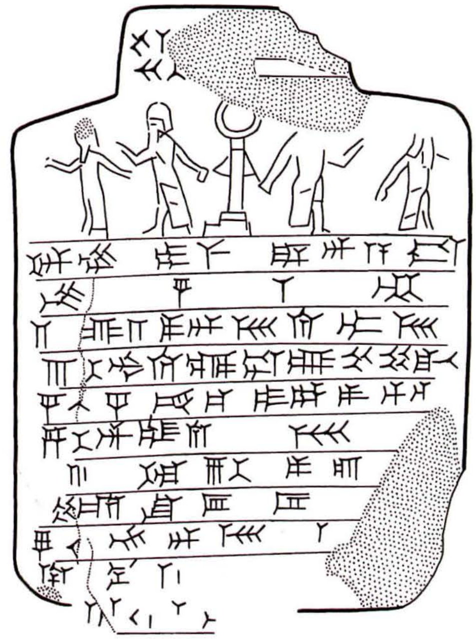






No. 63. MS 2779







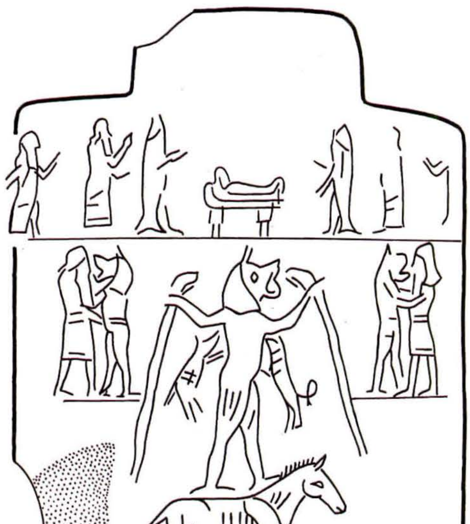
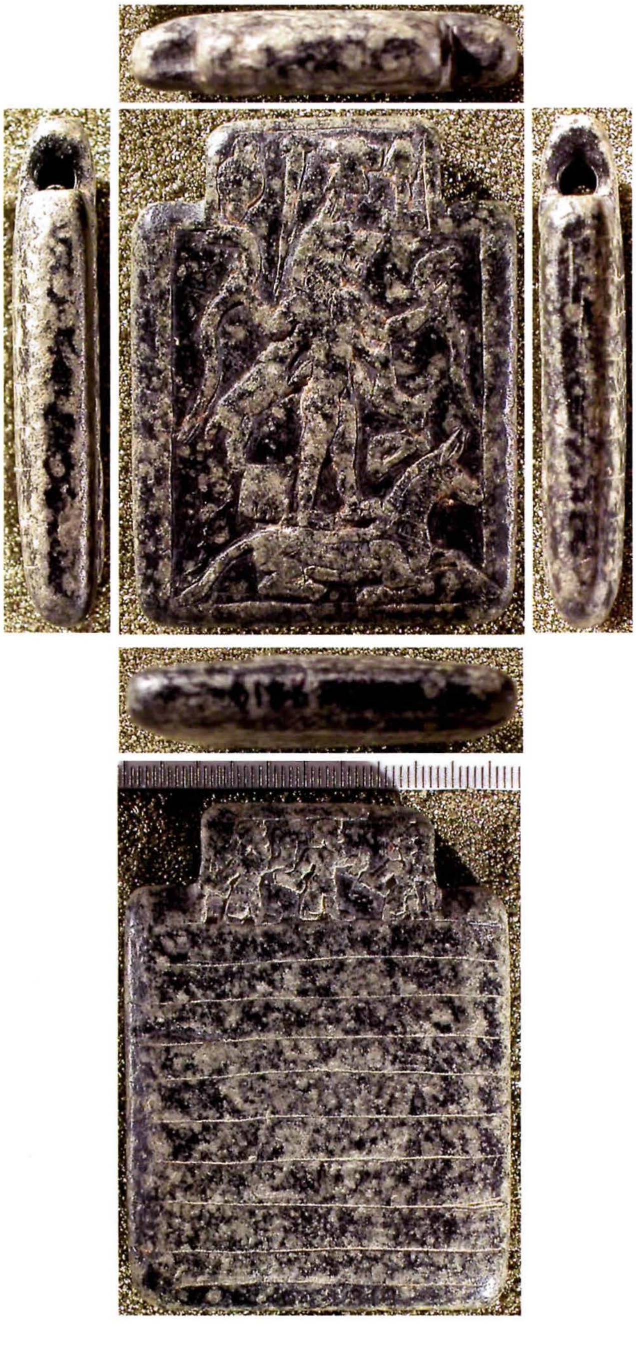


PLATE CXXXIX

No. 64. MS 2819

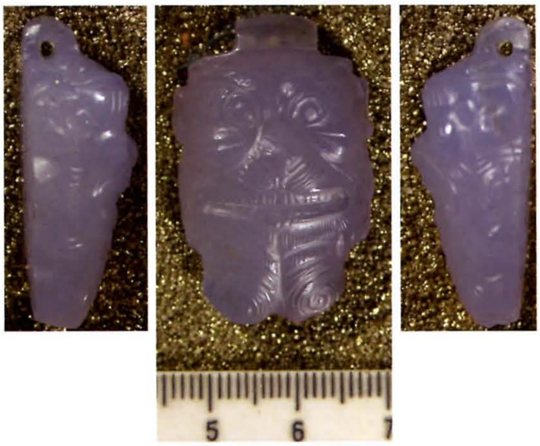


No. 65. MS 2049

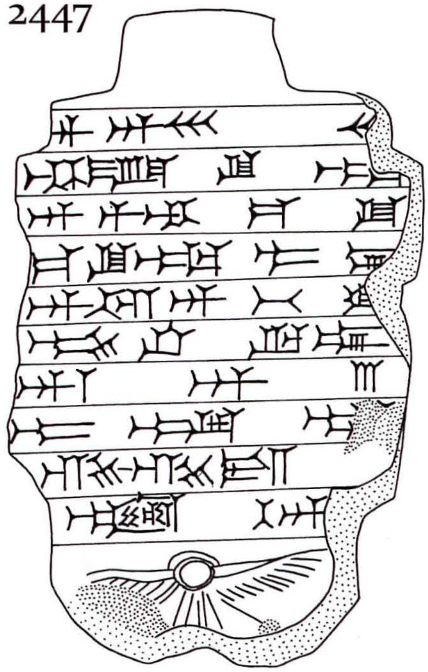


No. 66. MS 2447









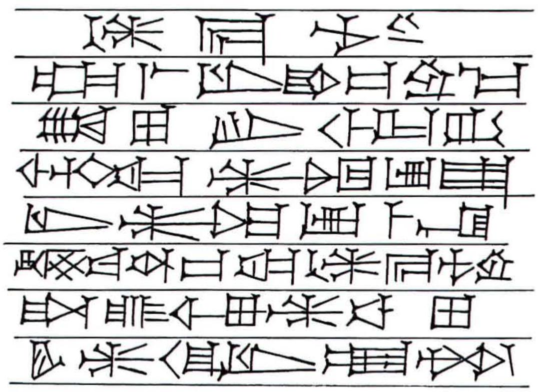


No. 67. MS 3001

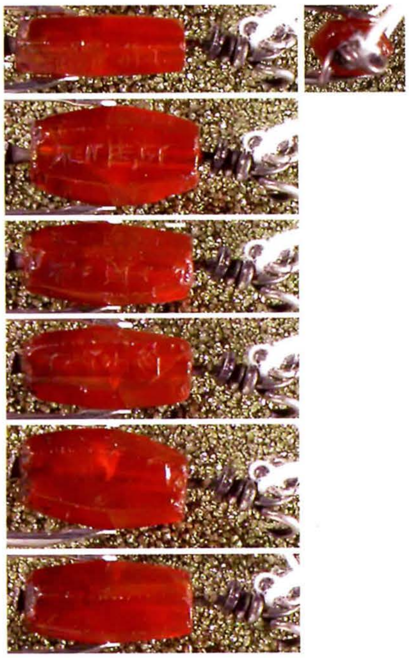






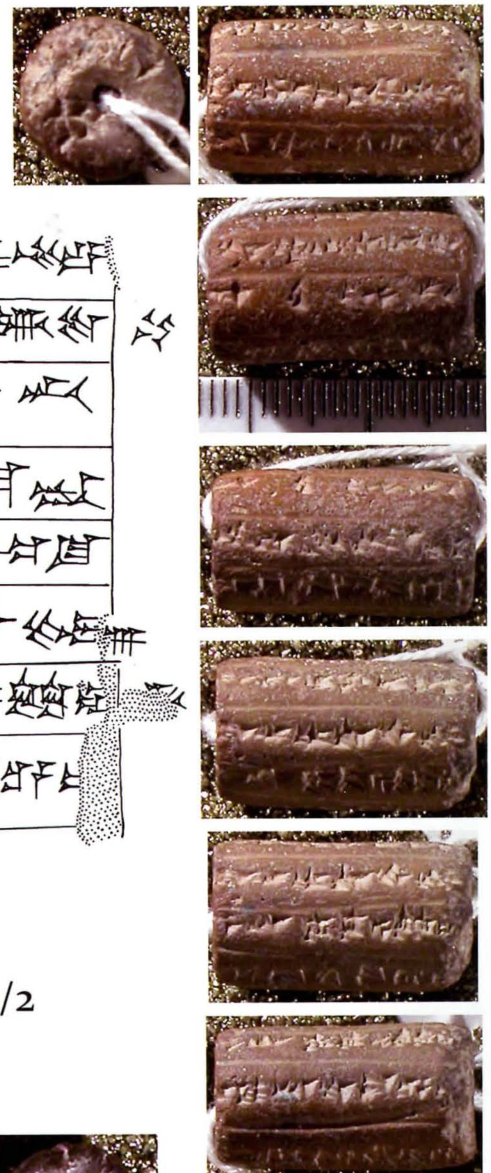


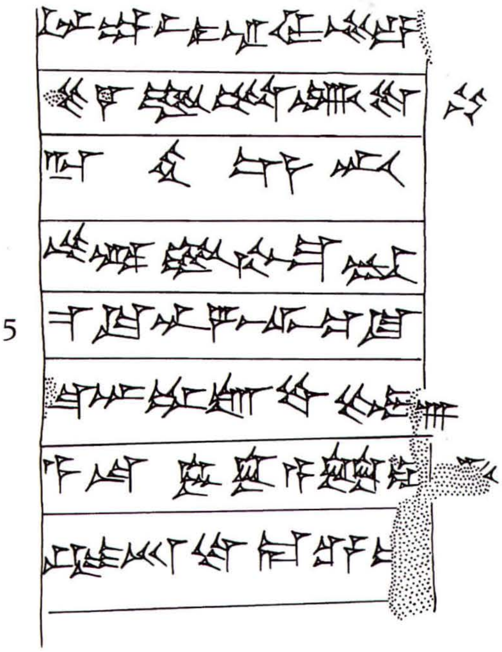
No. 68. MS 2880



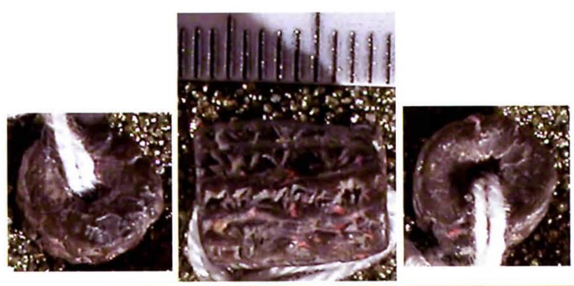


No. 69. MS 3272/1





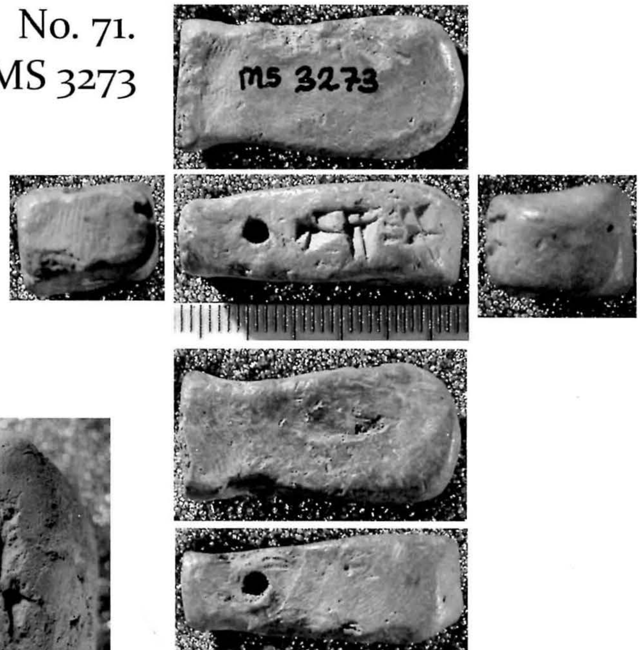
No. 70. MS 3272/2



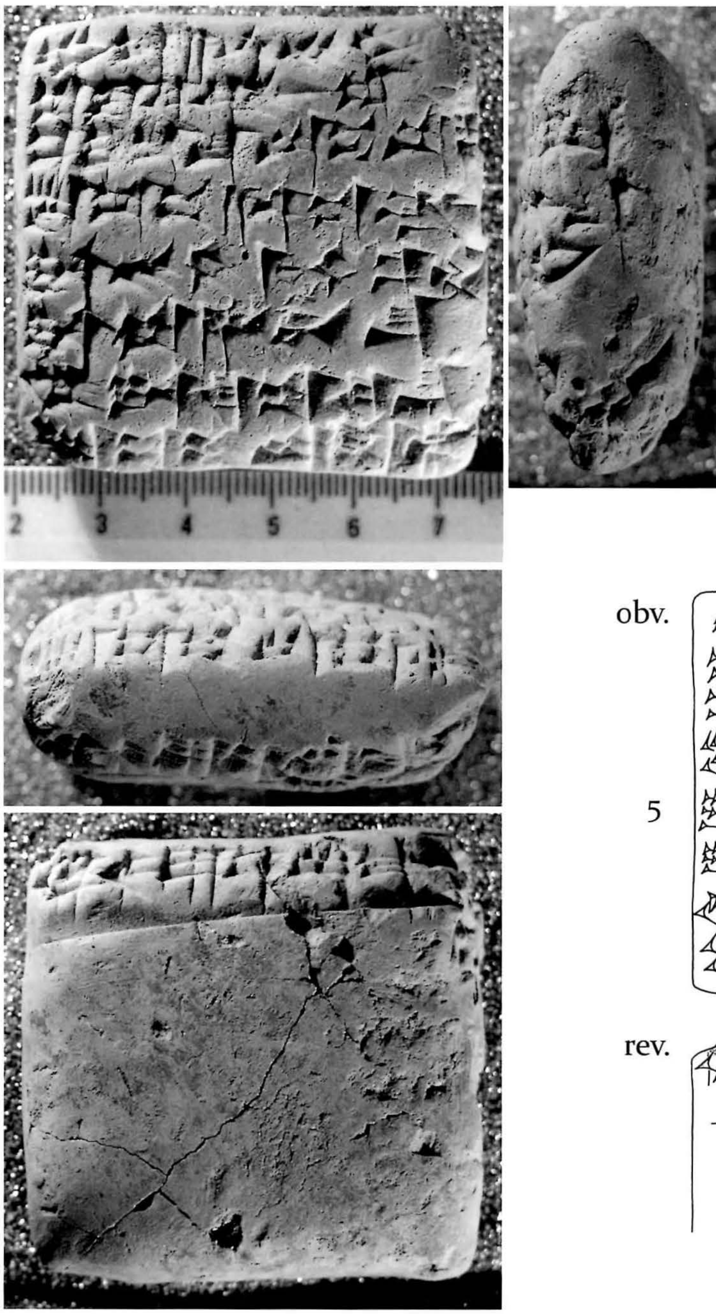


Images by John Hohm

No. 71.
MS 3273

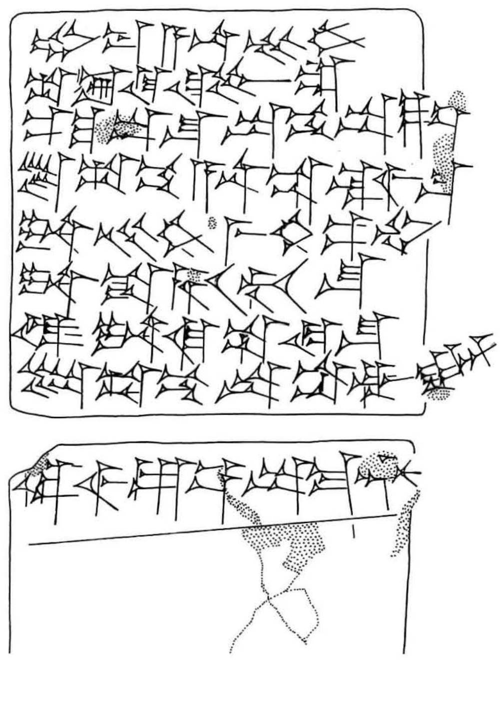


No. 72. MS 3413

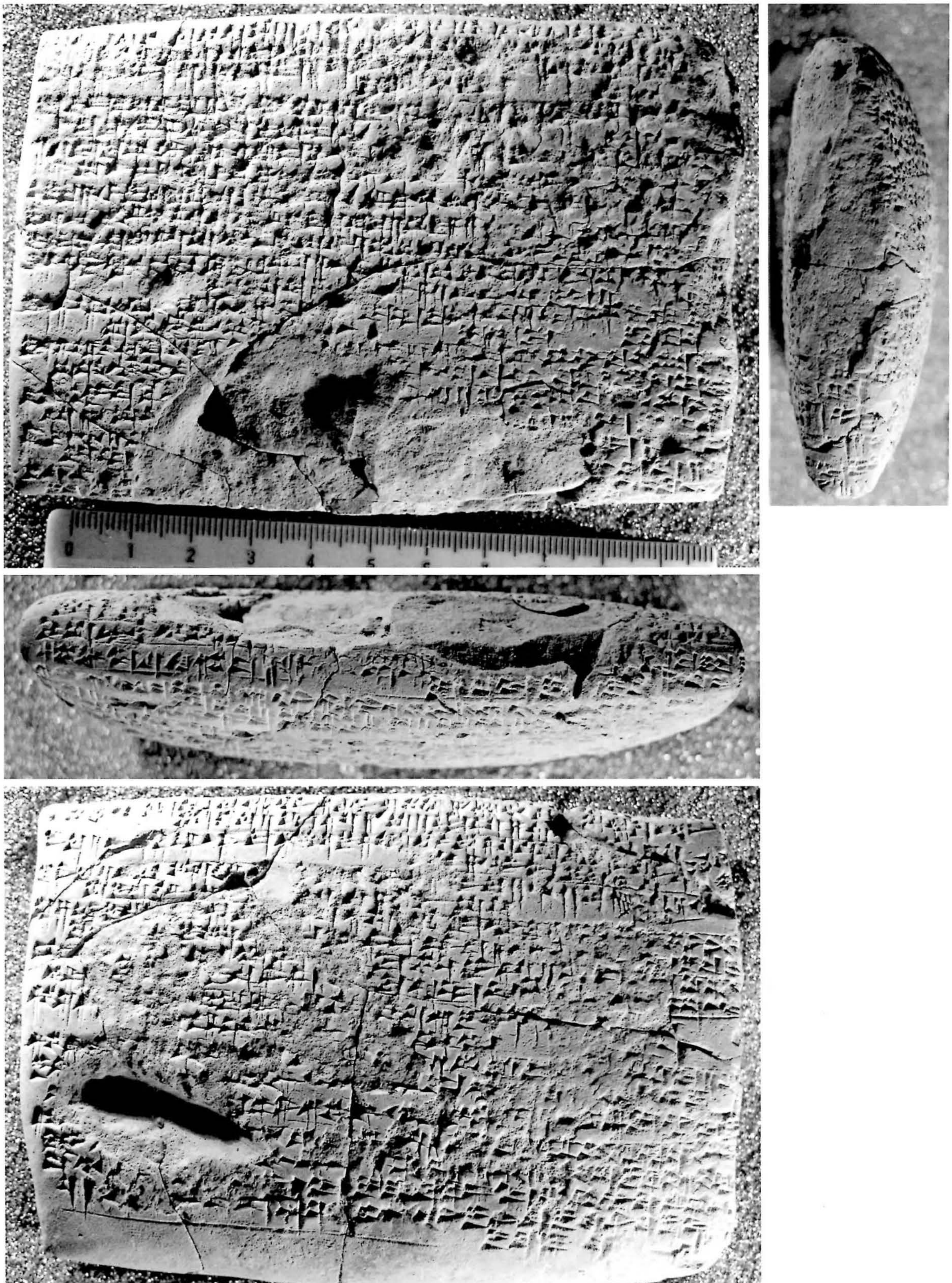


obv.

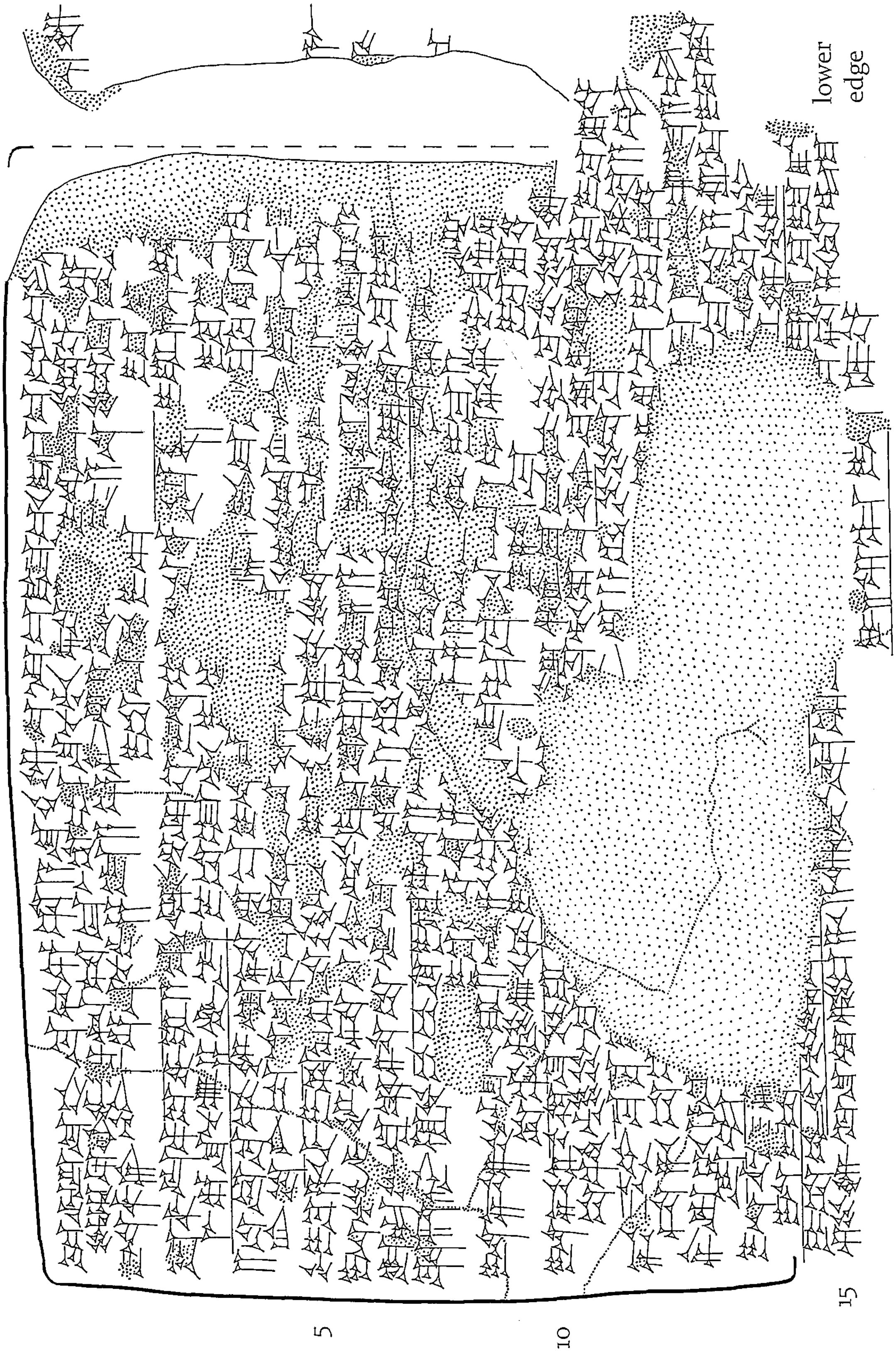
rev.



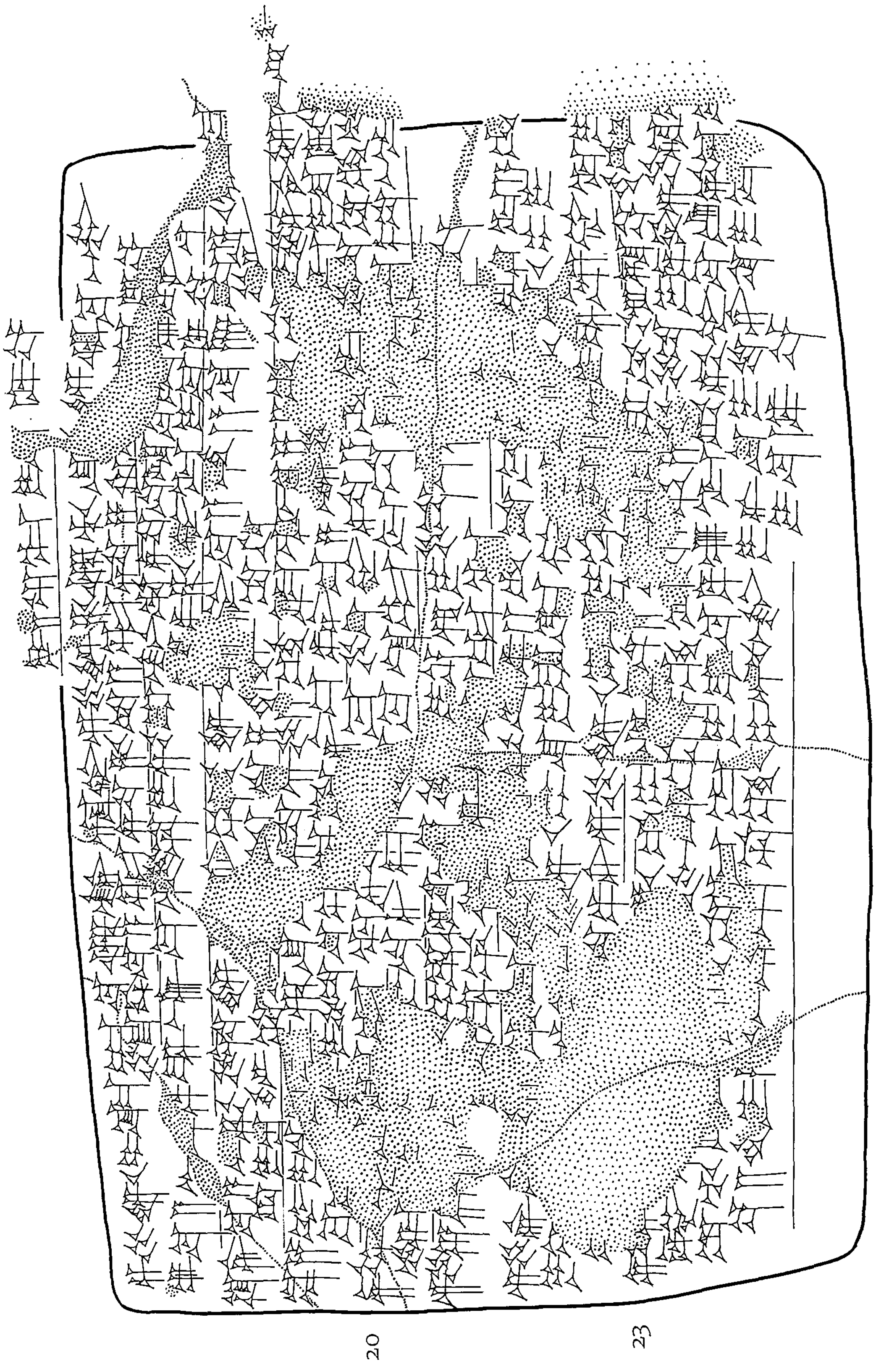
No. 73. MS 3277



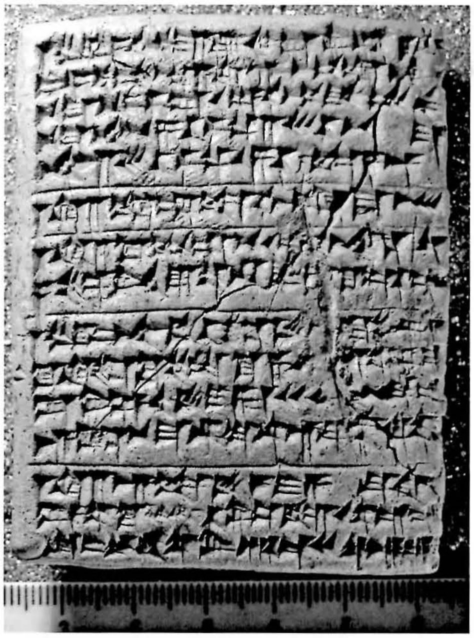
No. 73. MS 3277 obv.

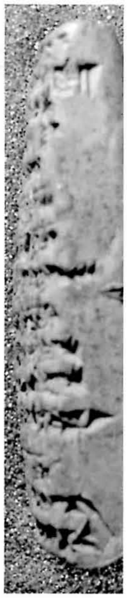


No. 73. MS 3277 rev.



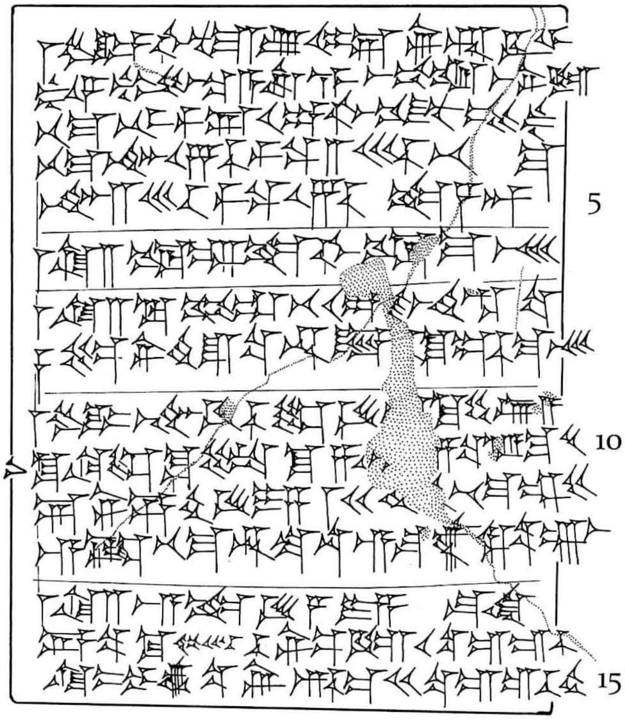
No. 74. MS 4575







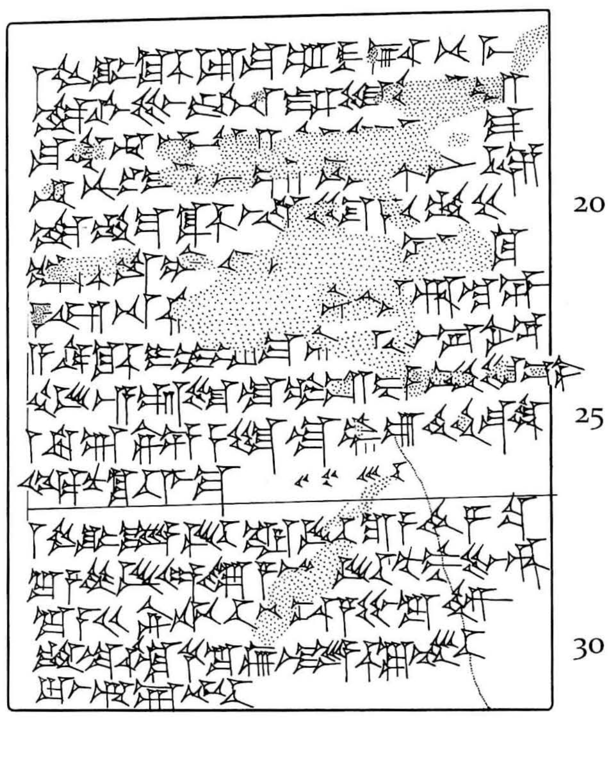
obv.



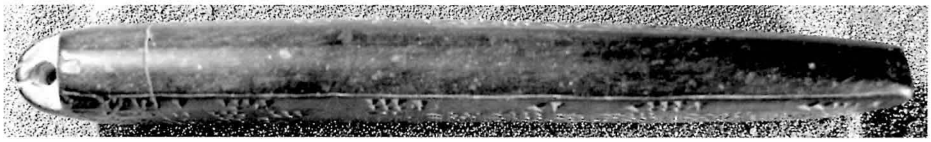
rev.



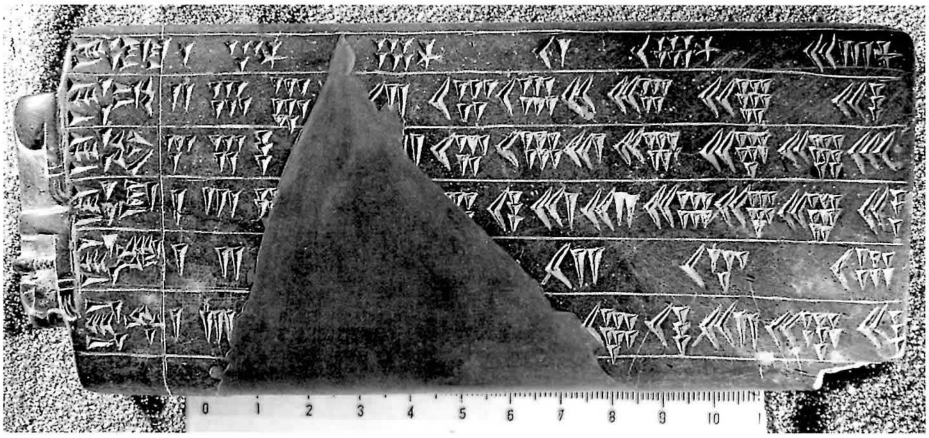




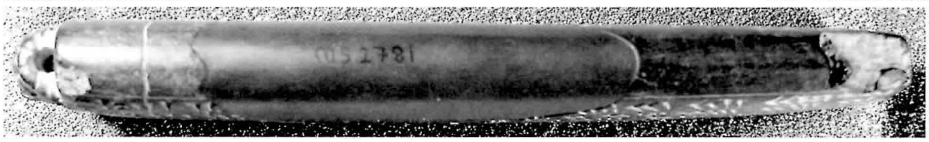
No. 75. MS 2781



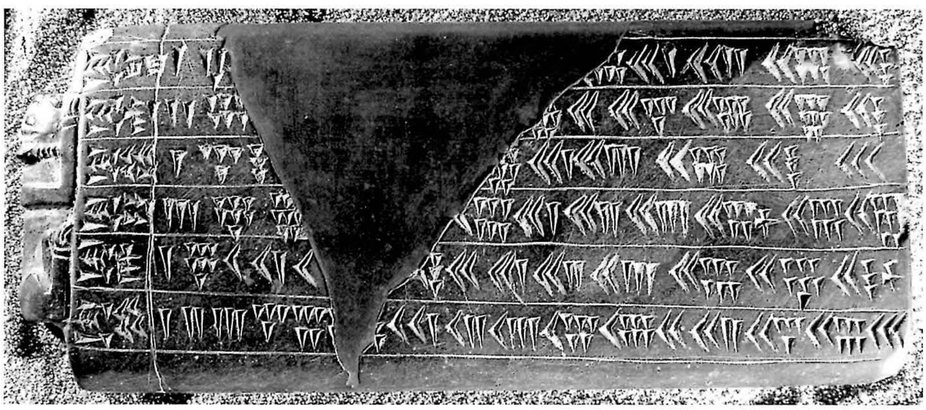




obv.



rev.



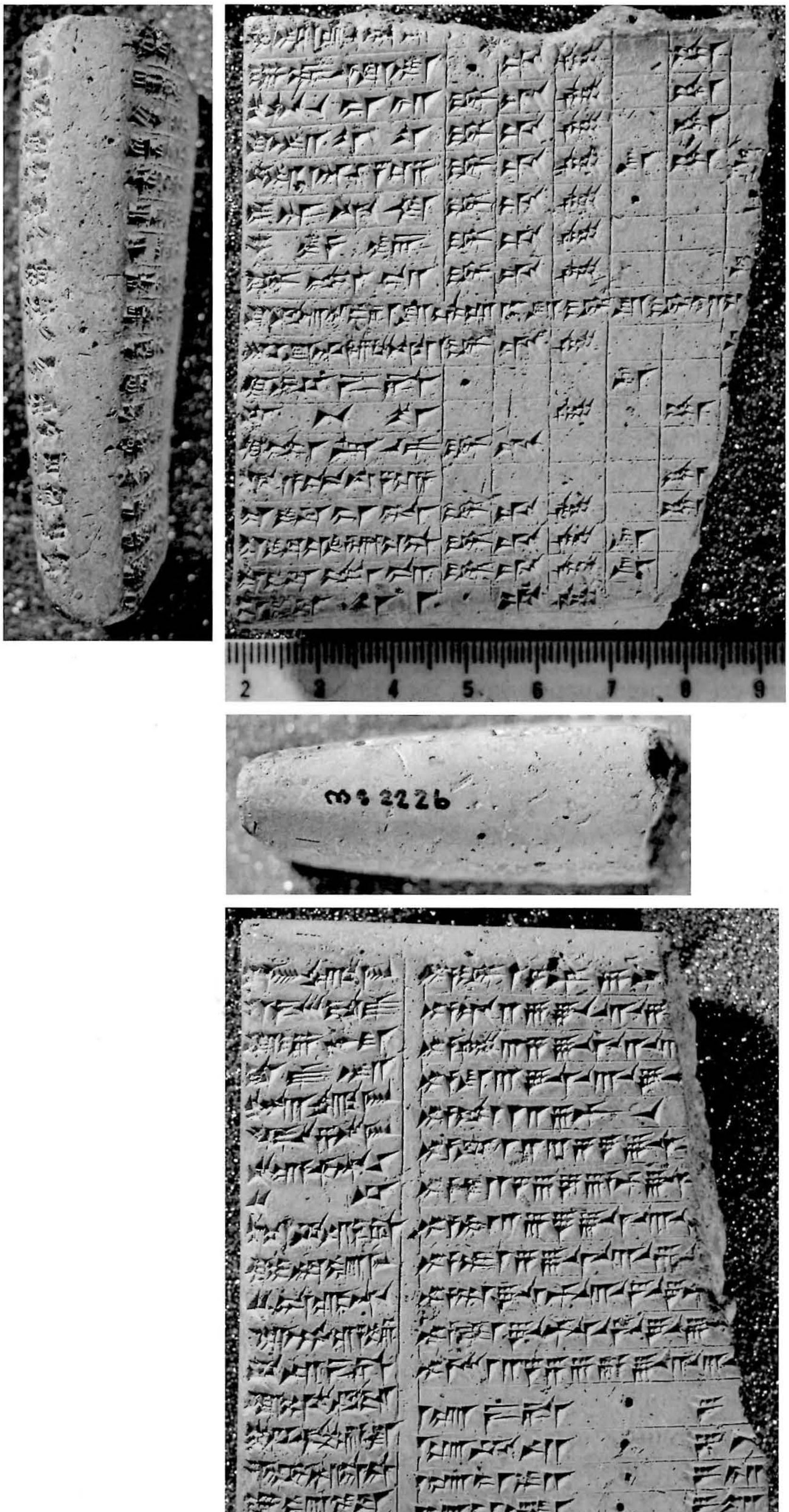


details of left edge



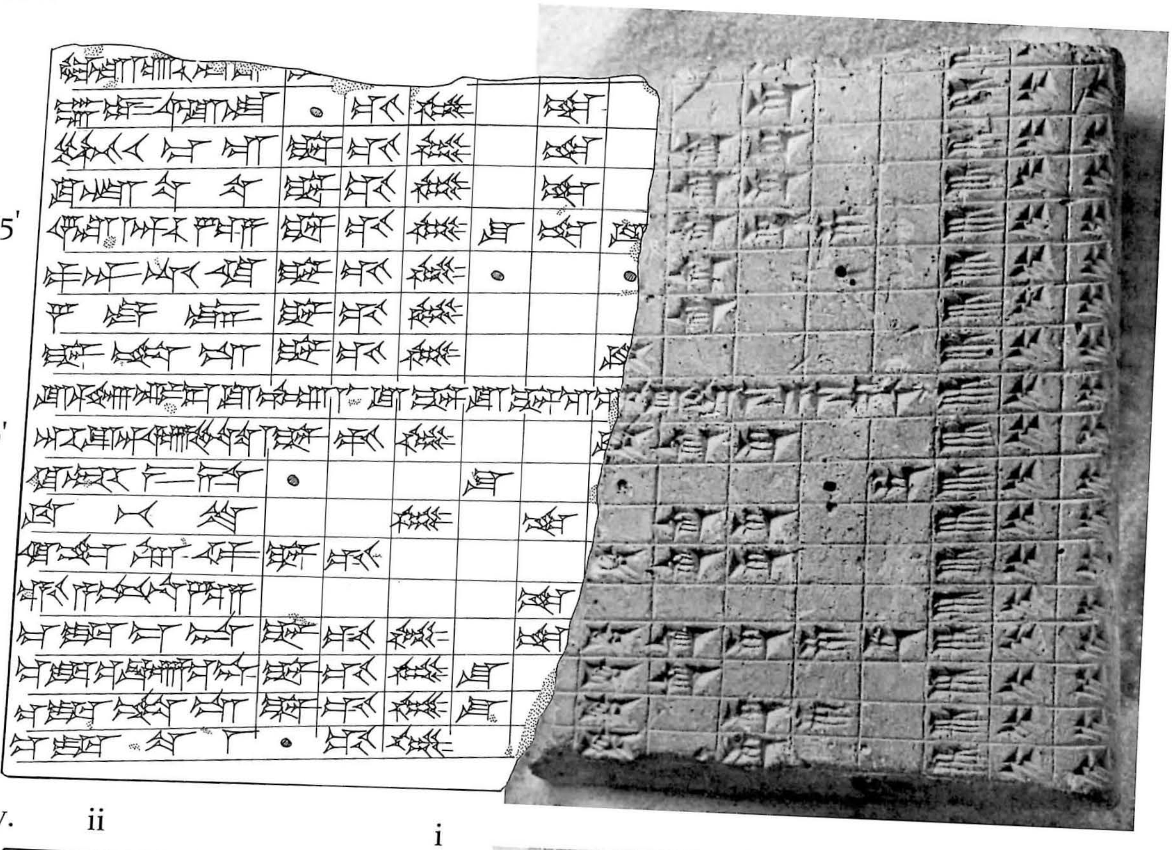


No. 76. MS 2226

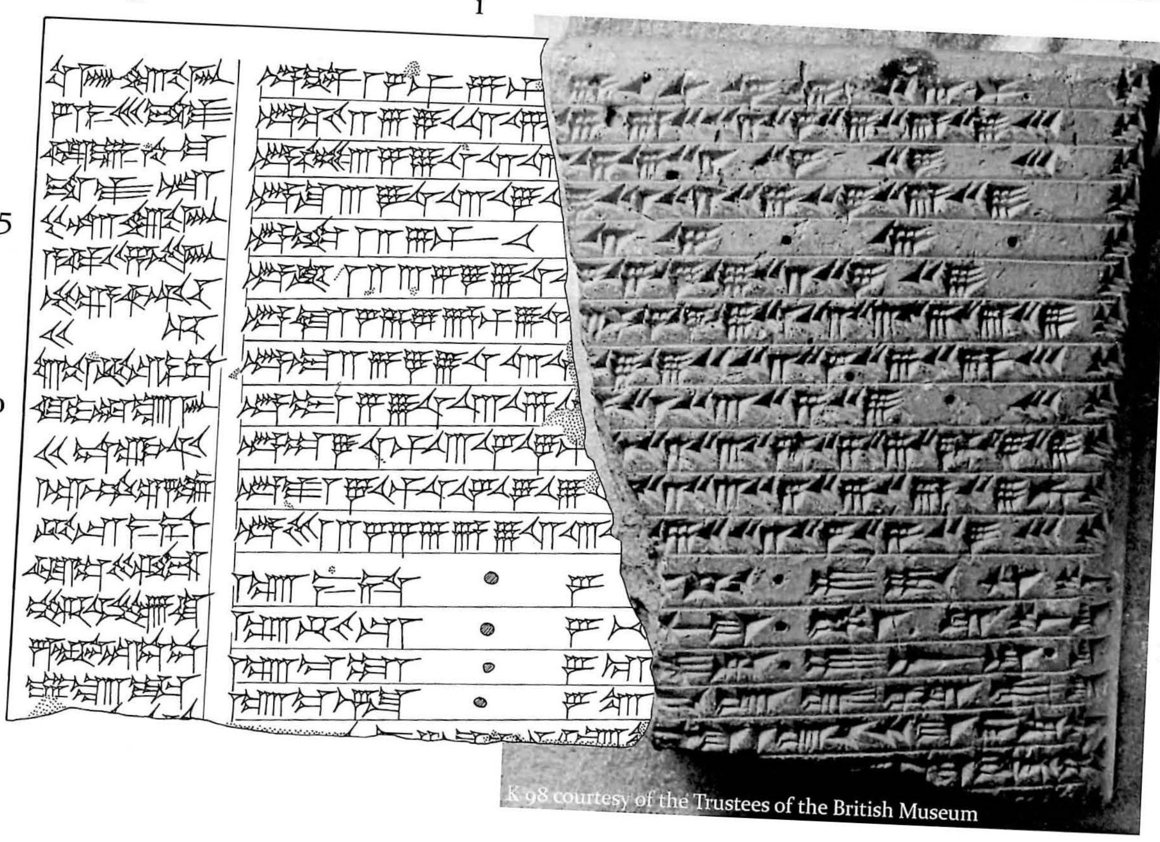


No. 76. MS 2226 + K 98

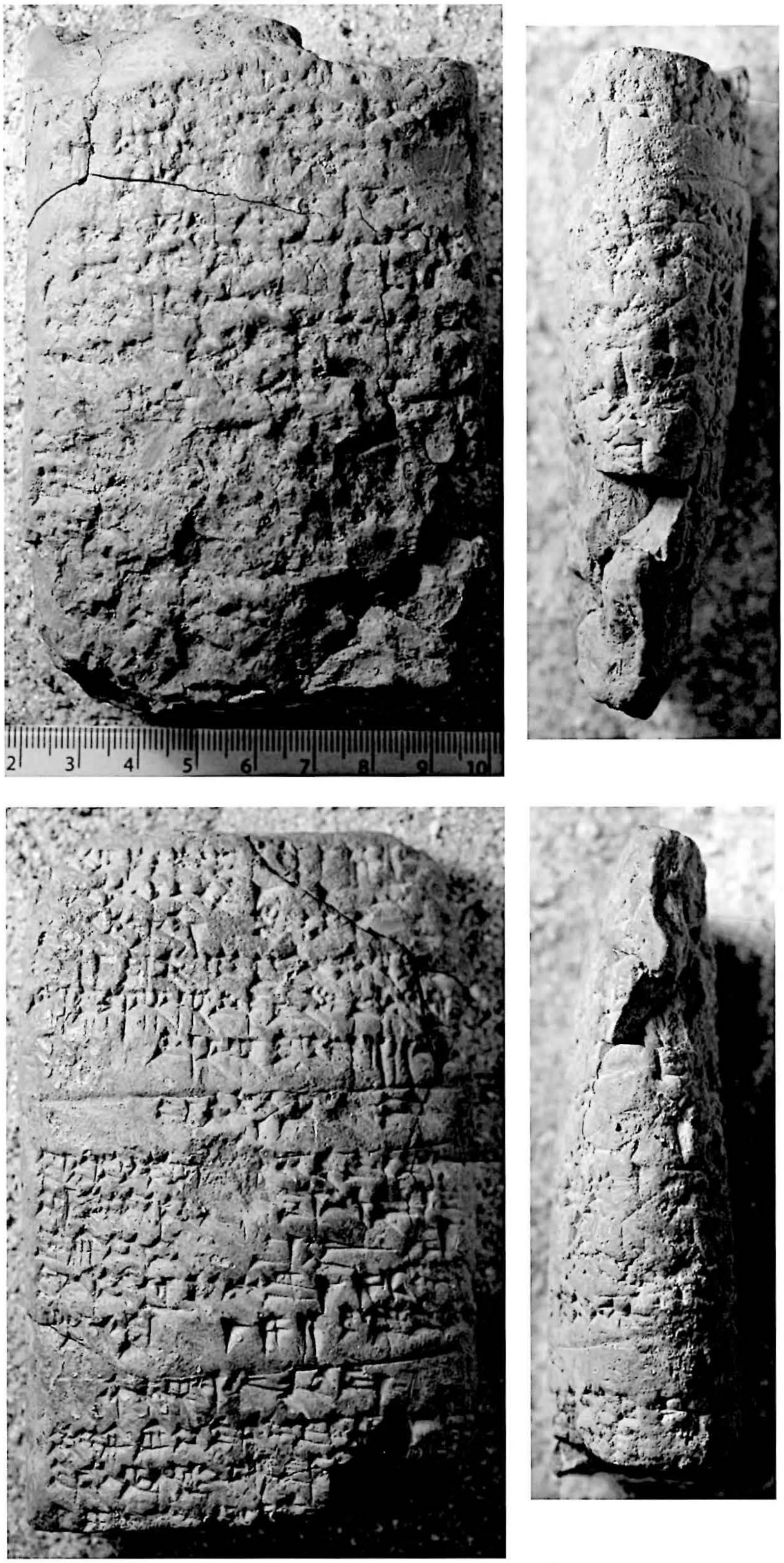
obv.



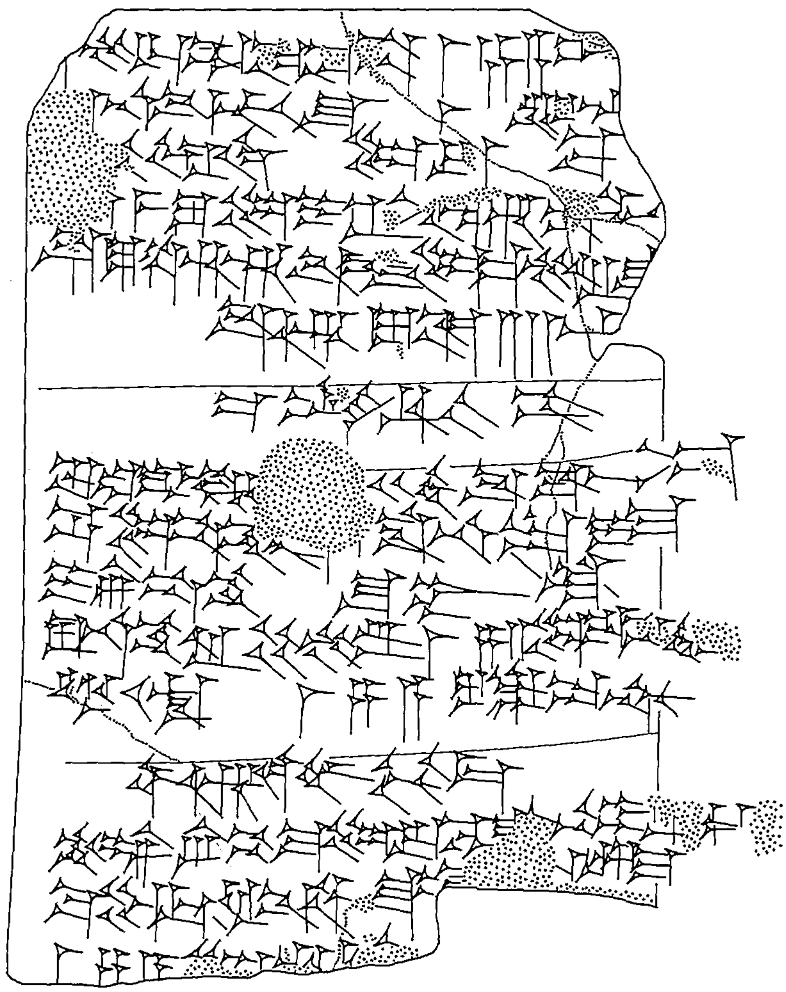
rev.



No. 77. MS 3081



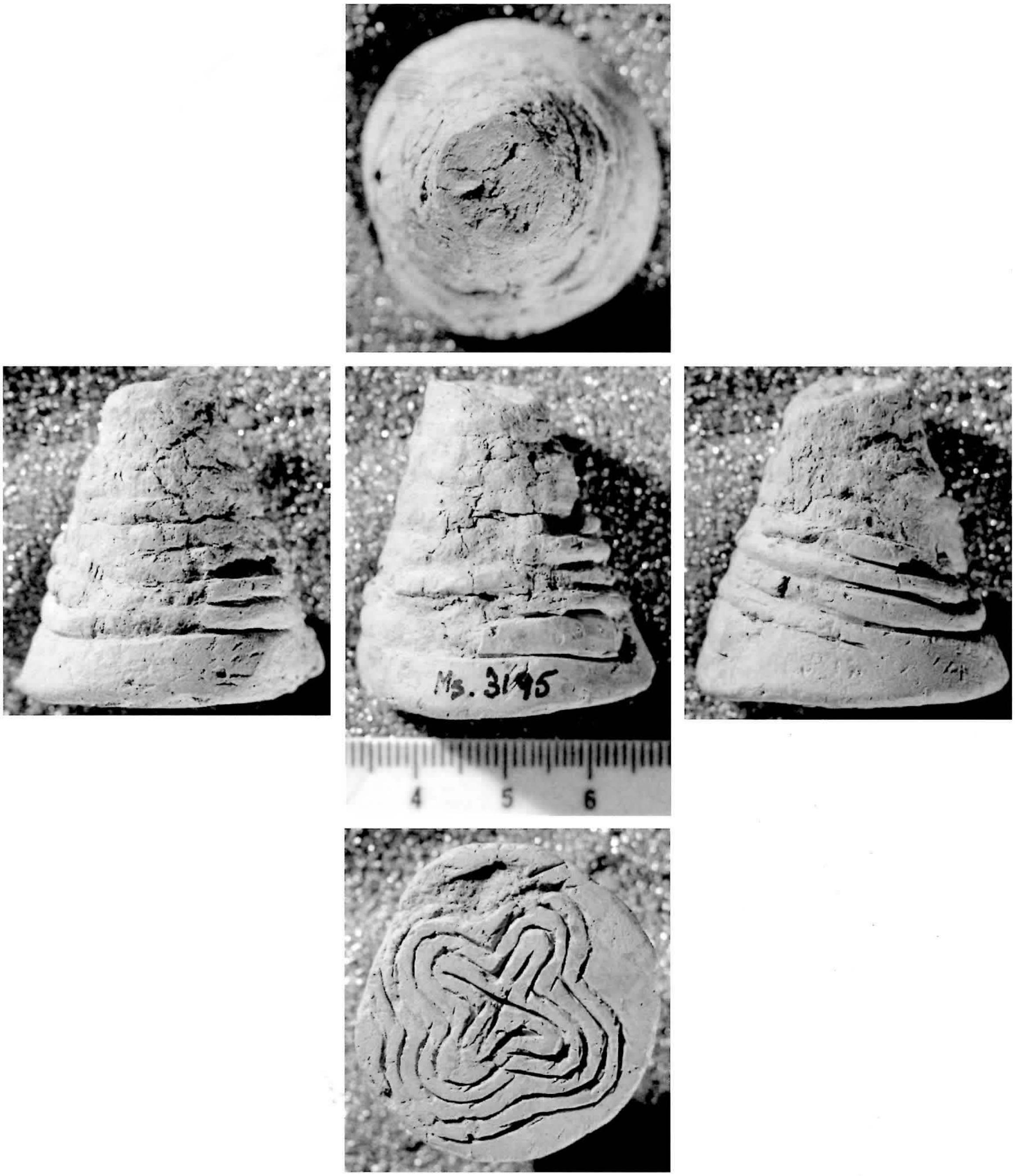
No. 77. MS 3081 rev.



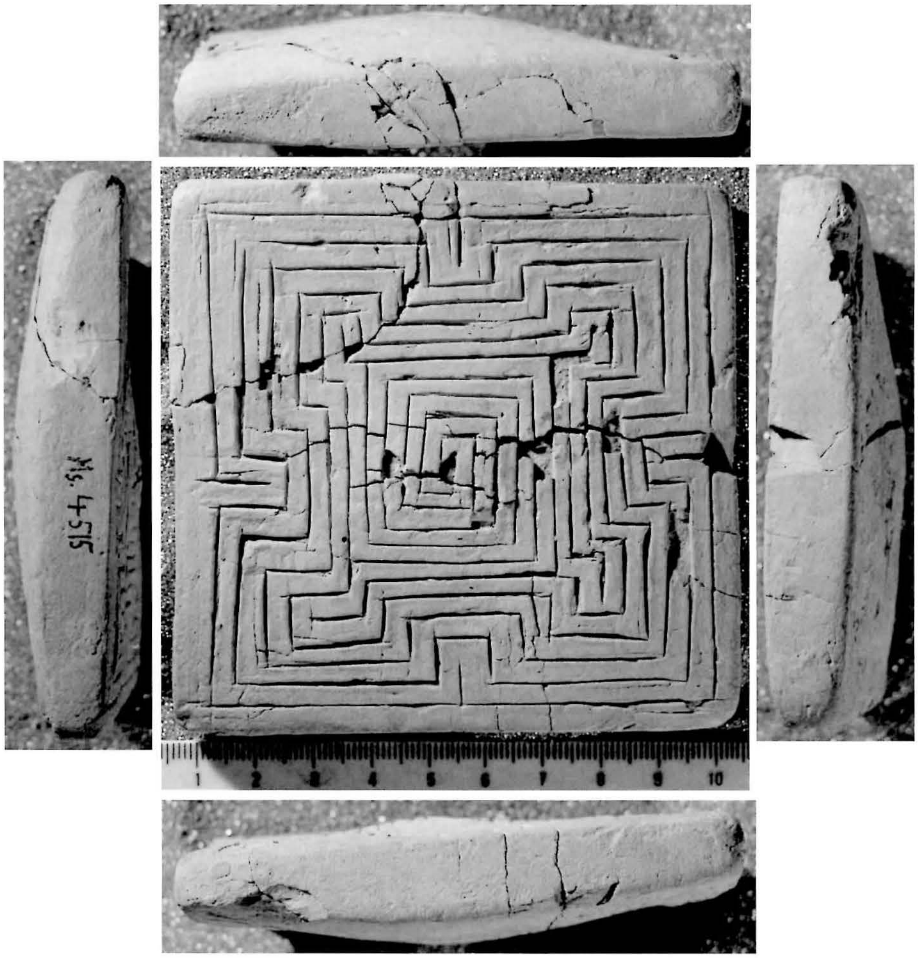
Addendum

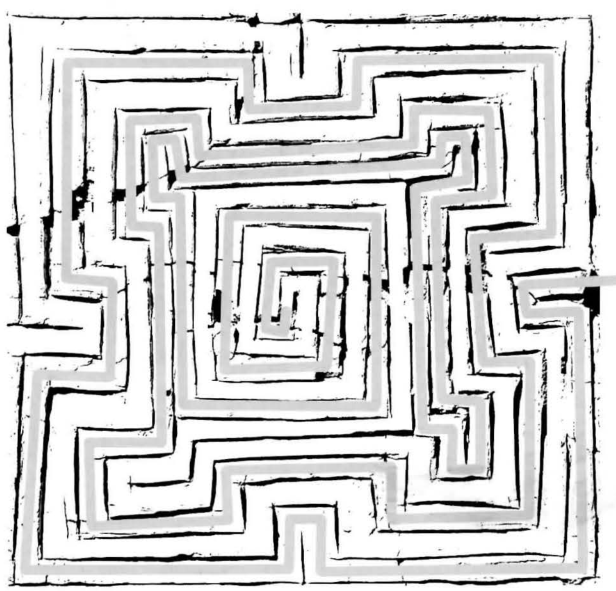
The following eight plates contain photographs and copies of texts Nos. 38–43 of CUSAS 18, *Babylonian Divinatory Texts Chiefly in the Schøyen Collection* (George 2013)

No. 38. MS 3195



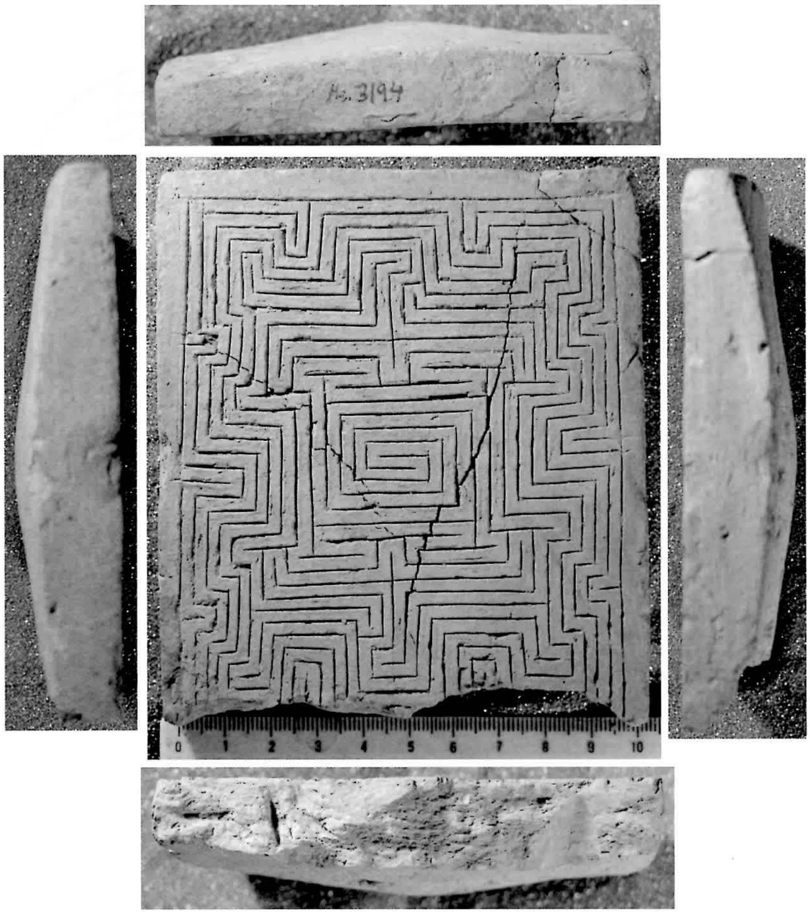
No. 39. MS 4515

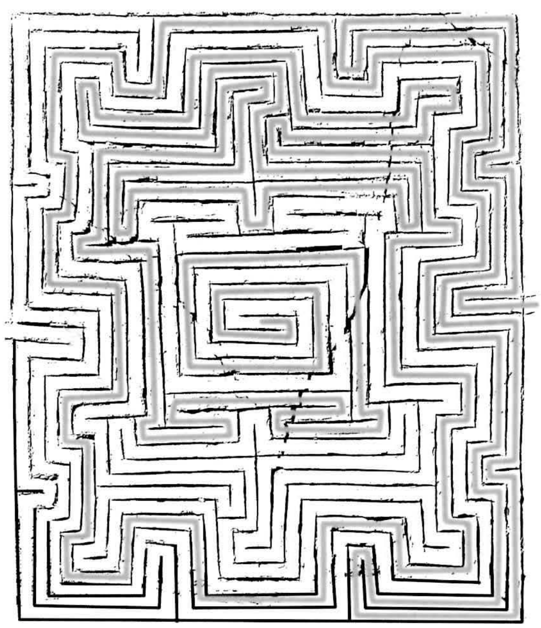




white path in, grey path out

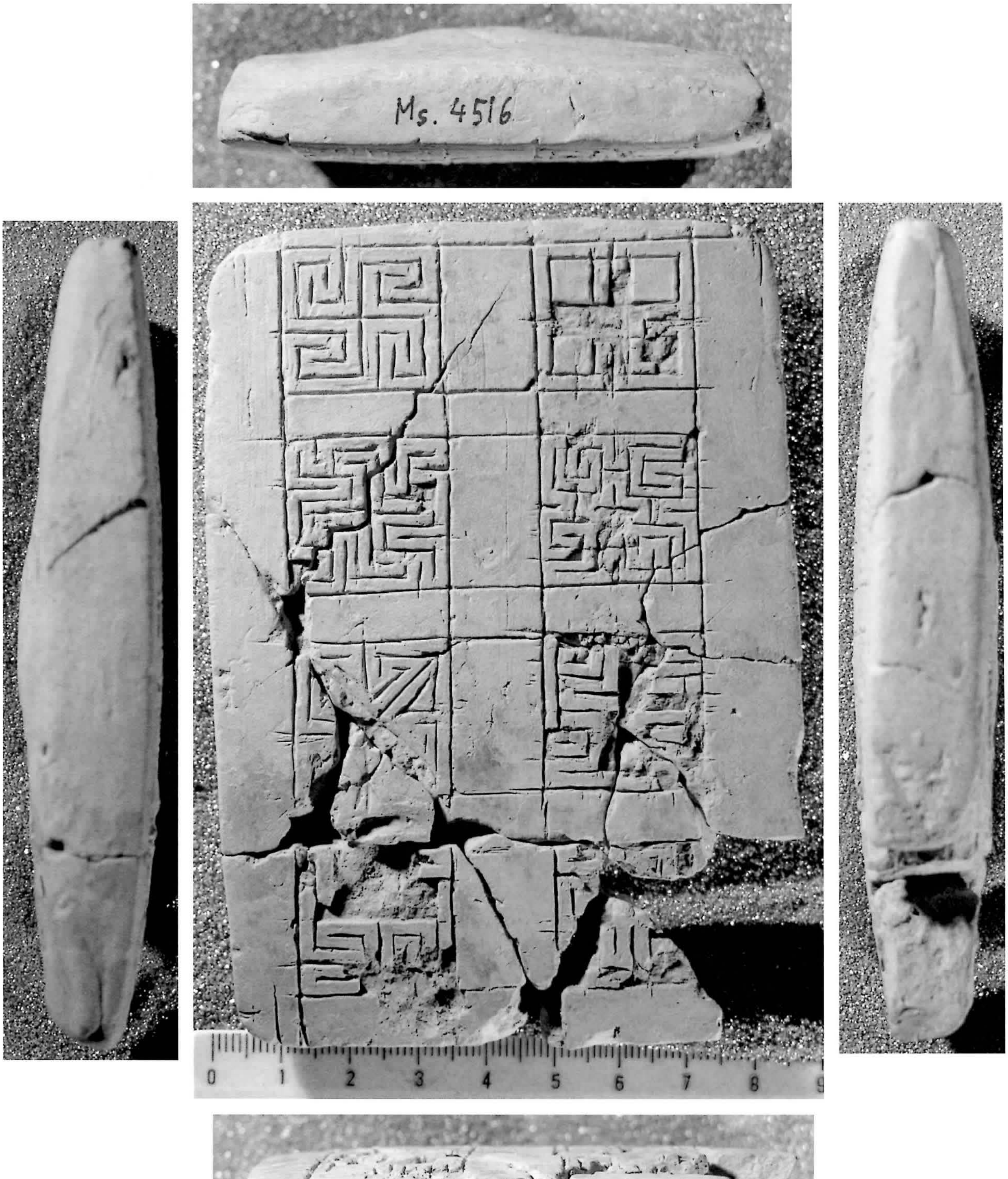
No. 40. MS 3194



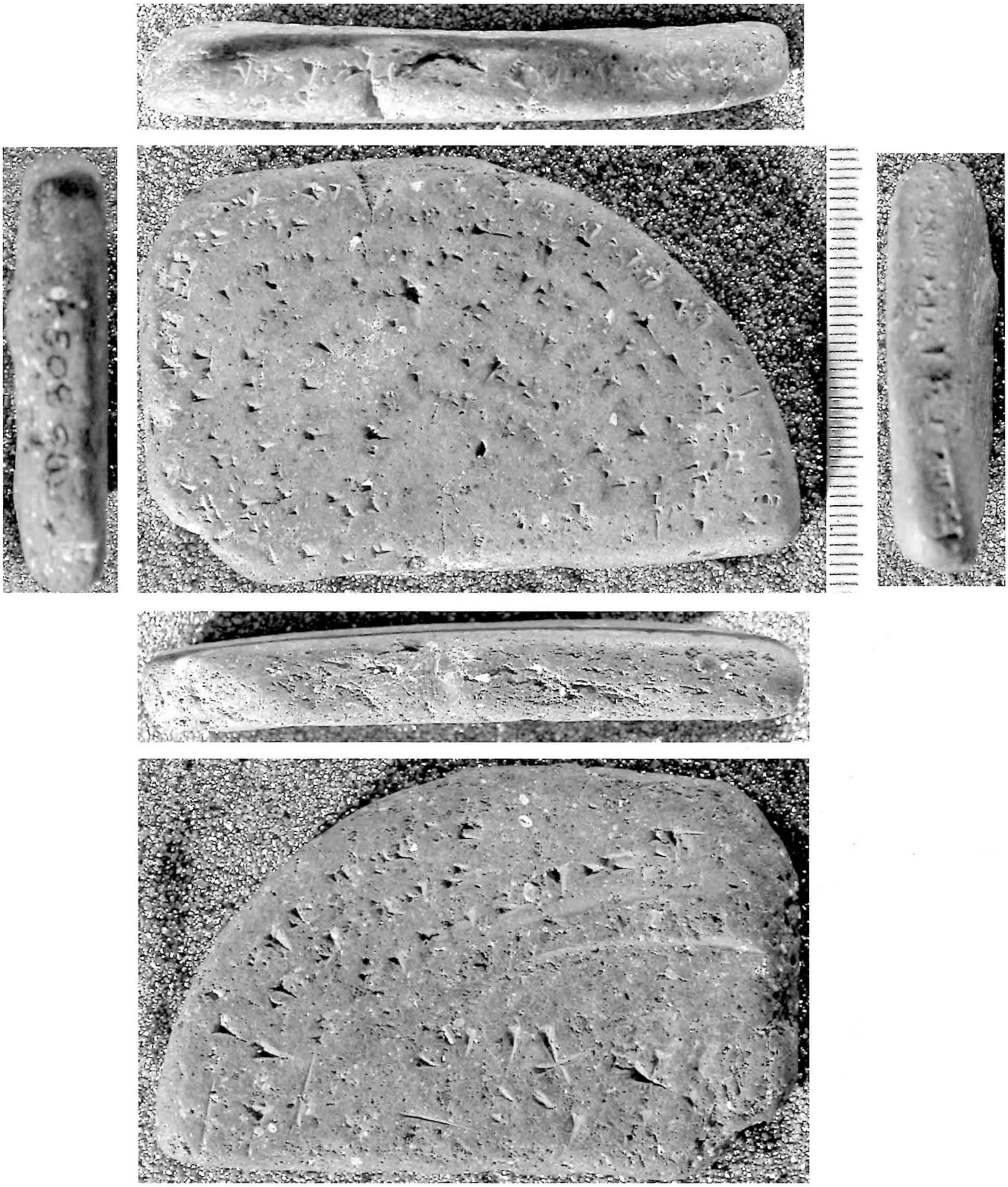


white path in, grey path out

No. 41. MS 4516

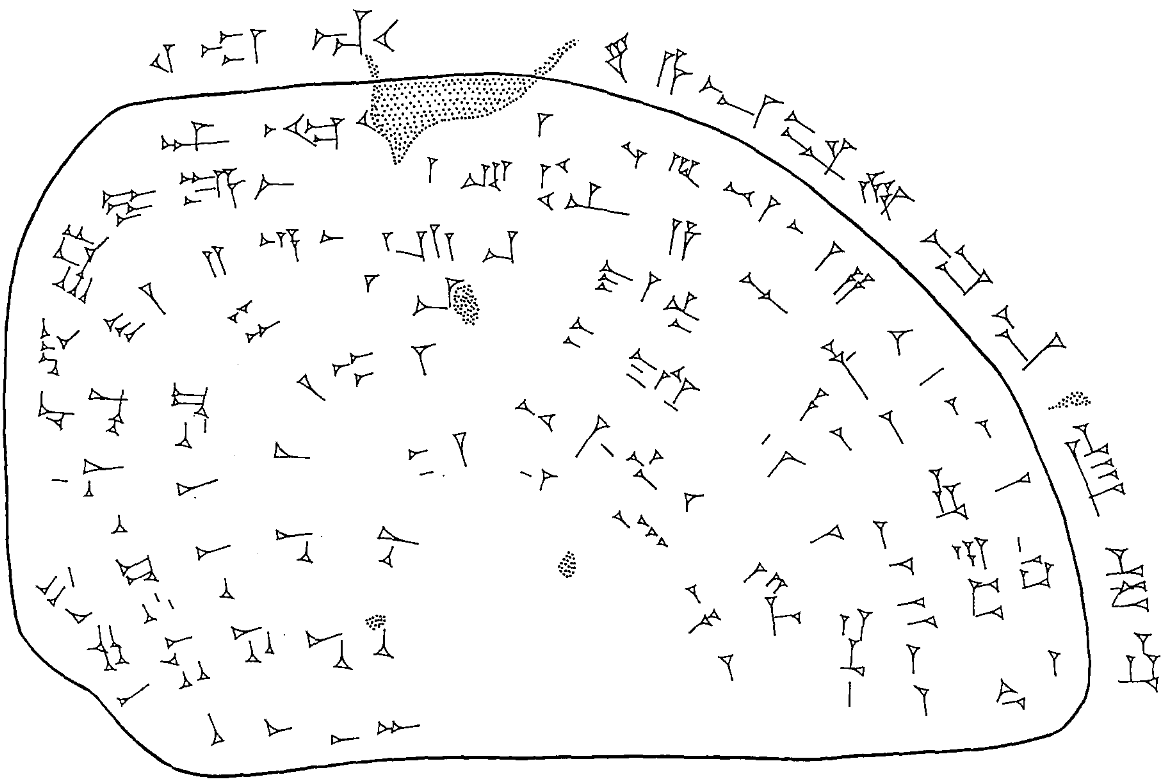


No. 42. MS 3034

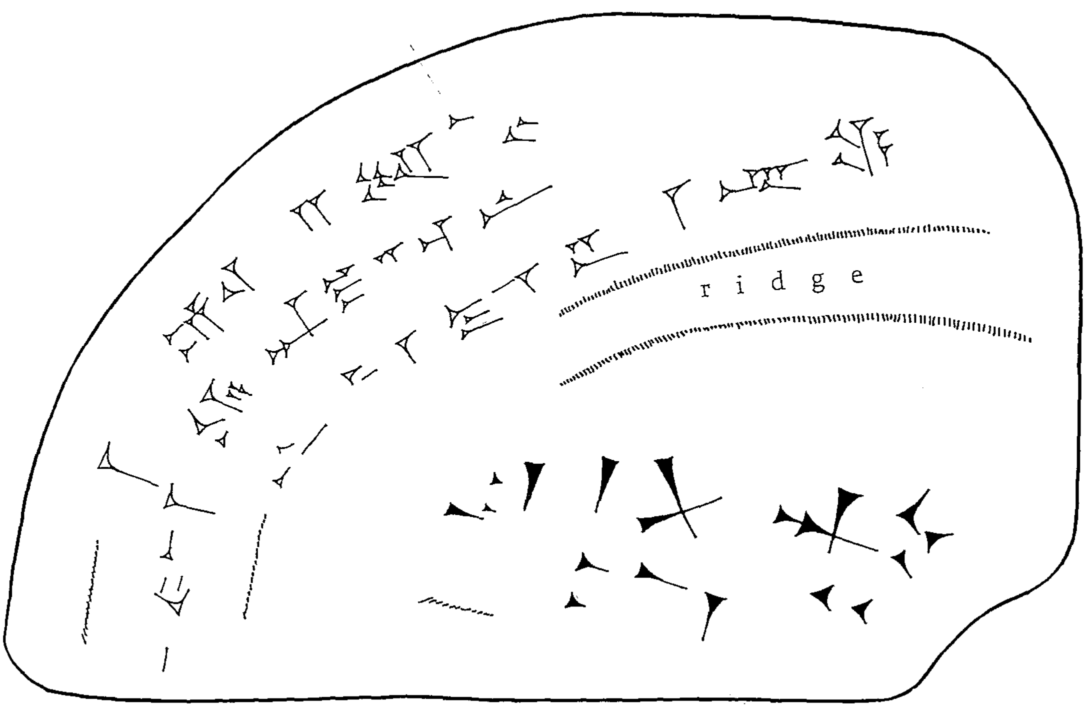


No. 42. MS 3034

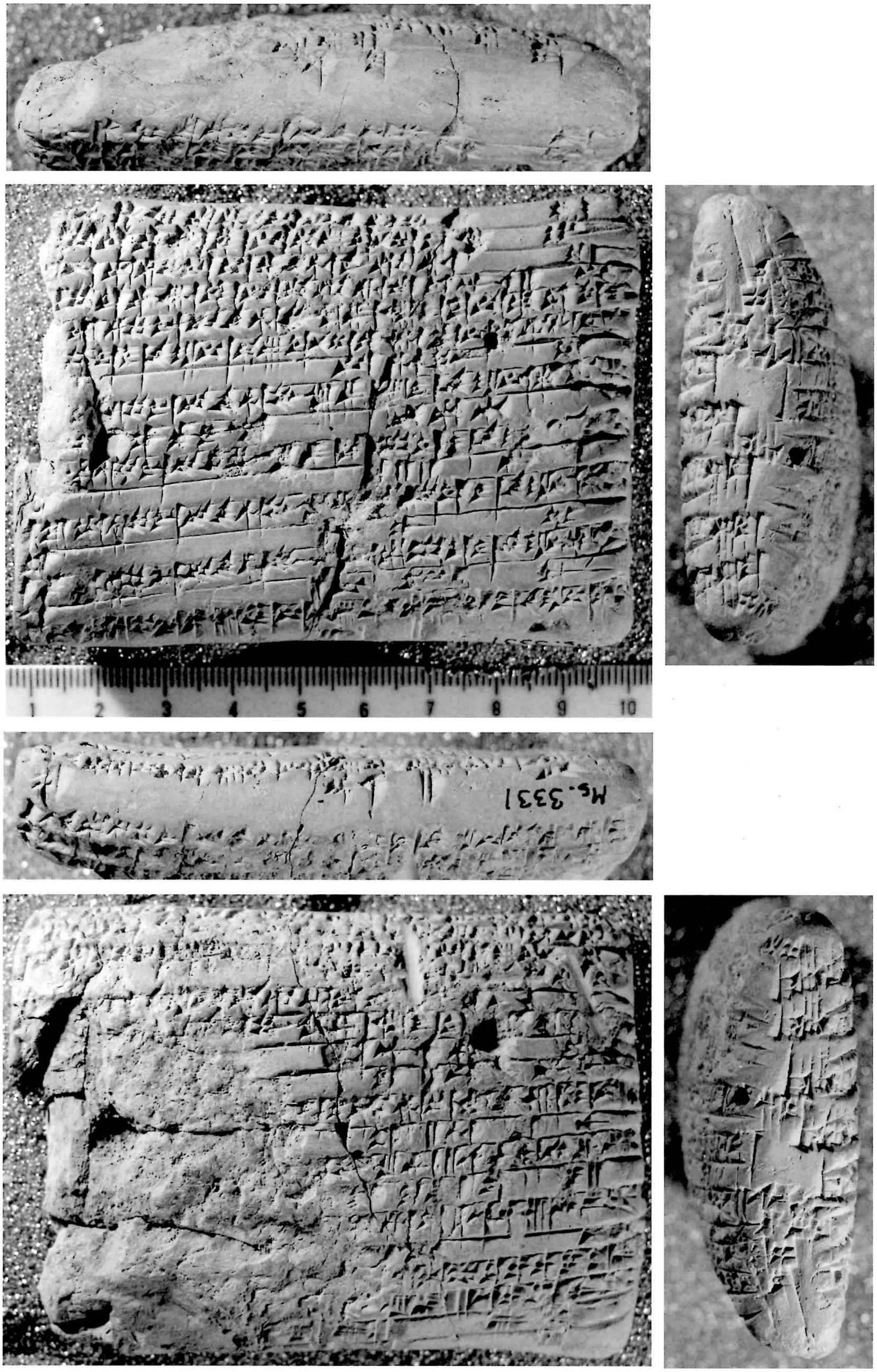
Face A and edge



Face B

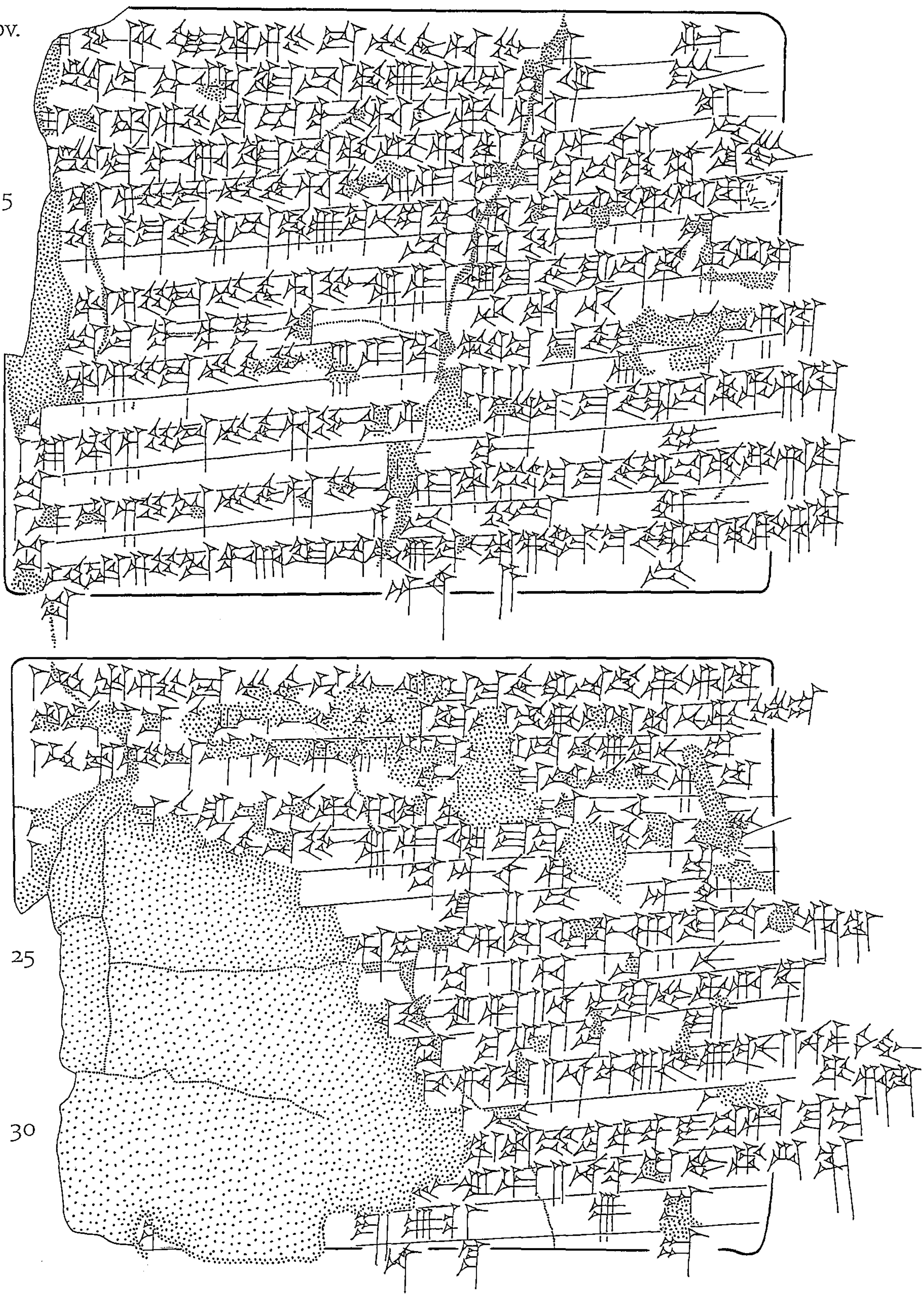


No. 43. MS 3331



No. 43. MS 3331

obv.



rev.